The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa

Getzel M. Cohen

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XXXVIII. *Athens and Macedon: Attic Letter-Cutters of 300 to 229 B.C.,* by Stephen V. Tracy

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XLV. *The Horse and Jockey from Artemision: A Bronze Equestrian Monument of the Hellenistic Period,* by Seán Hemingway

XLVI. *The Hellenistic Settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa,* by Getzel M. Cohen

XLVII. *Into the Land of Bones: Alexander the Great in Afghanistan,* by Frank L. Holt

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"O degli altri poeti onore e lume . . ."

—Dante, *Inferno*

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
Berkeley Los Angeles London

Published with the support of the Classics Fund of the University of Cincinnati, established by Louise Taft Semple in memory of her father, Charles Phelps Taft.

University of California Press, one of the most distinguished university presses in the United States, enriches lives around the world by advancing scholarship in the humanities, social sciences, and natural sciences. Its activities are supported by the UC Press Foundation and by philanthropic contributions from individuals and institutions. For more information, visit www.ucpress.edu.

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles, California

University of California Press, Ltd.
London, England

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Cohen, Getzel M.
The Hellenistic settlements in Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa / Getzel M. Cohen.
p. cm. — (Hellenistic culture and society ; 46)
Includes bibliographical references and index.
ISBN-13: 978-0-520-24148-0 (cloth : alk. paper)
ISBN-10: 0-520-24148-7 (cloth : alk. paper)
1. Cities and towns, Ancient—Syria. 2. Cities and towns, Ancient—Red Sea Region. 3. Cities and towns, Ancient—Africa, North. 4. Syria—History—333 B.C.–634 A.D. 5. Africa, North—History—To 647. 6. Red Sea Region—History. 7. Greece—Colonies—History. I. Title. II. Series.

DS96.2C62 2006
930'.0971238—dc22 2005015751

Manufactured in the United States of America

15 14 13 12 11 10 09 08 07 06
10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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In memory of my parents,
Hyman and Anna Cohen

Contents

Preface

This is the second of a three-volume study of the Hellenistic settlements. The first, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor,* dealt with foundations in those regions. The present volume focuses on the Hellenistic settlements of Syria, the Red Sea Basin, and North Africa. The third volume will deal with the foundations in Mesopotamia and regions farther east. The present volume, like the first, is organized by geographic areas. Within each area the settlements are ordered alphabetically. The entry for each foundation has two basic sections: narrative and annotation. In the narrative I attempt to identify the settlements, their founders, and location. I also try to present information about their history and organization during the Hellenistic period. The extended annotation is keyed to the narrative. The annotation provides detailed references, citations, and discussions for the material covered in the narrative. At the end of the work I have included various appendices that attempt to distill some of the information in the collected entries. In addition there is an essay dealing with the toponym "Alexandreia near Egypt." For the region covered by the present volume, Tcherikover identified approximately 100 settlements; I have included entries for over 135.

A citation such as "APAMEIA Kelainai" or "SELEUKEIA on the Tigris" indicates a cross-reference. I also use this format for references to entries that have appeared in the first volume or will appear in the third volume.

I have attached a set of maps that will hopefully assist the reader in identifying the sites of the various settlements. In addition, I would call the reader's attention to the maps in the *Barrington Atlas of the Greek and Roman World* (Princeton, 2000).

As noted in the first volume, the transliteration of Greek personal and place-names is a perennial problem. Here, as there, I have generally used

the Greek spelling for personal names of historical figures and town names but have relied on Latin usage for regional names and ancient authors.

I am immensely grateful to the many friends and colleagues who have graciously offered assistance, criticism, and advice. Among these I would mention Catherine Aubert, Roger Bagnall, Jean-Charles Balty, Bezalel Bar-Kochva, Brian Bosworth, Glen Bowersock, Adam Bülow-Jacobsen, T. V. Buttrey, Michel Chauveau, Graeme Clarke, Willy Clarysse, Hélène Cuvigny, Jehan Desanges, Leah Di Segni, Susan Downey, David Gill, Christian Habicht, Amir Harrak, Arthur Houghton, Benjamin Isaac, Charles Jones, Jonathan Kagan, David Kennedy, Denis Knoepfler, Alla Kushnir-Stein, André Laronde, Alan Lloyd, Pierre Leriche, Georges Le Rider, Alexandra Lesk, Catharine Lorber, Henry MacAdam, Joseph Mélèze-Modzrejewski, John Oates, David O'Connor, Thomas Parker, David Peacock, Daniel Potts, Kathleen Quinn, Dominic Rathbone, Kent Rigsby, Maurice Sartre, Eric Schmitt, Stephen Self, Steven Sidebotham, Adam Silverstein, Robert Steiglitz, Dorothy Thompson, Yoram Tsafrir, Peter van Minnen, Thomas Weber, Ze'ev Weiss, Terry Wilfong, and John Wineland. I am very grateful to Marian Rogers and Rose Vekony for their careful editing of the manuscript and to Bill Nelson for his diligent preparation of the maps. Of course I alone am responsible for any errors.

Much of this book was written in the Classics Library of the University of Cincinnati and at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton. I am very grateful to the staff of these libraries for their continuing and gracious assistance.

Princeton, New Jersey
August 2003

The Scholarship and the Sources

RECENT SCHOLARSHIP

Many of the historical investigations and reference works mentioned in *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* deal with (parts of) the area under discussion in this volume.[1] I will not, therefore, note them here. In addition, for particular regions under investigation in this volume, one may profitably consult a number of other works.

Syria and Phoenicia

In general, for Syria and Phoenicia M. Sartre's *D'Alexandre à Zénobie,* F. Millar's *Roman Near East,* and the various essays in J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann's *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie* II provide much useful information. In addition, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East* and J. D. Grainger's *Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer* are both helpful reference works. Ernst Honigmann's important work "Historische Topographie von Nordsyrien im Altertum" provides a comprehensive list of the cities and towns of Syria. In many cases Honigmann's work supersedes articles in the *Real-Encyclopädie;* in other cases there is no article in the *RE.* Other useful books include R. Dussaud's *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* and Grainger's *Cities of Seleukid Syria.*

Southern Syria

For southern Syria E. Schürer's *History of the Jewish People in the Age of Jesus Christ*[2], A. Kasher's *Jews and Hellenistic Cities in Eretz-Israel,* V. Tcherikover's

1. See especially *Settlements in Europe,* 1–13.

Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews, M. Avi-Yonah's *Gazetteer of Roman Palestine* and *Holy Land from the Persian to the Arab Conquest (536 B.C. to A.D. 640): A Historical Geography,* and Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green's *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina* are especially useful. A number of archaeological reference works, such as the *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land* and *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land,* are important resources. In a similar vein, one may profitably consult the *Encyclopedia Judaica* as well as a number of biblical dictionaries; among the most useful is *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.*

For southern Syria as well as Phoenicia one may also consult reports and surveys in, for example, the *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan, Excavations and Surveys in Israel,* and the *American Journal of Archaeology.*

The Red Sea Basin and North Africa

For the Red Sea coast one may consult with great profit J. Desanges's *Recherches sur l'activité des Méditerranéens aux confins de l'Afrique* and S. E. Sidebotham's *Roman Economic Policy in the Erythra Thalassa.* For Alexandreia the essential work is P. M. Fraser's important *Ptolemaic Alexandria.* One may also consult a number of reference works, among them, *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Ancient Egypt* and the *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt.* For Cyrenaica, A. Laronde's important study *Cyrène et la Libye hellénistique* provides a thorough introduction to the history of the region.

In addition, one may also consult the surveys and reports in, for example, the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology,* the *Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale, Orientalia,* and the *American Journal of Archaeology.*

Alexander Foundations

For the Alexander foundations the pioneering works of J.-G. Droysen *(Histoire de l'Hellénisme)* and H. Berve *(Das Alexanderreich)* should be consulted. W. W. Tarn, in *The Greeks in Bactria and India* and especially in the second volume of his *Alexander the Great,* made significant contributions to the subject. Fraser's *Cities of Alexander the Great* is an indispensable resource, both for his discussion of the various Alexandreias and for his studies of the sources. Finally, N. G. L. Hammond, in an article entitled "Alexander's Newly-found Cities," in *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 39 (1998) 243–69, discussed the evidence and the conclusions of Tarn and Fraser.

THE SOURCES

Syria

A number of scholars have observed, correctly, that the extant evidence for ancient Syria is heavily weighted to the Roman period.[2] Thus most of the extant ancient authors date from the Roman period and later; coins and inscriptions are predominantly of Roman date, as is the archaeological evidence. As a result, we know much more about the Roman phase of most settlements in Syria than we do about the Hellenistic. However, it is well to remember that the situation for Syria is not very different from that found throughout the Greco-Roman Near East. Whether it be ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, settlements in the Fayum, in Syria, or in Asia Minor, much of the surviving evidence—literary, epigraphic, numismatic, and archaeological—tends to date from and/or focus on the Roman period.

Literary Evidence. In the first volume I discussed briefly the sources for the study of the Hellenistic settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor. Many of these same Greek and Latin authors—Polybius, Diodorus Siculus, Strabo, and Pliny, for example—give information about Syria or Mesopotamia as well. In addition, there are a number of other Greek and Latin authors who provide useful information about the Hellenistic settlements in these regions.

Appian (c. 95–c. 165 A.D.) was born in Alexandreia. He wrote a Roman history, book 11 of which is the *Syriake,* an account of the Syrian Wars. The *Syriake* also contains information about the Seleucids and a list of foundations that Appian ascribed to Seleukos I Nikator (57). This passage is of great importance in trying to identify Seleucid foundations in Syria and regions farther east. Nevertheless, the information in Appian must be used with caution, both because the list is selective and because Appian occasionally makes mistakes. In connection with this text one may profitably consult K. Brodersen's *Appians Abriss der Seleukidengeschichte (Syriake 45, 232–70, 369), Text und Kommentar.*[3]

Josephus (b. 37/8 A.D.) is an important source for information about

2. For example, Frézouls pointed out (in *Hellenismos,* 313) that in the list of inscriptions for the first four volumes of *IGLS* less than twenty date to the pre-Roman period (see the list that was compiled by H. Seyrig at the end of *IGLS* IV); see also M. Sartre in *L'epigrafia,* 117–35. And Mehl noted (in *Hellenismos,* 99) that in his important book *A History of Antioch in Syria: From Seleucus to the Arab Conquest* Glanville Downey devoted approximately 90 pages to Hellenistic Antioch and 435 pages to the Roman city.

3. See also Tcherikover, *HS,* 166; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 158; Frézouls, *AAS* 4–5 [1954–55] 92; HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, n. 1. In addition, see Brodersen, *ANRW* 2:34.1 (1993) 339–63, and *Appians Antiochike (Syriake 1, 1–44, 232), Text und Kommentar* (Munich, 1991).

Hellenistic settlements throughout the Near East. His *Jewish Antiquities* provides information about, among other places, the settlements in Asia Minor, ANTIOCH near Daphne, Jerusalem, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, and SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. In addition, we learn about the Jewish community in Alexandreia from the *Contra Apionem.*[4]

Procopius (fl. first half of the sixth century A.D.) was born in Caesarea in Palestine. He was the author of the *History of the Wars of Justinian* and *On the Buildings of Justinian;* both works contain references to Hellenistic foundations in the Middle East as well as in Cyrenaica.

Lucian (b. c. 120 A.D.) is aptly described in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*[3] (s.v. "Lucian") as an "accomplished belletrist and wit in the context of the Second Sophistic." Being a native of Samosata in Commagene, he was familiar with Syria and Mesopotamia. His *De Dea Syria* is an important source for HIERAPOLIS Bambyke and the cults found there.[5] In addition, in other works he occasionally provides useful information about various settlements.

Ammianus Marcellinus (c. 330–395 A.D.) was born at Antioch near Daphne and spent a good part of his adult life in the Near East. He wrote a history that extended from 96 to 378 A.D. Of this, only the books dealing with the period 353–378 survive. As many of the events covered in these books took place in the Near East, he occasionally provides important information about various settlements there.[6]

Isidore of Seville (c. 600–636 A.D.) was bishop of the city. He was the author of, among other works, a *Chronica Maiora,* which was a continuation of Hieronymus's *Chronicle.* He also wrote the *Etymologiae,* an encyclopedic work that drew extensively on earlier writers. As such, it occasionally provides valuable information about various Hellenistic settlements.

Gaius Julius Solinus (probably after 200 A.D.) was the author of the *Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium,* a geographical description of the world. Solinus drew heavily—without acknowledgment—on Pliny and Pomponius Mela.[7]

The *Antonini Augusti Itineraria Provinciarum et Maritimum* records land and sea itineraries made for an Antonine emperor. It probably dates to the reign of Caracalla. Some of the numbers given for the road mileage are corrupt or inconsistent. Nevertheless, O. A. W. Dilke considered it an "extremely valu-

4. The literature on Josephus is very extensive; see, for example, L. H. Feldman, *Josephus and Modern Scholarship (1937–1980)* (Berlin, 1984), and *Josephus: A Supplementary Bibliography* (New York and London, 1986), as well as other works cited in *OCD*[3] s.v. "Josephus."

5. For text, translation, and commentary on the *De Dea Syria* see Lightfoot, *Lucian.*

6. See J. F. Matthews, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Ammianus Marcellinus" and bibliography cited there.

7. See further H. Walter, *Die "Collectanea Rerum Memorabilium" des C. Iulius Solinus* (Wiesbaden, 1969); Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*[2], 77–79; E. H. Warmington, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Iulius Solinus, Gaius." For Solinus on North Africa see S. Bianchetti in *L'Africa romana: Atti del IX convegno di studio Nuoro, 13–15 dicembre 1991,* ed. A. Mastino (Sassari, 1992) 803–11.

able document for tracing, alongside the Peutinger Table and other sources, the numerous staging-points on the network of Roman roads"; L. P. Kirwan refers to the *Itineraria* as the official road book of the Roman Empire.[8]

Eusebius, bishop of Caesarea (c. 260–340 A.D.), was the author of a number of important works, among them the *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Praeparatio Evangelica.* For the historian interested in the Hellenistic settlements two of his works are particularly useful: the *Chronicle* and the *Onomasticon.*

Eusebius's *Chronicle,* which is based on the like-named work of Sextus Julius Africanus, is a universal history that was brought down to 325 A.D. It has two parts, the *Epitome* or *Chronography,* and the *Canons.*[9] The first part, the *Chronography,* consists of a general preface followed by brief discussions of the chronological systems of the different peoples of the ancient Mediterranean world together with lists of kings. Eusebius begins the discussion with the Chaldaeans, the Assyrians, then Jewish history, Egypt, Greek history, and Roman history. The primary technique employed in the *Chronography* is quotation followed by the extrapolation of dates. The chronographic excerpts provided the material for the second part, the *Canons.* The *Canons* presented the annual lists in synchronistic tabular form along with brief notices mentioning persons and events contemporary with the years of the lists down to the year 325 A.D. Within fifty years of Eusebius's death in the late 330s, translations, epitomes, redactions, and extensions began to circulate. The most important of these translations/redactions was the *Chronicle* of Hieronymus (Jerome), a Latin translation and extension from 325 to 378 of the *Canons.*

The *Canons* represents the most novel aspect of Eusebius's work. Chronicles were, of course, nothing new. In writing his *Chronicle* Eusebius was building on a long and developed tradition of chronographic writing in the Hellenistic and Roman worlds. The earlier chronographies, however, were compilations of events of certain parts of the past. Similarly, earlier Christian writers had written chronographies of Greek and Jewish history. Eusebius was the first to write a truly universal chronicle in which he synchronized the histories of all the known nations, from the beginning of history until his time. Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that in writing the *Chronicle* Eusebius was not just writing a historical work for its own sake. He was also writing a Christian apologetic treatise that would, among other things, demonstrate the continuity of the Christians with the Jews and place

8. Dilke, *Maps,* 125–28; Kirwan, *GJ* 147 (1981) 82; see also Fugmann, *RAC* s.v. "Itinerarium"; for a text see O. Cuntz (Leipzig, 1929).

9. See, for example, A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, 1979); T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, 1981) 112–25; B. Croke, "The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle," in *History and Historians in Late Antiquity,* ed. B. Croke and A. M. Emmett (Sydney, 1983) 116–31; Witakowski, *Chronicle,* 59–75.

Christianity within the chronological context of the expected second coming of Christ. As A. Momigliano remarked, "Christian chronology was also a philosophy of history."[10] For the Hellenistic historian the list of Hellenistic kings in the *Canons* is of primary importance, as are the various notices about the founders of settlements.

The original Greek text of Eusebius is lost. What remains are (a) Hieronymus's Latin translation, expansion, and continuation down to 378 A.D. of the *Canons,* (b) an Armenian translation of the whole work (with lacunae), possibly dating to the sixth century, and (c) fragments of the *Chronography* in various Byzantine and Syriac chronicles. The most important of the latter category include George Synkellos, George Kedrenos, and the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724 A.D.*

In the mid-nineteenth century A. Schoene collected and published all the source material then available in *Eusebii Chronicorum Libri Duo* (Frankfurt, 1866, 1875; repr. 1967). Volume 1 (1875) contained a Latin translation of the first part of Eusebius's *Chronicle*—the *Chronography.* Volume 2 (1866) contained editions of the Latin translation of the Armenian text of the *Canons,* Hieronymus's *Chronicle* (i.e., the *Canons* of Eusebius), and the Greek fragments from the Byzantine writers.

In 1911 J. Karst published a German translation of the Armenian text of Eusebius (i.e., both the *Chronography* and the *Canons*) in *Die Chronik des Eusebius,* GCS 20 (Leipzig, 1911). For another text of Hieronymus see R. Helm and U. Treu's *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*^{3}, GCS 47 (Berlin, 1984).

The *Onomasticon* has been rightly described by T. D. Barnes as a "biblical gazetteer which is still the main literary source for the historical geography and territorial history of Palestine both in biblical times and under the Roman Empire."[11] The overall work is arranged alphabetically. For each letter the entries are then arranged by biblical book (i.e., Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, etc.) and within each book by the order of their occurrence. The *Onomasticon* was also translated by Hieronymus. As there are occasional errors or confusion in the work, it should be used with caution.

Already in the early fourth century A.D. Eusebius mentioned that Christians were coming to Jerusalem. The accounts of pilgrims who traveled to Palestine and other parts of the Near East occasionally provide information

10. A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century A.D.," in his *Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford, 1963) 83f.; Croke, *History and Historians in Late Antiquity,* ed. Croke and Emmett, 121f.

11. T. D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius,* 106. For a text see E. Klostermann, *Das Onomastikon, GCS* 11.1 (Berlin, 1904); see also Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius,* 337 n. 1 and works cited there; and L. Di Segni in *The Madaba Map,* ed. M. Piccirillo and E. Alliata (Jerusalem, 1999) 115–20. In general see F. M. Abel, *RB* 43 (1934) 347–73; Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius,* 106–10; B. Isaac in *Roman Army,* 153–67 (= Isaac, *Near East,* 284–309).

regarding ancient places. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense,* for example, which dates from 333 A.D., provides the itinerary for a pilgrimage from Bordeaux to Jerusalem. Its central section (585.7–599.9) deals with Palestine.[12]

Egeria (or Etheria) was a pilgrim who traveled to the Near East in the latter part of the fourth century A.D. The only surviving manuscript of Egeria's *Itinerarium* dates to the eleventh century A.D. It preserves the middle of her book; the beginning and end remain lost. The *Itinerarium* is essentially a diary recording what Egeria saw in the course of her travels in the Near East. The first twenty-three chapters of the surviving text describe four journeys that Egeria took; an additional twenty-six chapters describe the liturgy of the Jerusalem church. It is important to bear in mind that Egeria undertook her travels for religious, not secular, purposes. She was especially interested in the places recorded in the Bible, particularly those mentioned in the Pentateuch. Among other pilgrimages, she retraced the route of the Exodus and journeyed to the tomb of Saint Thomas in Edessa.[13]

In 1137 Peter the Deacon, a monk at Monte Cassino who was also its librarian, wrote a book on the holy places, in which he quoted extensively from the *Itinerarium.*[14]

Among early Christian writers after Eusebius I would mention three, each of whom provides information about or refers to various Hellenistic settlements in Syria or Mesopotamia. The Christian writer Theodoret of Kyrrhos (c. 393–c. 466 A.D.) was the author of, among other works, *Ecclesiastical History* and *Religious History (Philotheos Historia).* The first is a continuation of Eusebius down to 428; the second is an account of various well-known ascetics in northern Syria.[15] The important *Church History* of the ecclesiastical historian Socrates (c. 380–after 439 A.D.) covers the period 305–439.[16] The *Church History* of Sozomenos (fl. first half of the fifth century A.D.) was a continua-

12. For a text see O. Cuntz (Leipzig, 1929). See also Dilke, *Maps,* 128–29; Fugmann, *RAC* s.v. "Itinerarium"; J. Elsner, *JRS* 90 (2000) 181–95; Stemberger, *Jews,* 40–42, 88–95.

13. In recent years a number of editions of the *Itinerarium* have appeared. For a text (with introduction and German translation) see G. Röwekamp and D. Thönnes, *Egeria Itinerarium Reisebericht mit Auszügen aus Petrus Diaconus De Locis Sanctis Die heiligen Stätten* (Freiburg, 1995) as well as *CCL* 175 and the edition of P. Maraval (Paris, 1982). See also the translation (and introduction) by G. Gingras, *Egeria: Diary of a Pilgrimage* (New York, 1970); J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels* (London, 1971; also 3d ed., 1999); J. Fugmann, *RAC* s.v. "Itinerarium"; Stemberger, *Jews,* 95–98.

14. For a text (with German translation) see, for example, Röwekamp and Thönnes, *Egeria,* 316–59 (intro., 310–14); for an English translation see Wilkinson, *Egeria,* 180–210 (intro., 179–80).

15. See further R. M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria* (Kalamazoo, 1985) ix–xxxvii; Chesnut, *Histories*², 207–14; B. Baldwin, *ODB* s.v. "Theodoret of Cyrrhus."

16. See further Chesnut, *Histories*², 175–98; B. Baldwin, *ODB* s.v. "Sokrates."

tion of Eusebius. Sozomenos's work covered the period 324–425; the final part of book 9, dealing with the events of 425–439, is lost.[17]

George Synkellos (d. after 810) wrote the *Ekloge Chronographias,* which deals with the history of the world from the creation to Diocletian. In the sixteenth century Joseph Scaliger attacked Synkellos and claimed that, among other things, he had simply transcribed Eusebius's chronology without any alteration of words. In fact Synkellos did use other sources, such as Josephus and Africanus. Although other scholars have subsequently come to his defense, the general assessment of Synkellos is that his information is "sometimes repetitious or contradictory."[18] The *Chronographia* of the historian Theophanes (760–817 A.D.) covered the years 285–813 and was a continuation of George Synkellos.[19]

The *Suda* or *Suidas* is not an author's name; rather it is the title of a lexicon. This historical encyclopedia, written around the end of the tenth century A.D., consists of about 30,000 entries, arranged essentially in alphabetical order. The work has been described as a "compilation of compilations." There are contradictions and other shortcomings in the material. Nevertheless, because it preserves so much of earlier authorities and because the range of subjects covered is so wide, it remains a significant resource.[20]

The Syriac chronicles are another valuable source. Syriac is an eastern Aramaic dialect that was spoken and written by the inhabitants of Syria, Mesopotamia, and adjoining areas from about the third to the seventh century A.D. From the third century A.D. until the rise of Islam this region was largely Christian. Even after the spread of Islam throughout the area Syriac continued to be the daily language of the Christian community. It is useful to bear in mind the Christian character of the region and (many of) its inhabitants because the Syriac chronicles were Christian in both "content and expression."[21] We can—somewhat arbitrarily—distinguish at least two categories of chronicles, the local and the universal. The origin of the local chronicle is probably pre-Christian, in the archives of Mesopotamian cities; the building of these archives probably began in the early Seleucid period if not earlier. The only Syriac survival of these records is to be found in the *Chron-*

17. See further Chesnut, *Histories*², 199–207; B. Baldwin, *ODB* s.v. "Sozomen."

18. So A. Kazhdan, *ODB* s.v. "George the Synkellos." In general see R. Laqueur, *RE* s.v. "Synkellos," 1388–1410; Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 132–206; G. L. Huxley, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81 (1981) no. 6, 207–17; W. Adler and P. Tuffin, *The Chronography of George Synkellos* (Oxford, 2002) (introductory essay and translation).

19. See further H. Turtledove, *The Chronicle of Theophanes* (Philadelphia, 1982) vii–xix; A. Khazdan, *ODB* s.v. "Theophanes the Confessor."

20. See further Wilson, *Scholars,* 145–48; R. Browning, *OCD*³ s.v. "Suda" and bibliography cited there.

21. J. B. Segal, in *Historians of the Middle East,* ed. B. Lewis and P. M. Holt (London, 1962) 247.

icle of Edessa, which dates to the middle of the sixth century A.D. On the other hand, practically all Syriac universal chronicles are based on a Syriac translation of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius.[22] The surviving universal chronicles date from the eighth to the thirteenth century A.D.[23] Although primarily interested in the period between the fourth and the fourteenth centuries A.D., the chronicles occasionally provide, among other things, lists of Hellenistic monarchs, the length of their reigns, and occasional notices of Hellenistic settlements and their founders. For example, the *Chronicle to the Year 724* says that Alexander founded ALEXANDREIA in the seventh year of his reign. Furthermore, it says that Antigonos founded ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes River, that Seleukos completed it and called it ANTIOCH and also founded APAMEIA, EDESSA, ALEPPO, and PELLA.[24] The *Chronicle to the Year 846* says that Edessa was founded in the thirteenth year of the Seleucid era.[25] And Ps.-Dionysius of Tell Mahre provides important information about AMIDA in northern Mesopotamia.[26] Generally, the information in the various chronicles is reliable. Errors, however, do occur. Thus the *Chronicle to the Year 724* says that Seleukos completed Antigoneia and called it Antioch.

Rabbinic sources are also valuable. The oldest extant code of Jewish law is the Mishnah, which was compiled in Palestine by c. 200 A.D. The Talmud or Gemara is the extended commentary on the Mishnah. There are, in fact, two Talmuds: the Jerusalem or Palestinian and the Babylonian. Both Talmuds were redacted long after the Hellenistic period. The first, as the name indicates, was composed in Palestine and completed soon after c. 400 A.D. The second was composed in Babylonia and completed c. 500 A.D. It is important to bear in mind that the Talmud is not a historical work. Rather it is a collection of—often lengthy and complex—legal discussions that serve as an extended commentary on the laws articulated in the Mishnah.[27]

The presence of Jews in Babylonia dates, of course, from the exile under Nebuchadnezzar after the destruction of the first temple in 586 B.C. In the first century A.D., according to Josephus (*AJ* 11.133), the community was very

22. See especially P. Keseling, *Oriens Christianus* 1 (1926/7) 23–48, 223–41; 2 (1927) 33–56.

23. In general see S. P. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979–80) 1–30.

24. See E. W. Brooks, ed., and J.-B. Chabot, trans., *Chronicon miscellaneum ad annum Domini 724 pertinens,* in *CSCO Scriptores Syri Versio Series III, Tomus IV, Chronica Minora* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 83.

25. See E. W. Brooks, ed., and J.-B. Chabot, trans., *Chronicon ad annum Domini 846 pertinens,* in *CSCO Scriptores Syri Versio Series III, Tomus IV, Chronica Minora* (Leipzig, 1903) p. 130.

26. On Ps.-Dionysius see Witakowski, *Chronicle.*

27. The literature on the rabbinic sources is quite large; see, for example, appropriate articles in the *Encyclopedia Judaica;* Schürer, *History*^{2}, 1: 68–118; G. Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash,* 2d ed. (Philadelphia, 1996); G. G. Porton, *ABD* s.v. "Talmud"; and bibliography in each of the preceding.

large. The vicissitudes of their brethren in Palestine in the first few centuries A.D. combined with the rise and triumph of Christianity in the Roman Empire significantly reduced the stature and influence of the Palestinian community. Furthermore these same vicissitudes prompted many Palestinian Jews to migrate eastward to Babylonia, which contained the only significant Jewish community not under Roman rule. The difficult situation of the Palestinian Jews may in part explain the uneven nature of the Jerusalem Talmud as compared with the Babylonian.

For the historian of Babylonia in the Hellenistic and particularly the Parthian and Sassanid periods the Babylonian Talmud is an important source of information about the social, economic, and religious life of Jews in that region. It contains numerous references to, among other places, the various towns and villages of Babylonia and the surrounding regions where Jews lived. Thus anyone interested in Babylonian geography from 200 to 500 A.D. may profitably consult the Babylonian Talmud. The Hellenistic historian may likewise look to the Babylonian Talmud for references to Seleucid settlements and their survival into the Parthian and Sassanid periods.[28] The Jerusalem Talmud, although more diffuse and less well redacted, still occasionally provides useful information for the Hellenistic historian about various settlements in the region.[29]

In addition to the legal discussion and codification in the Mishnah and Talmud, a great body of homiletic literature grew up. This corpus, the Midrash, developed from comments on and explanations of biblical passages. The earliest Midrashim date from the fifth century A.D., and the latest from the twelfth. There are occasional references in the Midrash to geographic locations.[30]

P. M. Fraser correctly emphasized the importance of early Arabic geographical literature.[31] As he noted, "the classical Arab geographers, compilers of lists of postal routes, and cosmographers, and the records of early travellers through the Islamic world, describe the world of their own day, the world of the first two or three Islamic centuries, through which they travelled . . . the

28. See also D. Goodblatt, *ANRW* 2:19.2 (1979) 257–336. For questions relating to the Jewish communities in Babylonia and the adjacent regions in the Talmudic period Aharon Oppenheimer's *Babylonia Judaica in the Talmudic Period* is a particularly valuable resource.

29. For the Jerusalem Talmud, see references cited above and B. M. Bokser, *ANRW* 2:19.1 (1979) 139–256. For Roman Palestine see, for example, Safrai, *Roman Palestine;* D. Sperber, *Roman Palestine, 200–400: The Land* (Ramat-Gan, 1978), and *Roman Palestine, 200–400: Money and Prices,* 2d ed. (Ramat-Gan, 1991).

30. On the Midrash see, for example, references cited above and G. Porton, *ANRW* 2:19.1 (1979) 103–38.

31. *Cities,* 52. See also S. M. Ahmad, s.v. "Djughrafiya" in the *Encyclopedia of Islam,* new ed. (Leiden/London, 1960–2002) and the articles on the various geographers, as well as J. Meisami and P. Starkey, eds., *Encyclopedia of Arabic Literature* (London, 1998).

importance for us lies in the fact that they traversed much the same ground as Alexander and that they describe the country as it was before the destructive advance of the Mongols." One may find references to Alexander the Great and Hellenistic settlements in at least two medieval Arabic geographers, Yakut (1179–1229) and Abu al-Fida (1273–1331).

Yakut b. Abdullah al-Rumi wrote two geographical treatises, the *Mu'jam al-Buldan (Geographical Dictionary)* and the *Mushtarik (Dictionary of Geographical Homonyms).* In the *Mu'jam* Yakut lists cities in alphabetical order and gives information about their history, monuments, and so on. G. Le Strange described the work as "a storehouse of geographical information, the value of which it would be impossible to over-estimate; for the book gives a detailed account, as seen in the thirteenth century, of all the countries and towns in Muslim lands, from Spain, in the West to . . . India, in the East."[32] The *Mushtarik* is, as its name implies, a list of places that have identical names. Both the *Mu'jam* and the *Mushtarik* contain lists of Iskandariyas (i.e., Alexandreias). At present there is no complete English translation of either work.

The geography of Abu al-Fida, the *Takwin al-Buldan,* relies on the work of Ptolemy. After a long introduction, Abu al-Fida lists in tabular form the major towns of the world, along with their latitude and longitude and other information. A French translation by M. Reinaud and S. Guyard was published in Paris (1848–1883).

A number of works are of assistance to the non-Arabic-speaking reader. For example, for southern Syria one may consult A.-S. Marmadji's *Textes géographiques arabes sur la Palestine* and Le Strange's *Palestine under the Moslems.* Both present translations of selected passages from medieval Arabic geographers. The first is organized alphabetically; the second is an anthology (with introductory notes) of the writings of the various geographers regarding territorial divisions, rivers, lakes, mountains, towns, and cities. There is also an Arabic description composed between 969 and 1268 A.D. of the founding of ANTIOCH near Daphne.[33]

Finally, there are the historians. Agapius (d. after 941 A.D.) of Manbij (ancient HIERAPOLIS Bambyke), for example, wrote a universal history in Arabic that originally ended in 941.[34]

32. G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems: A Description of Syria and the Holy Land from A.D. 650 to 1500, Translated from the Works of the Mediaeval Arab Geographers* (London, 1890; repr., 1965) 9.

33. For the Arabic account of Antioch see W. F. Stinespring, "The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286" (PhD diss., Yale University, 1932). For the Arabic sources relating to ALEXANDREIA near Egypt see that entry, n. 1.

34. For a text with French translation see A. Vasiliev, *PO* 5 (1910) 565–92, 7 (1911) 457–591, 8 (1912) 397–550, 11 (1915) 1–144. See also Vasiliev, *PO* 5 (1910) 561–63; Graf, *Literatur,* 2: 39–41; S. H. Griffith, *ODB* s.v. "Agapios of Hierapolis."

Inscriptions. It has long been noted that whereas the *Inscriptiones Graecae* provided a vehicle and framework for the publication of Greek inscriptions from Europe, no similar device existed for Asia Minor, other parts of the Middle East, or North Africa. Of course, it is also true that as one proceeds eastward beyond the Tauros Mountains the number of surviving Greek inscriptions drops significantly in comparison with that found west of the Tauros. Among the relevant epigraphic corpora and resources for the region beyond the Tauros I would mention W. H. Waddington's *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1870); *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section A, Southern Syria; Section B, Northern Syria* (Leiden, 1907, 1922); *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie* (Paris, 1929–) (= *IGLS*); and *Inscriptions grecques et latines en Jordanie* (= *I. Jordanie* [*IGLS* 21]).[35] *IGLS* is arranged geographically and encompasses northern Syria as well as Chalcidice, Cyrrhestice, and Commagene. In general, the researcher will want to make use of the information in the latest edition of F. Bérard et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste.*

Coins. I have already referred to a number of the major numismatic publications.[36] To those I would add *SNG Spaer,* which focuses on Seleucid coins, especially of Syria, and A. Houghton and C. Lorber's *Seleucid Coins.* For southern Syria and Phoenicia I would also mention, among others, F. de Saulcy's *Numismatique de la terre sainte; The Coin Collection of the American University of Beirut Museum, Palestine and Phoenicia;* Y. Meshorer's *City-Coins of Eretz-Israel and the Decapolis in the Roman Period;* A. Spijkerman's *Coins of the Decapolis and Provincia Arabia;* and A. Kindler and A. Stein's *Bibliography of the City Coinage of Palestine.*

C. Augé provides a useful introduction (with extensive bibliography) to the coinage of Hellenistic and Roman Syria in *Archéologie,* 149–64. For the coinage of Antioch in particular and for Syria in general, one should consult G. Le Rider's *Antioche* as well as his numerous shorter studies.

Archaeology. The information derived from archaeological excavation is particularly important. I would note, for example, that the Hellenistic settlement at RAS IBN HANI is known only as a result of excavation: there is no reference to it in the extant literary sources; the same is true for JEBEL KHALID. Furthermore, archaeology has added immeasurably to our knowledge about such settlements as APAMEIA on the Axios, SKYTHOPOLIS, and DOURA EUROPOS. At the same time, smaller material objects found at ex-

35. Both *IGLS* and *I. Jordanie* are published as part of the *Bibliothèque archéologique et historique.* On *I. Jordanie* see also P.-L. Gatier, *MB* 22 (1982) 10–11.

36. See *Settlements in Europe,* 12.

cavations can add significantly to the historical reconstruction of a site. For example, the discovery of stamped amphora handles at a particular site (so long as they are not simply local imitations) often can tell us something about the pattern of international trade.

Many weights of bronze, lead, and stone from Hellenistic Syria have also been found.[37] The extant weights date from the reign of Antiochos III down to the end of the Seleucid rule in Syria. We may divide the weights into two groups. Weights in the first group have the name of the king, the denomination, and, in the case of the later ones, the name of the *agoranomos* as well as the same type of official symbol as that found on coins, namely, an anchor with either Poseidon or Nike. These royal weights are relatively few in number. The second group—more numerous—are probably city weights. These date primarily to the Hellenistic period, although some are earlier, some later. They have the city name, the date, and the denomination, the name and title—usually the *agoranomos*—of the person heading this department along with official Seleucid symbols such as the anchor, the elephant, Nike, or Tyche. Examples of these weights are attested in many of the coastal cities of Syria and Phoenicia. Two are also attested for Parthian Babylonia, one near BABYLON (with the name of the city *agoranomos*) and one from SELEUKEIA on the Tigris (with the monogram of the *paraphylax,* the police chief).[38]

Papyri and Parchment. Papyri, and to a lesser degree ostraca, are, of course, widely found in Egypt. Needless to say, they are a vital source of information regarding settlements there.[39] In addition, over sixty Zenon papyri provide important information about Ptolemaic Syria and Phoenicia.[40] And the Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160) provides fragmentary information about ANTIOCH near Daphne following the death of Antiochos II. Occasionally, a few papyri and parchments will have survived elsewhere as well. A small number, for example, have been discovered at DOURA EUROPOS. However, practically all date to the Roman period.

The Red Sea Basin

We know about the Greek exploration of the Red Sea especially through the writings of Agatharchides—preserved by Strabo, Diodorus, and Photius—and Artemidorus—preserved by Strabo. Neither Agatharchides nor Artemi-

37. See the important discussion of Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 451–55 and 1431–32. See also *Fleischman Collection,* 200–205; Seyrig, *Scripta varia* (Paris, 1985) 375ff., 402ff.

38. A. Dumont, *RA* (1869) 191ff. (Babylon); McDowell, *SIOS,* 146, 256; and F. E. Brown, *AJA* 42 (1938) 617 (Seleukeia); see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 1431.

39. See below, pp. 16–17.

40. See Tcherikover, "Palestine," and Durand, *Palestine.*

dorus actually was an explorer; rather, both relied on the commentaries and reports of others. Nevertheless, their accounts are our primary source of information for the Ptolemaic settlement of the Red Sea coast. Other important sources include Pliny and the account of Eudoxus of Cyzicus (recounted by Strabo 2.3.4–5, quoting Posidonius).[41] First let us consider briefly the two major literary sources for the study of the Red Sea Basin: Agatharchides, *On the Erythraean Sea,* and Anon., *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea.*

We know very little about Agatharchides (c. 215–after 145 B.C.). None of his works has survived complete. What we do know is that he was from Knidos, that *On the Erythraean Sea* was his last work, and that it was written sometime before 100 B.C. Our three main sources of information about Agatharchides are Strabo, Photius, and Agatharchides himself. Strabo mentions that Agatharchides was a Peripatetic; Photius briefly refers to the life and works of Agatharchides in codex 213 of his *Bibliotheca*; and Agatharchides himself makes a few passing remarks in his *On the Erythraean Sea.*

No actual manuscript of *On the Erythraean Sea* has survived to the present day. By chance, a copy of the work survived in Constantinople until the ninth century A.D., when it was abridged by Photius. The three main sources for *On the Erythraean Sea* are Photius's *Bibliotheca,* codex 250 (ed. R. Henry, *Bibliothèque* VII [Paris, 1974]), which contains fifty-five pages of the work—twelve from the first book and forty-three from the fifth; Diodorus 3.39.12–48, which is derived directly from Agatharchides; and Strabo 16.4.5–20, which is taken indirectly—through Artemidorus of Ephesos—from Agatharchides. In all, possibly 20 percent of the original work is extant. Book 5, which survives almost complete, is a very important source for the history and ethnography of the Red Sea basin. It deals with, among other subjects, the African and Arabian coasts of the Red Sea and Yemen, as well as the people and natural phenomena found there.[42]

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* probably written between 40 and 70 A.D., is preserved in a mistake-ridden tenth-century Palatine manuscript at the University Library in Heidelberg (as well as in a fourteenth–fifteenth-century manuscript in the British Museum that is a copy of the Palatine MS). Unlike other *periploi,* which were primarily guides for seamen, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* was essentially a guide for merchants. It describes two trade

41. See also, for example, Thiel, *Eudoxus;* M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London, 1929) 98–105; Desanges, *Recherches,* 151–73; J. Rougé in *Arabie,* 59–74; J.-F. Salles in *Arabie,* 75–95.

42. For an English translation with introduction and commentary see S. M. Burstein, *Agatharchides of Cnidus, On the Erythraean Sea* (London, 1989); n.b., in the present work I cite Agatharchides according to Burstein's fragment numbers. See also T. S. Brown, *The Greek Historians* (Lexington, 1973) 190–94; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 539–50; L. P. Kirwan, *GJ* 147 (1981) 80–81; J. Desanges in *Geographica Historica,* 69–82.

routes from the Red Sea ports of Egypt: one to the east coast of Africa and one to India. The focus of the work is on trading information: products that could be bought or sold in various ports, names and ranks of local rulers, and so on. The author also often includes bits of information about the local population and local history as well as regional animals.[43]

In addition to the literary sources we find useful and important information in both papyri and inscriptions. From the inscriptional evidence, for example, we learn of the existence of a Ptolemaic official who was a "strategos (and epistrategos) of the Red Sea" (SB I 2264, V 8036; I. Philae 52, 53, 56). The Pithom Stele provides useful information about PTOLEMAIS Theron as well as about the canal connecting the Nile to the Red Sea; it also refers to the founding of PHILOTERA and ARSINOE (either Trogodytika or Kleopatris) by Ptolemy Philadelphos.[44] It is from inscriptions found at el-Kanaïs that we learn of the existence of a commercial road connecting BERENIKE Trogodytika to Edfu in the Ptolemaic period. From the papyri we glean information about the elephant and incense trade.[45]

Finally, archaeological excavation and surface survey has provided and continues to provide valuable information about a number of sites, including ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS, BERENIKE Trogodytika, BERENIKE (Ezion Geber), DIOSKORIDES, and MYOS HORMOS. In addition, survey work in the Eastern Desert, along with study and analysis of the ceramic evidence from sites along the various roads in the region, has added significant information to our knowledge of the area.[46]

Occasionally the extant physical evidence and the available literary sources apparently contradict each other. For example, the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (30), which, as noted above, probably dates to the first century A.D., men-

43. For a text see H. Frisk, *La Périple de la mer Érythrée* (Göteborg, 1927). For a translation (with Frisk's text on facing pages), introduction, and commentary see L. Casson, *The Periplus maris Erythraei* (Princeton, 1989). Other editions/translations and commentaries include Fabricius (Leipzig, 1883), Schoff (London, 1912), and Huntingford (London, 1980). See also Gervase Mathew, "The Date and Significance of the Periplus of the Erythraean Sea," in *East Africa and the Orient,* ed. H. N. Chittick and R. Rotberg (New York and London, 1975) 147–63; Potts, *Arabian Gulf,* 2: 313–17.

44. See ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS, PTOLEMAIS Theron, and references cited there.

45. In general see Préaux, *Économie,* 362–71; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 2–10; Desanges, *Recherches,* 298–300; Casson, *TAPA* 123 (1993) 247–60; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 119–217; U. Fantasia in *Profumi,* 395–412.

46. See especially H. T. Wright and S. Herbert, *Archaeological Survey in the Eastern Desert of Egypt: Report of the University of Michigan/University of Asiut Project to the Egyptian Antiquities Organization, December 1993* (http://rome.classics.lsa.umich.edu/projects/coptos/deserts.html); S. Sidebotham in *Berenike 1994,* 85–101; *Berenike 1995,* 357–409; *Rom. Front. Cong. XVI,* 503–9 (bibliography, 508–9); *Profumi* 385–93; Sidebotham and R. E. Zitterkopf, *Expedition* 37 (1995) 39–50.

tions Greeks among the inhabitants of the island of DIOSKORIDES in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, who lived in the sixth century A.D., the inhabitants of the island included colonists who were settled by the Ptolemies (3.65, ed. W. Wolska-Conus). On the other hand, an archaeological survey of the island has found no trace of any occupation earlier than the late Middle Ages. Another example: Strabo apparently says that the highway from BERENIKE Trogodytika to Koptos was built by Ptolemy II Philadelphos (17.1.4–5). But survey work on the lengthy northern part of the road has thus far failed to turn up any ceramic evidence earlier than the Roman period. Of course, in both these cases (and other instances), the contradiction may be more apparent than real and may well be resolved by future discoveries.

Egypt

No examination of Ptolemaic settlement foundation activity in Egypt can be removed from the question of the nature and extent of the available evidence. For the literary sources we turn especially to three authors who lived in the first century B.C. to the first century A.D.: Diodorus Siculus (second half of the first century B.C.–at least 21 A.D.), Strabo (64/3 B.C.–at least 21 A.D.), and Pliny (23/4–79 A.D.). Both Strabo (17.1.1–2.5) and Pliny (5.48–64) devoted considerable attention to Egypt.[47] They are particularly helpful with toponymic information relating to both the nomes and cities. However, their focus is primarily on the overall country, the Nile, and Alexandreia rather than the smaller, rural villages. Much of book 1 of Diodorus Siculus is devoted to Egypt (1.11–98). Among other subjects, Diodorus discussed Egyptian religion, the geography of the country (especially the Nile), the history of pharaonic Egypt (briefly), the construction of the Pyramids, and various Egyptian customs.[48]

Papyri are, of course, a rich and unique source of information for Ptolemaic Egypt. And the information they provide is quite different in nature from that found in inscriptions. Inscriptions usually record official civic or state decrees, treaties, and letters—that is, mainly political matters. Some inscriptions, such as funerary stones, reflect aspects of private life. But whether public or private, the documents recorded on inscribed stones are formal in nature. Papyri, in contrast, are generally informal. Furthermore, most of the surviving papyri are concerned with social and economic matters: they are private letters, bills, records, legal documents, and so on. Many have survived only because they were used as mummy wrapping or because they were

47. For Strabo on Egypt see especially Yoyotte, Charvet, and Gompertz, *Strabon.*
48. See F. Chamoux in *Égypte et Grèce,* 37–50.

thrown in garbage dumps and thus preserved in the dry sand. Most of the papyri published thus far are Greek. To some degree they present an inaccurate picture of the total population. After all, a large native Egyptian population lived alongside the Greeks, Macedonians, Thracians, and others. Nevertheless, we note that Egyptian names often appear in the Greek papyri. Furthermore, the ongoing and future publication of demotic documents will undoubtedly provide a better picture of the Egyptian population.[49]

It is also important to bear in mind other limitations of the papyrological evidence, in particular the discontinuity—both chronological and geographic—of the surviving documents.[50] The chronological distribution is very uneven. Very few papyri survive from the reign of Ptolemy I and the first ten years of the reign of Ptolemy II. We begin to find texts in the late 270s B.C. Then, from c. 259 to 215 B.C., there is an abundance. Subsequently the number of surviving papyri diminishes significantly until the middle of the second century B.C. For the end of the second century there is a good supply of papyri from the Fayum; for the first century, a smaller supply. In addition, we may call on the information contained in ostraca (usually tax receipts, in both Greek and demotic). Finally, it is well to recall that except for a relatively small number of archives, a majority of the surviving papyri in fact date from the Roman rather than the Ptolemaic period. In 1981, for example, Deborah Samuel estimated there were approximately 1,000 extant papyri that had a connection with Soknopaiou Nesos and that all but 25 of these were from the Roman period.[51]

If the chronological distribution is scattered and incomplete, so is the geographic. The Fayum—the Hellenistic Arsinoite nome—has been a rich source of papyri. On the other hand, no documents have been found at ALEXANDREIA near Egypt. Papyri from Alexandreia that have survived are simply those that were carried up-country. Some documents survive from various places in Middle Egypt; the same is true for the Thebaid. Finally, the negative may perhaps be balanced by two observations made by Eric Turner: (a) many papyri are still unpublished, and (b) over the last half century demotic studies have made—and continue to make—significant progress. In short, there is still much work to be done and much information to be unlocked.

I referred earlier to the information usually provided by inscriptions. In fact, relatively few Greek inscriptions have been found in Egypt. For exam-

49. In general see E. G. Turner, *Greek Papyri: An Introduction* (Oxford, 1980); R. S. Bagnall, *Reading Papyri, Writing Ancient History* (London and New York, 1995); M. Depauw, *A Companion to Demotic Studies* (Brussels, 1997).

50. See Préaux, *Économie,* 9–23; E. G. Turner in *CAH*^{2}, 7:1, 118–19.

51. *Pap. Cong. XVI,* 391.

ple, E. Bernand noted that 217 Greek inscriptions had been found in the Fayum. By comparison, he asked rhetorically, "Who can count the thousands of papyri found there?" Most of the inscriptions thus far discovered are either dedications or funerary monuments. The dedications, in particular, provide useful information about religious life in the Fayum.[52]

Archaeology, which has yielded such important results for the Hellenistic historian in other parts of the Middle East, has been particularly disappointing for the historian of Ptolemaic Egypt.[53] In Ptolemaic Egypt archaeology has been concerned primarily with searching and digging for papyri or excavating temples and cemeteries rather than uncovering towns or villages.[54] Of the forty nome capitals and the thousands of villages of Greco-Roman Egypt, not one has been completely excavated. Furthermore, sebbakh diggers have destroyed the centers of many villages. And the excavated ruins often deteriorate quickly, either because the buildings were made of mud-brick or because of poor conservation or climatic conditions.[55] F. W. Kelsey's remarks in 1927 provide a snapshot of what has happened in Egypt: "Malheureusement, les ruines des villes gréco-romaines de l'Égypte sont en train de disparaître rapidement. Il ne m'appartient pas d'expliquer comment les besoins de la fertilisation du sol ont donné lieu au dépouillement systématique des lieux anciens, par les chercheurs de sebbakh ou terre azotée. Un simple exemple suffira. En 1914 on signalait encore l'emplacement de l'antique Arsinoë, ou Crocodilopolis, dans le Fayoum, marquée par 'des monceaux de décombres, couvrant 560 arpents et s'élevant à une hauteur de 65 pieds'. En 1920, je ne vis plus qu'un vestige du monceau primitif; il couvrait à peine un hectare, et on le déblayait rapidement: en six mois, ce dernier vestige avait disparu."[56] Other sites have been incompletely excavated and only partially published. Finally, in some areas the Nile River has changed its course, generally moving eastward. The result is that the sites of many an-

52. G. Wagner in *L'epigrafia,* 117–35, esp. 108–10; and J. Bingen in *L'epigrafia,* 116. For the inscriptions from the Fayum we have the useful three-volume collection, organized geographically by Fayum division, that was published by E. Bernand, *Recueil des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum,* I, *La méris d'Hérakleides;* II, *La méris de Thémistos;* III, *La méris de Polémon* (Leiden, 1975, 1981). In general, see Bernand, "Le corpus des inscriptions grecques de l'Égypte," *ZPE* 26 (1977) 95–117; id., *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie: Répertoire bibliographique des "OGIS"* (Paris, 1982); id., *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie: Répertoire bibliographique des "IGRR"* (Paris, 1983); see also id., *Inscriptions grecques d'Egypte et de Nubie au Musée du Louvre* (Paris, 1992); for the various *corpora* see the collections cited in *Guide de l'épigraphiste*^{2}, nos. 315–26.

53. For an annual review of archaeological work in Egypt and the Sudan see, for example, J. Leclant and G. Clerc in *Orientalia;* see also fieldwork reports in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*

54. See, for example, Nowicka, *Maison,* 10–11; R. S. Bagnall, *JRA* 1 (1988) 197–201.

55. Nowicka, *Maison,* 10.

56. *CRAI* (1927) 81–82 and *CE* (1927) 78–79.

cient villages are no longer recoverable. Thus H. S. Smith observed regarding excavated dynastic settlements in the Nile valley: "The majority of the population lived then as now on the alluvial flood-plain, but for practical reasons excavators have mainly examined sites on the desert edges outside the alluvium. Work on sites within the alluvium has tended to be concentrated on major building complexes, especially temples; these were made of stone, and therefore survived the ravages of the annual inundation, digging for fertiliser *(sebbakh),* and continuous occupation better than the civil buildings of mud-brick." As a result, Smith correctly noted, the archaeological evidence provides "an uneven and inadequate basis for assessing the nature and variety of Egyptian urban organization."[57] Despite this depressing litany, archaeology has yielded some precious few bits of information. Furthermore, new initiatives to conduct surface surveys hold out hope for productive finds in the future. In fact, as a result of recent survey work we now know that in addition to the Fayum villages of Philadelpheia and Dionysias, Tali was also laid out on a grid plan.[58] What we would like to know, of course, is how many more were similarly planned?

The numismatic evidence for Ptolemaic Egypt is of relatively little help to the historian trying to reconstruct the history of the *chora.* There was, of course, an extensive minting of Ptolemaic royal coinage. On the other hand, it will not be surprising that in an economy as highly centralized as that found in Ptolemaic Egypt, and in a kingdom with so few *poleis,* the local minting of coins was not tolerated. Furthermore, as I have already mentioned, very few Hellenistic sites in the *chora* have been excavated. Finally, in the few sites that have been excavated and have yielded coins, most date to Roman imperial times. At Karanis, for example, over 30,000 coins have been discovered; the vast majority are of Roman date. Nevertheless, approximately 50 Ptolemaic coins, mainly bronzes, have been recovered. The earliest coins are of Ptolemy II.[59] The publishers of the coins, R. A. Haatvedt and E. E. Peterson, have suggested that the small number of Ptolemaic coins may be the result of the destruction of the central and oldest section of the town by *sebbakh* diggers before the University of Michigan excavations began.[60]

57. In *Man, Settlement, and Urbanism,* ed. P. J. Ucko, R. Tringham, and G. W. Dimbleby (London, 1970) 705.

58. For Philadelpheia see P. Viereck, *Philadelpheia,* 7–10; Davoli, *Fayyum,* 140–41. For Dionysias see J. Schwartz and H. Wild, *Fouilles franco-suisses, Rapport I: Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias, 1948* (Cairo, 1950) 6 and pl. II; J. Schwartz, *Fouilles franco-suisses, Rapport II: Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias, 1958* (Cairo, 1969) 6 and pl. I. For Tali see Davoli, *Fayyum,* 268–69; C. Kirby, *EA* 8 (1996) 29–30.

59. See R. A. Haatvedt and E. E. Peterson, *Coins from Karanis* (Ann Arbor, 1964) 1–2, 99–106, nos. 1–52.

60. We find a similar situation at other sites. Thus at Bakchias Hogarth and Grenfell reported discovering three amphorae that contained 4,421 coins. Of these, only 2—"too much

Ceramic evidence can provide information about trade and commerce. For example, a Thasian amphora handle dating to before 350 B.C. and five Rhodian amphora handles dating to the third century B.C., found at Krokodilopolis in the Arsinoite nome, indicate contact with the Aegean basin.[61]

As one can see, the question of whether or not the Ptolemies actively founded settlements throughout Egypt is linked to the question of the nature and extent of the available evidence. As already mentioned, many papyri but few inscriptions survive from the Fayum. The numerous papyri have yielded the names of thousands of towns, villages, and smaller hamlets throughout Egypt. Most of these were too small to be noted by Strabo or Pliny or to produce inscriptions; furthermore, they could not have minted their own coins. Nevertheless, thanks to the papyri, we know of their existence and, in some cases, their location, even if we know little else.

In contrast to Ptolemaic Egypt, our primary sources of evidence for Hellenistic settlements in Asia Minor and Syria are literary notices, coins, weights, and inscriptions. At the same time, practically no papyrological evidence has survived from these areas. The nature of the evidence generally means that we will often know about larger urban centers in the latter regions. Put another way, it is quite probable there were many Hellenistic village settlements, for example, in Syria, and equally probable that most of them have disappeared from history. Undoubtedly they are unknown to us because they neither minted coins nor weights nor produced inscriptions and were too small to be noticed, for example, by ancient geographers or ethnographers. That said, I would note that there are occasional exceptions. Thus we know of a group of rural settlements of Macedonians in Lydia in the second century B.C. only from dedications recorded in inscriptions that were made by the settlers. In short, when studying any region it is useful and salutary to bear in mind both the type of evidence available and the limitations of that evidence.

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worn for certain identification"—were Ptolemaic. See Hogarth and Grenfell, *Archaeological Report: Egypt Exploration Fund* (1895–1896), 17; Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *P. Fayum,* pp. 65–68. At Soknopaiou Nesos, of 95 coins found by the University of Michigan excavation only 3 are Ptolemaic; see R. A. Haatvedt in Boak, *Soknopaiou Nesos,* 37–47. Finally, all of the coins discovered at the site of Dionysias date from the Roman period. See J. Schwartz, *Fouilles . . . 1948,* 39–48, 87; *Fouilles . . . 1950,* 123. In general see Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins;* Svoronos, *Nomismata.*

61. See J. Bingen, *CE* (1955) 130–33.

A Geographic Overview

NORTHERN SYRIA

Syria is bounded on the north by Cilicia and Mt. Amanus. . . . It is bounded on the east by the Euphrates and by the Arabian Scenitae this side the Euphrates; and on the south by Arabia Felix and Aegypt; and on the west by the Aegyptian and Syrian Seas as far as Issus. We set down as parts of Syria, beginning at Cilicia and Mt. Amanus, both Commagene and the Seleucis of Syria . . . then Coele-Syria and last, on the seaboard, Phoenicia, and in the interior, Judaea. Some writers divide Syria as a whole into Coelo-Syrians and Syrians and Phoenicians.

STRABO 16.2.1–2 (TRANS. JONES)

Syria consists of a long narrow strip of fertile land, stretching from the Taurus down to the confines of Egypt, and bounded by the Mediterranean on the west and the Arabian desert on the east. This strip is divided in a number of parallel zones. Next the sea is a coastal plain, as a rule very narrow, but widening out in Palestine. Behind this are two parallel mountain ranges, separated by a cleft along which two principal rivers run from a central watershed, the Jordan southwards into the Dead Sea, the Orontes northwards till it breaks through the western chain into the Mediterranean. These two mountain ranges attain their greatest height at their centres, where they form the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. To the north and south of these summits they sink and spread out into broad areas of highland. Thus the Bargylus and Amanus ranges, and the mountains of Galilee and Judaea form the northern and southern extensions of the Lebanon. The whole forms a well-defined chain but is broken by several gaps, that between the Amanus and the Bargylus through which the Orontes makes its way to the sea, that between the Bargylus and the Lebanon cut by the Eleutherus river, and, the most important of them all, the plain of Esdraelon between the Galilean and Judean highlands. . . . Beyond the mountains comes the desert, bounding Syria on the east from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, and sweeping round in the south to the shore of the Mediterranean.

A. H. M. JONES, *CERP*², 226

For the Greeks and Macedonians of the fourth century and the Hellenistic period the Tauros Mountains constituted a major frontier, separating Asia Minor from Syria. Numerous references to "this side of the Tauros" and "beyond the Tauros" in the literary and epigraphic sources make this quite clear. For example, a decree of Ilion in honor of Antiochos I mentions that the king had come to the regions "on this side of the Tauros" (*OGIS* 219.13 = *Lancia*² no. 7, *ἐπιτάδε τοῦ Ταύρου*). The Smyrnaian decree of c. 243 B.C. says that Seleukos II had "crossed over" (i.e., the Tauros) into Seleukis in Syria (*OGIS* 229.12–13). In his description of Achaios's usurpation of Asia Minor, Polybius (4.2.6; 4.48.10, 12; 5.40.7; 5.77.1; 8.20.11) refers frequently to the territory "this side of the Tauros" and to the crossing of the Tauros. Further on, Polybius (11.34.15) alludes to Antiochos III having brought under his control cities and dynasts "on this side of the Tauros." Elsewhere Polybius (21.21.7) quotes Eumenes III who referred to the possibility of the Romans retaining control of various parts of Asia "this side of the Tauros." The decree of Teos awarding divine honors to Antiochos III and Laodike mentions that the king had previously been in the region "beyond the Tauros" (Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 [1965] 34, B.9 = Ma, *Antiochos III,* no. 17). An inscription found in Mysia records a letter of Antiochos III to Zeuxis, dated to 209 B.C., regarding the appointment of a high priest of all the sanctuaries beyond the Tauros Mountains (H. Malay, *EA* 10 [1987] 7–15 = *SEG* 37: 1010 = *Iscrizioni . . . della Bibbia,* 5 = Ma, *Antiochos III,* no. 4 = *Lancia*² no. 9). A decree found at Euromos in Caria and dated to 197 B.C. gives the official title of Zeuxis as *ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐπιτάδε τοῦ Ταύρου πραγμάτων.*[1] The Peace of Apameia specified that Antiochos III was to vacate all of Asia Minor "on this side of the Tauros" (Livy 38.38.4). In describing the revolt of Diodotos Tryphon and the spread of piracy in the second century B.C. Strabo remarks (14.5.2) that at the time the Romans were not much concerned with affairs "beyond the Tauros" and that the Armenians controlled territory "outside the Tauros" as far as Phoenicia. For the Greeks and Macedonians of the Aegean basin, Asia, that is, Asia Minor, extended to the Tauros Mountains or Cilicia; thus Isocrates (*Philip* 120) advised Philip to conquer and colonize "Asia, as they say, from Cilicia to Sinope." Beyond the Tauros and Cilicia lay Syria.[2]

1. M. Errington, *EA* 8 (1986) 1–7 = *SEG* 36: 973; the discovery of this inscription, incidentally, confirmed H. Bengtson's hypothesis about the title; see *Strategie,* 2: 104–15; J. Robert and L. Robert, *Amyzon,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1983) 178; PHILIPPOI Euromos.

2. For Syria in the Hellenistic period see, for example, Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.*; Jones, *CERP*², 236–55; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 48 (1970) 290–311; Millar in *Hellenism,* 110–33; D. Musti, *SCO* 15 (1966) 61–111, esp. 61–81; id. in *CAH*², 7: 175–204; M. Sartre in *Archéologie,* 31–44 (bibliog-

Henri Seyrig observed that, based on the available evidence, it would appear that northern Syria was mainly rural in the period before the arrival of Alexander. Thus, according to Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.4.9), when Cyrus the Younger was in Syria in 400 B.C., the villages he saw belonged to the Persian queen. They were on royal land and undoubtedly remained so until the Macedonians arrived.[3] However, Maurice Sartre has correctly noted that our knowledge of Syria in the Hellenistic period is adversely affected by the fact that we know practically nothing about the region when it was under Achaemenid rule. In short, we should not consider Syria to have been a *terra deserta* simply because it is *terra incognita*.[4] The relative paucity of information about Syria continues into the Hellenistic period.[5]

I have noted elsewhere that there is no firm evidence for foundations of Alexander in Asia Minor.[6] When we cross the Tauros Mountains the situation begins to change. The modification, however, is slight. We have no evidence for any major foundation in Syria that can definitely be attributed to the Macedonian king; Alexander's first great settlement was, of course, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt. After that, we must wait until he had moved east of the Tigris River; it is there, of course, that we find practically all of the Alexandreias founded by him. In Appendix II I have discussed the various settlements in Syria that have been attributed to Alexander. Most can be dismissed and need not be mentioned here. On the other hand, there are a number of cases where Alexander's actions are reasonably beyond doubt. Thus after he besieged and destroyed the city of TYRE, he rebuilt and repopulated it. At GAZA he sold the women and children into slavery and then repopulated the city with people from the surrounding countryside. In contrast to the repopulation of these two cities we may consider Alexander's actions at SAMAREIA. There he founded a military colony and used Macedonian settlers to populate it. As far as we know, this was the first Macedonian military colony established by Alexander.

It was Antigonos who founded the first major settlement in Syria, namely, ANTIGONEIA. The city was quite large; according to Diodorus (20.47.5) it had a perimeter of over 70 stades. Undoubtedly Antigonos established other settlements or garrisons in the area; unfortunately, the evidence does not allow us to attribute definitely any other foundation to him.[7]

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raphy on pp. 43–44); A. Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator,* 1: 207ff.; id. in *Hellenismos,* 99–109; P. Leriche in *Sociétés,* 58–79; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria.*

3. *Syria* 47 (1970) 301.

4. In *Hellenismos,* 430.

5. See above, p. 3.

6. *Settlements in Europe,* 420–23.

7. Billows has suggested (*Antigonos,* 298–99) that Antigonos was actually quite active in Syria and that he also founded ALEXANDREIA by Issos, PELLA (the later APAMEIA on the Axios) and Hydatos Potamoi (the later SELEUKEIA in Pieria).

Prior to 301 B.C. Seleukos Nikator ruled Babylonia and various other eastern regions. The victory at Ipsos in 301 gave him control of northern Syria and, hence for the first time, access to the Mediterranean. J. D. Grainger has correctly sketched the difficult situation Seleukos faced in Syria after the battle of Ipsos and provided a convincing argument for the strategic and political background to the settlement foundings in Syria.[8] In the first place, Seleukos had to deal with Ptolemy I Soter, who had seized control of southern Syria and Phoenicia. Seleukos did not fight the Egyptian king, but he did not give up his claim either (Diodorus 21.5). Thus were planted the seeds of the conflict—the so-called Syrian Wars—that erupted intermittently throughout the third century B.C. Syria was now essentially partitioned; the northern part was Seleucid, the southern part was Ptolemaic. The boundary was usually the Eleutheros River.[9]

In the part of Syria that he now controlled Seleukos faced serious threats to his security. To the north, Pleistarchos, Kassandros's brother, held Cilicia. Farther west, Lysimachos held western and central Asia Minor. In Syria itself Seleukos inherited a region that had been ruled by Antigonos I Monophthalmos. The Greeks and Macedonians he had settled there could be expected to retain loyalty to his son, Demetrios Poliorketes. Demetrios, meanwhile, still had a fleet in the eastern Mediterranean as well as a base at Tyre, on Cyprus, and possibly at Arados as well. In short, Seleukos faced hostile neighbors on his northern and southern flanks and on the sea to the west. And in Syria itself he inherited territory whose settlers were of doubtful loyalty. The establishment of settlements was clearly vital if Seleukos was to maintain his hold on the area.[10] Not surprisingly, he acted swiftly. In the year following Ipsos, according to Malalas (8.199 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), he founded SELEUKEIA in Pieria and ANTIOCH near Daphne within a month's time. He probably founded APAMEIA on the Axios in the period 301–299 B.C. Presumably LAODIKEIA by the Sea was also founded around the same time. In fact, Seleucid settlement of northern Syria was so intense that the area was known as Seleukis (Strabo 16.2.4).[11]

Access from the coast to the interior was via a number of passes and two river valleys, those of the Orontes and the Eleutheros. As the Eleutheros formed the boundary between Seleucid and Ptolemaic Syria for much of the third century, the Orontes became a major thoroughfare for Seleucid travel

8. *Seleukid Syria,* 54.

9. On the "Syrian question" see, for example, A. Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 501–19.

10. See, for example, Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 478; Mehl in *Hellenismos,* 99–102.

11. On the term "Seleukis" see the important discussion of D. Musti, *SCO* 15 (1966) 61–81; and below.

into the interior. Secondary access routes originated at ALEXANDREIA by Issos and LAODIKEIA by the Sea.[12]

In general we may distinguish three broad areas in northern Syria that were colonized by the Macedonians: (a) along the coast, (b) along the Orontes River, and (c) in the interior toward the Euphrates.

i. Unlike the Phoenician coast, which was in the hands of the Ptolemies, the Syrian coast has very few natural harbors. Seyrig has demonstrated that Seleukos Nikator effected a fundamental change in northern Syria by building artificial harbors at SELEUKEIA in Pieria and LAODIKEIA by the Sea. This made possible the development and exploitation of the coastal region and the settlements in the interior.[13]

   The Seleucid hold on the coast of northern Syria was intermittently interrupted during the latter half of the third century by Ptolemaic incursions. Thus in 246, during the Third Syrian War, the Ptolemies captured SELEUKEIA in Pieria and retained control until 219 B.C. Furthermore, archaeological excavation has brought to our attention the existence of at least one previously unknown Ptolemaic settlement on the coast, at RAS IBN HANI.

ii. The Orontes River flows northward through Syria, then turns westward near Antioch and empties into the Mediterranean. The Seleucids were particularly active in settling the region along or near the Orontes as it flows northward; there we find ANTIOCH, APAMEIA, LYSIAS, LARISA, ARETHOUSA, and EPIPHANEIA (and possibly SELEUKEIA near Belos and LAODIKEIA near Libanos as well). The westward course of the lower Orontes as it flows into the Mediterranean provided access from the coast to the interior. In fact, it is likely that Ps.-Scylax meant the Orontes when he referred to the *Thapsakos* River.[14] If this is so, it would reflect the fact that the river valley was the beginning of the caravan route to the Euphrates crossing at Thapsakos.

iii. It is important to bear in mind that the Syrian Desert is roughly triangular in shape and that it is most narrow in the north. It is in this area, that is, in northern Syria, that the Euphrates is closest to the Mediterranean. In the Hellenistic period trade routes from the Mediterranean to Mesopotamia did not cross the desert. Rather they arched northward following the Fertile Crescent and reached the Euphrates at either SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates or Thapsakos. The settlements in the interior east of the

12. See map XXXVI in Tchalenko, *Villages,* 2.

13. Seyrig in *Role of the Phoenicians in the Interaction of Mediterranean Civilizations,* ed. W. A. Ward (Beirut, 1968) 53–63; id., *Syria* 47 (1970) 290–311.

14. 102 = *GGM,*1: 77; see Müller's discussion; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 17.

Amanos and Bargylos mountains were built on these roads: foundations such as CHALKIS, KYRRHOS, DOLICHE, BEROIA, and HIERAPOLIS were clearly intended to protect these lines of communication.

One of the interesting phenomena of Hellenistic colonization is the differentiation in nomenclature for the settlements of Asia Minor and Asia. Dynastic names are, of course, found throughout Asia Minor as toponyms. On the other hand, as far as we know, none of the settlements in western and central Asia Minor were given the names of cities from Greece and Macedonia; and this, despite the extensive evidence for Macedonian settlement in the region and for claims of Greek and Macedonian descent by the settlers. Proceeding eastward, the first such example—as far as I know—that one encounters of a settlement with a Greek or Macedonian town name is AIGEAI in eastern Cilicia. Geographically, at that point, we are beyond the Tauros Mountains and practically in Syria. In fact it is only when we reach Syria and move to points farther east that settlements with Greek and Macedonian town names begin to proliferate.

Appian was aware of this. In his enumeration of cities founded by Seleukos I Nikator (*Syr.* 57) Appian says that the king chose some names from his own exploits, some in honor of Alexander, and some from Greece and Macedonia. As a result, he says, in Syria and in the Upper Satrapies there are many names of Greek and Macedonian towns. He then proceeds to give examples: Beroia, Edessa, Perinthos, Maroneia, Kallipolis, Achaia, Pella, Oropos, Amphipolis, Arethousa, Astakos, Tegea, Chalkis, Larisa, Heraia, Apollonia.

Despite this information, we must proceed with caution. While most Greek and Macedonian toponyms of Hellenistic settlements can be safely attributed to a similarly named town or region in Europe, there are cases where the town name, although apparently Greco-Macedonian, owes its origin to its similarity to a local name (or, in some cases, translation of a local name).[15] The difficulty, of course, is distinguishing the various categories. Megara in Syria is a good example. It is mentioned by Strabo (16.2.10) but does not appear in Appian's list. R. Dussaud, followed by E. Frézouls and J. D. Grainger, suggested that the name is simply the Hellenizing of a Semitic toponym rather than a conscious use of the toponym from the Greek mainland.[16] The linguistic argument in favor of this interpretation is quite plain: *ma'ara* → *megaron* → Megara. The frequency with which the Semitic toponym Ma'ara is found in the region of Apameia today tends to support Dussaud's contention. Strabo (16.2.10) explicitly says that PELLA in northern Syria was named for the Macedonian city. On the other hand, it is possible the

15. In general see Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 219–48; id. in *Hellenismos,* 311–23; and A. Bousdroukis in *Syrie,* 9–24.

16. Dussaud, *Topographie,* 204; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 226; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 42–44.

colonists chose the (Macedonian) name PELLA for the settlement in southern Syria because of its similarity to the native name—Pahil or Pihil—for the place.[17] A suggestion has been made that ANTHEDON in southern Syria was simply the Grecizing of the native ʿAin Teda. In short, there are no ironclad rules in toponymy. Each Greco-Macedonian city name must be considered separately. As with so many other aspects of the study of Hellenistic colonies, we are severely limited by the fragmentary nature of the evidence. If, for example, Appian had included Megara in his list of Seleukos's cities the argument supporting a Semitic antecedent for the name would disappear or would be severely weakened.

Having said this, we should nevertheless bring back into focus Appian's claim, and note that in addition to being applied to settlements, Greek and Macedonian toponyms were also given to regions of northern Syria and Mesopotamia. Thus the coastal region of Syria was called Pieria in imitation of the coastal area of Macedonia. The regions between Mount Amanos and the Euphrates were known as Cyrrhestice and Chalcidice, and the area beyond the Euphrates in Mesopotamia was called Mygdonia.

In Appendix III I have given the names of European towns that may have been the source for the toponyms adopted by settlements in Syria, Phoenicia, and Palestine. As one can see, the same toponym will frequently appear in a number of regions. Nevertheless, we may note in passing that settlement names of Thracian, Macedonian, and Thessalian origin tend to predominate. Undoubtedly this reflects the background of the settlers. Incidentally, the (practically complete) absence of Attic toponyms is noticeable. Presumably this reflects the absence of Athenians among the Hellenistic settlers in the region. The argument is negative, but worth considering. Having said that, we may note that Malalas (8.201) claimed the founding population of ANTIGONEIA (which subsequently moved to ANTIOCH) consisted of Athenians and Macedonians. We would, of course, expect the latter to have been a major component of the founding population. As for the former, we may wonder if Malalas's claim reflected civic boasting rather than historical fact.

Although most of the settlements in Syria were founded by Seleukos I,

17. In general one has to be careful about drawing conclusions from the names of towns or places. Many times, of course, the toponym may reflect a historical event or person. Occasionally, however, the name may simply reflect a local (mis)pronunciation. Thus the town Marazion or Market Jew in Cornwall; the toponym has nothing to do with either Jews or Zion but is apparently connected with the old Cornish word for market, "marghas" (*Blue Guide England* [London, 1972] 227). In London, we find the traffic circle "Elephant and Castle," named after a former tavern. In fact it would appear that the name has nothing to with elephants or castles but rather reflects the English pronunciation of "Infanta of Castile." Charing Cross in London has nothing to do with a char or charring; rather, it is apparently the English pronunciation of "Chère reine" cross, a reference to the Eleanor Crosses set up by Edward I.

some were founded by his successors. For example, Seleukos II and Antiochos IV Epiphanes built quarters at ANTIOCH. EPIPHANEIA was probably founded by Epiphanes. And Damascus may have been refounded as a DEMETRIAS by Demetrios III at the end of the second/beginning of the first century B.C.

The last century of the Seleucid empire was marked by practically continuous disintegration. It is a sad story of pressure from without, and civil strife and chaos from within. Thus the Hasmonean revolt in the second quarter of the second century B.C. freed Judaea from effective Seleucid control. Commagene, which had apparently been brought under Seleucid rule by Antiochos III, fell away by the mid-second century. Furthermore, the defeat of Antiochos VII Sidetes by the Parthians in 129 B.C. resulted in the permanent loss of Seleucid territory in the east. After that, northern Syria did continue under Seleucid rule. But even there royal control was intermittent and only partial at best. For example, it would appear that in the first part of the first century B.C. BEROIA was the center of a small breakaway principality in northeast Syria. At ANTIOCH near Daphne the inhabitants invited Tigranes of Armenia to assume rule over them on the death of Philip I in 84/3 B.C.[18] This he did, and remained in power until 69 B.C. Finally, in 64 B.C. Pompey took the whole region under Roman protection.

CYRRHESTICE AND CHALCIDICE

I have mentioned that Cyrrhestice and Chalcidice were the names of regions in northern Seleucid Syria. It is not clear whether the terms Cyrrhestice and Chalcidice were originally used to refer to geographic areas or administrative districts. This question is, in turn, connected with the precise extent of Seleukis. According to a problematic passage in Strabo,

> *ἡ δὲ Σελευκὶς ἀρίστη μέν ἐστι τῶν λεχθεισῶν μερίδων, καλεῖται δὲ Τετράπολις καί ἐστι κατὰ τὰς ἐξεχούσας ἐν αὐτῇ πόλεις, ἐπεὶ πλείους γέ εἰσι μέγισται δὲ τέτταρες, Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ καὶ Σελεύλεια ἡ ἐν Πιερίᾳ καὶ Ἀπάμεια δὲ καὶ Λαοδίκεια . . . οἰκείως δὲ τῇ τετραπόλει καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διῄρητο τέτταρας ἡ Σελευκίς, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος, εἰς ὅσας καὶ ἡ Κοίλη Συρία, εἰς μίαν δ' ἡ Μεσοποταμία. ἔστι δ' ἡ μὲν Ἀντιόχεια καὶ αὐτὴ τετράπολις, ἐκ τεττάρων συνεστῶσα μερῶν.* (16.2.4)

> Seleucis not only is the best of the above mentioned portions of Syria, but also is called, and is, a Tetrapolis, owing to the outstanding cities in it, for it has several. But the largest are four: Antiocheia near Daphne, Seleuceia in Pieria, and also Apameia and Laodiceia. . . . Appropriately to the Tetrapolis Seleucis was also divided into four satrapies, as Poseidonius says, the same number into

18. On the question of the date of the assumption of power by Tigranes see ANTIOCH near Daphne.

which Coele-Syria was divided, though Mesopotamia formed only one satrapy. Antiocheia is likewise a Tetrapolis, since it consists of four parts. (trans. Jones)

There are essentially three schools of thought regarding Seleukis and its component regions: (a) Seleukis was a large area that included much or all of Cyrrhestice as well as satrapies centered on ANTIOCH, SELEUKEIA, LAODIKEIA, and APAMEIA;[19] (b) Cyrrhestice was not part of Seleukis but was either a separate satrapy or a part of Mesopotamia;[20] (c) Cyrrhestice was a satrapy that was part of Seleukis; the other satrapies in Seleukis were Chalcidice and two centered respectively around ANTIOCH and APAMEIA.[21]

The exact boundaries of Cyrrhestice and Chalcidice are not clearly defined, and we can only attempt to sketch their extent. Roughly, the two areas covered the land between the Amanos Mountains and the Euphrates. Cyrrhestice was bounded on the north by Cilicia and Commagene and on the south by Chalcidice.[22] The very names given to the areas and the toponyms of some of the settlements there—for example, BEROIA, CHALKIS, GINDAROS, KYRRHOS, MARONEIA—undoubtedly reflect the Macedonian and northern Greek origins of many of the settlers.[23] The extant infor-

19. E.g., Beloch, *GG*^{2}, 4.2: 356; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. *Κυρρηστική*; Bickerman, *IS,* 201; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW* 478, 1436 n. 265.

20. E.g., Niese, *GMS,* 2: 94; Bevan, *Seleucus,* 1: 208; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 46–48.

21. Jones, *CERP*^{2}, 241–42; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 40–41; and the important discussions of E. Frézouls in *AAS* 4–5 (1954–55) 93–94, *MUSJ* 37 (1961) 223–34, and *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 164–73. Briefly, Jones questioned Strabo's description of Seleukis and the four satrapies Strabo says were in it. He noted that "an examination of the map, however, shows that it cannot have been true, for all the four cities of the tetrapolis are crowded into one corner of the Seleucis. The explanation probably is that the words 'correspondingly to the tetrapolis' are not quoted from Poseidonius, but are an inference by Strabo—the Seleucis was often known as the tetrapolis from its four great cities, Poseidonius says it was divided into four satrapies, therefore each of the four cities was the capital of a satrapy. All that was known from Poseidonius is, then, that Seleucid Syria was divided into four satrapies. An inscription shows that one of these had its capital at Apamea. It is *a priori* highly probable that Antioch was the capital of another. The other two probably comprised the eastern part of Syria. One was fairly certainly Cyrrhestice. . . . The other might be Chalcidice." Frézouls agreed with Jones that Cyrrhestice was a part of Seleukis. He also suggested (if I understand him correctly) that *οἰκείως δὲ τῇ τετραπόλει καὶ εἰς σατραπείας διῄρητο τέτταρας ἡ Σελευκίς* could be translated as "in conformity/accord with the Tetrapolis Seleukis was divided into four satrapies"; i.e., it is unlikely that Strabo wanted to establish between the cities of the Tetrapolis and the four satrapies a connection as definite as that of capital to province, and, hence, that one need not invoke Strabo in order to identify the capitals of the satrapies with the cities of the Tetrapolis.

22. See, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. *Κυρρηστική*; Frézouls, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 164–68. Note, however, that it is uncertain whether Cyrrhestice extended as far westward as the Amanos Mountains. Thus Ptolemy (5.14.11) placed GINDAROS in Seleukis, whereas Strabo (16.2.8) located it in Cyrrhestice; see further, Frézouls, 164.

23. We see the same phenomenon, incidentally, in Mygdonia in northern Mesopotamia.

mation indicates that many of these settlements were attributed to Seleukos I Nikator. Most were built on east-west roads connecting the Mediterranean with the Euphrates, and most were only of moderate size. For example, Strabo (16.2.7) described HERAKLEIA, HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, and BEROIA as "towns" (*πολίχνια*). Finally, on the banks of the middle Euphrates there were a number of towns, the most prominent of which were DOURA EUROPOS and the settlement at JEBEL KHALID.

In 221 B.C., according to Polybius (5.50.7), a mutiny in the Seleucid army broke out at APAMEIA on the Axios; among the mutineers were 6,000 Cyrrhestai. It is most likely that Polybius meant the inhabitants of the region rather than the citizens of the city.[24] If this is correct, the reference would provide some indication of the number of soldiers that could be recruited from the region. It would also suggest that the Cyrrhestians served as a distinct unit in the army.[25]

There is evidence for the worship of Athena Cyrrhestis; unfortunately, it is not clear precisely where the temple was located. At the very least, the goddess's epithet suggests a communal or possibly a regional worship.[26]

We know rather little about Chalcidice. Roughly, it was bounded on the west by the valley of the Orontes, on the north by Cyrrhestice, on the east by the Euphrates, and on the south by Palmyrene. Pliny (*NH* 5.81), who said it took its name from CHALKIS on Belos, described it as very fertile.[27]

COMMAGENE

Commagene was bounded on the west by Cilicia, on the north by Cappadocia, on the east by the Euphrates and Mesopotamia, and on the south by Cyrrhestice.[28] Strabo (16.2.3) mentioned the fertility of its soil, and in the first century A.D. both Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.81) and Josephus (*BJ* 5.461) alluded to its prosperity.[29] For many of the ancients it was linked with Mesopotamia; thus

24. See KYRRHOS, n. 8.

25. Frézouls in *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 174.

26. See KYRRHOS; and Frézouls (*ANRW* 2:8 [1977] 174–75), who suggested an analogy with sanctuaries in Asia Minor that served as the centers of worship for particular *koina*.

27. As for the name of the region, Pliny (*NH* 5.81) refers to it as "Chalcidene," but Ptolemy (5.15.18) calls it "Chalkidike." Cf. the next two Syrian regions Ptolemy mentions: "Apamene" (19) and "Laodikene" (20); earlier he mentions "Kyrrhestike" (13). In general for Chalcidice see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Chalkidike 3"; Mouterde and Poidebard, *Chalcis,* 7–12.

28. See, for example, T. Reinach, *REG* 3 (1890) 362–80; Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV s.v. "Kommagene"; Bengtson, *Strategie,* 2: 257–60; Jones, *CERP*², 241–42; F. K. Dörner, *Kommagene* (Zurich, 1975); R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 732–98. On the territory of Commagene in the Roman period see, for example, Millar, *Near East,* 52–53; D. French, *AMS* 3 (1991) 11–18; Sartre, *Alexandre,* 424–27; Pollard, *Syria,* 16–17.

29. Contra: Grainger (*Seleukid Cities,* 22, 43 n. 67), who has suggested that in the late fourth/early third century B.C. Commagene was still recovering from prior Assyrian depredations.

Strabo (16.1.22) refers to "the Zeugma of Commagene which is where Mesopotamia begins."

We do not know the exact status of Commagene in the third century B.C., that is, whether it was part of the kingdom of Armenia, an independent or vassal kingdom, or a Seleucid satrapy.[30] According to Strabo it came under Seleucid control as a result of its conquest by Artaxias and Zariadris, two generals of Antiochos III.[31] We do not know exactly when this happened. The political situation in that part of the world in the second and first centuries B.C. was particularly confused and, furthermore, is not well documented. Strabo adds that after Antiochos was defeated the generals joined the Romans and were recognized as autonomous with the title "king." At some point subsequently the region apparently came back under Seleucid control. In any event it would appear, based on a difficult passage in Diodorus (31.19a), that in 163/2 B.C. the Seleucid governor of Commagene, Ptolemaios, rebelled and effectively ended Seleucid control.[32] For the scholar trying to reconstruct the history of the various settlements—many with dynastic names—the situation is further complicated by two additional factors. First, many of the members of the royal house of Commagene had the name Antiochos. In fact, one—Antiochos IV Epiphanes, who ruled from 41 to 72 A.D.—had the same name, regnal number, and epithet as the Seleucid king who ruled from 175 to 163 B.C.! Second, the frontiers of Commagene may have fluctuated in the Hellenistic period. In this connection we should also bear in mind that in the period from the first century B.C. to the third century A.D. the boundaries of Commagene changed considerably. This was particularly the case in the western and southern areas. Thus DOLICHE and SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates were part of the territory of Commagene under Mithridates I (c. 96–c. 69 B.C.), beyond the frontier (and, hence, in Cyrrhestice) under Antiochos IV (41–72 A.D.), then back within Commagene in the second and third centuries A.D. We should not exclude the possibility that a similar situation may have existed at various times in the Hellenistic period.

There are a number of settlements in Commagene with toponyms that suggest they may have been Hellenistic foundations. Interestingly, none of these were located in the heart of Commagene. Three—ANTIOCH, EPIPHANEIA, SELEUKEIA—were on the Euphrates. Another ANTIOCH was near the Tauros Mountains. There was also a STRATONIKEIA near the Tau-

30. See, for example, Honigmann, *RE Suppl* IV s.v. "Kommagene"; Jones, *CERP*², 451; Bengtson, *Strategie,* 2: 257–60; M. Chahin, *The Kingdom of Armenia* (London, 1987) 216–18; Schottky, *Media,* 98–139, 232–38; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *Samarkhand,* 14–15.

31. 11.14.15; see also Memnon (*FGrH* 434 F18.5, 9), who says that Antiochos was the king of Syria, Commagene, and Judaea.

32. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 743–48; Seyrig, *RN* (1964) 52 and n. 2; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 107.

ros, although it is not clear whether it was in Commagene, Cilicia, Lycaonia, or Cappadocia. Finally, CHAONIA and DOLICHE were in the south. Unfortunately, for most of these settlements we know neither the founder nor the precise location. The two exceptions are DOLICHE and SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates. For the former we know the location; for the latter we know the founder—Seleukos I—and the probable location. The problem of placing these settlements in a historical context is further complicated by the absence of detailed information about Commagene in the third and second centuries B.C. Hence, the most one can do is speculate and offer tentative suggestions.

The toponyms CHAONIA and DOLICHE both strongly suggest a connection with the Greek mainland. If this is correct, we may expect that their foundation went back to the period of the Diadochoi, that is, to the time when the settlers actually originated in the towns or regions whose names were now being transplanted to Asia. In turn, this would point to Antigonos Monophthalmos or—more probably—Seleukos Nikator as a possible founder. The source for CHAONIA and DOLICHE being located in Commagene is Ptolemy (5.15.8); he, of course, was writing in the first half of the second century A.D., when the territory of Commagene was quite extensive. I have mentioned that these two towns were located in the south, in an area that alternated between Commagene and Cyrrhestice in the Roman period. We may speculate, therefore, that in the early third century B.C. this region was controlled by Seleukos Nikator and that Seleukos founded these two settlements. The same may be (tentatively) suggested in connection with the three settlements on the Euphrates. That is to say, they may reflect the fact that—irrespective of who was in control in Commagene itself—the Seleucids retained hold of both banks of the Euphrates.

PHOENICIA

Phoenicia, along with Cilicia and Cyprus, had an important natural resource: timber. According to Diodorus (19.58.2–5) the Lebanon mountain range adjacent to the territories of Tripolis, Byblos, and Sidon was filled with cedar and cypress of particularly fine quality. As a result, Antigonos Monophthalmos established shipyards at these three cities (as well as in Cilicia and at Rhodes) in order to build a fleet. For the Ptolemies, Phoenicia, along with Cyprus, was a primary source of shipbuilding timber.[33] Rivalry for access to the timber would inevitably lead to conflict. The Ptolemaic drive toward Phoenicia and Syria resulted from this and from a number of other factors.

33. See R. Meiggs, *Trees and Timber in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford, 1982) 133–34; Cohen, *Settlements in Europe*, 56.

A continuation of the historic foreign policy of the pharaohs of erecting a barrier against attack from the north was one factor; thus Diodorus (18.43.1) says that Ptolemy, "seeing that Phoenicia and Coele Syria . . . were conveniently situated for an offensive against Egypt, . . . set about in earnest to become master of the region" (trans. Geer). Another factor was the desire to control the Middle Eastern overland trade routes that reached the coast there. Thus, for example, when the Ptolemies controlled southern Syria and Phoenicia the overland trade in Arabian and African aromatic goods passed through Gaza on its way to Egypt. The importance of this trade is suggested by the presence at Gaza in the mid-third century B.C. of an official in charge of incense.[34] In fact, Agatharchides (frag. 104 Burstein) says that "Ptolemaic Syria" was enriched by the incense trade from Arabia.[35] A third factor was the need to protect shipping lanes to and from Egyptian possessions in southern Asia Minor and the Aegean basin.[36] In this connection we may note the importance of southern Syria and Phoenicia as a market for goods in transit. Thus *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59012 (= Durand, *Palestine,* no. 12, 259 B.C.), which contains a list of commodities imported from southern Syria to Pelousion, mentions, among other things, items from Greece, the islands, and Asia Minor.[37] The need for access to Idumaean, Arab, and Jewish mercenaries was an additional factor.[38] It is not surprising, therefore, that the region changed hands five times in the period 320–301 B.C., primarily as the result of fighting between Antigonos I Monophthalmos and Ptolemy I Soter, and was the object of five "Syrian Wars" between the Seleucids and Ptolemies in the third century B.C.

I have mentioned the likelihood that on the Syrian coast Seleukos controlled land that was not subject to a particular city, namely, royal land. If this is correct, it would mean he could dispose of it as he wished and could thus use it for an extensive colonization program. This is in sharp contrast to Phoeni-

34. *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς Λιβανωτικῆς*, *PSI* VI 628 (= Durand, *Palestine,* nos. 19–21); see also *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59009 (= Durand, *Palestine,* no. 20), 59011; IV 59536; *PSI* VI 678; P. Collart and P. Jouguet in *Raccolta di scritti in onore di G. Lumbroso* (Milan, 1925) 116 and n. 3; M. Raschke, *ANRW* 2:9.2 (1978) 657 and n. 1168; S. M. Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 3.

35. See also Strabo 16.3.3, 4.19, 4.24 (at 16.4.24 Strabo describes an incense trade route in the first century A.D. that went from LEUKE KOME to Petra and thence to Rhinokoloura [el-Arish]); Diodorus 2.49.1–3; Pliny *NH* 12.52–65. See also Tcherikover, "Palestine," 25–27; Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 386–87; Préaux, *Économie,* 362–66; G. W. Van Beek, *BA* 23 (1960) 70–95; Hengel, *Judaism*², 37, 43.

36. See Cohen, *Settlements in Europe,* 51.

37. See Préaux, *Économie,* 372–76; and Tcherikover, "Palestine," 24–25; see also *PSI* VI 594 = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 38.

38. See, for example, Launey, *Recherches,* 541–62, 974–79, 1024–26, 1072–77.

cia. The coast of Phoenicia was lined with cities that dated to long before the arrival of the Macedonians. Furthermore, if there is extensive evidence for the settlement of Greeks and Macedonians in Seleucid (i.e., northern) Syria, there is little evidence for similar activity on the Phoenician coast.[39] Various reasons have been suggested for the phenomenon.

A. H. M. Jones pointed out that "the Ptolemies carried out very little colonization in their half of Syria. It was a mere appanage of their kingdom, and their title to it was none too good, so they preferred to settle their Greek immigrants in Egypt itself. Their few so-called foundations in Syria seem to have been rather the renamings of existing cities. Only two cities kept their Ptolemaic names, Ptolemais and Philadelphia."[40] H. I. MacAdam also noted the absence of Greek and Macedonian settlements in Phoenicia and ascribed that to the protracted warfare in the area in the third century B.C. and the erosion of central authority when the Seleucids took over in the second century.[41] Fergus Millar correctly observed that "since the foundation of Greek cities is central to the process of Hellenisation 'from above', it is important to emphasise that such foundations, if they took place at all, were not characteristic of coastal Phoenicia." Millar noted that with the exception of Ake and Berytos most of the old Phoenician coastal cities—for example, Arados, Tyre, Sidon, Botrys, Sarepta, Dora, Joppe, and Byblos—preserved their ancient, non-Greek names and were not refounded in the Hellenistic period.[42] There is no evidence that the Ptolemies or the Seleucids gave any of these cities new names or constitutions. As Millar put it, "the traces of an organised, deliberate effort of Hellenisation in Phoenicia are markedly slight."[43] Finally, Seyrig noted with reference to Arados that both the Seleucids and the Ptolemies avoided establishing colonists in territory that belonged to cities.[44]

Despite this it is clear that some settlements were established. I have already mentioned the two Phoenician cities—Berytos and Ake—that were refounded in the Hellenistic period. In addition, there is evidence for at least two other Greek settlements on the coast of Phoenicia. Thus E. Honigmann convincingly demonstrated that Arka was also known as HERAKLEIA. And

39. In general see M. Sartre in *Archéologie,* 36–37; id. in *GHPO,* 18–19; and id., *Liban: L'autre rive* (Paris, 1998) 158–70; Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia.* For a discussion of recent work on Phoenician studies as they relate to the Hellenistic period see H. I. MacAdam's review of Grainger, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 321–40.

40. *CERP*², 240.

41. *Topoi* 3 (1993) 332.

42. *PCPS* (1983) 55–71.

43. *PCPS* (1983) 57.

44. *Syria* 47 (1970) 301.

the discovery of a lead weight in the area of Tyre with the fragmentary inscription DEMETRIAS by the Sea has allowed us to demonstrate the existence of a previously unknown Hellenistic foundation. The weight is dated to 154/3 B.C., suggesting the founder was Demetrios I. In addition, it is probable that ORTHOSIA was also a Hellenistic foundation. Finally, we now know from archaeological evidence that the Ptolemies established a settlement on the Syrian coast in the area north of LAODIKEIA by the Sea, at RAS IBN HANI. We do not know if they acted similarly farther south on the Phoenician coast.

The geographic pattern of settlements found in Syria, namely, roughly parallel lines along the coast and in the interior, continues in the interior region east of Phoenicia. Thus in the interior east of Phoenicia we find, among others, APOLLONIA, ARSINOE, CHALKIS under Libanos, DEMETRIAS, DEMETRIAS Damascus, HELLAS, LARISA, and LAODIKEIA near Libanos. The founders of most of these settlements are not known.

SOUTHERN SYRIA

In *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen* V. Tcherikover grouped the settlements of southern Syria in three areas: Phoenicia, Coele Syria (i.e., the interior region east of Phoenicia), and Palestine (i.e., the coastal region south of Phoenicia as well as Samareia, Judaea, Idumaea, and Transjordan). I should like to consider briefly the terms "Palestine" and "Coele Syria." In this connection there are a number of problems that one must bear in mind. First, the term "Palestine" had multiple applications. Apparently it originally referred to the coastal area south of Phoenicia. In time it came to refer to the interior region as well. Second, in the pre-Roman period the term "Coele Syria" was used in at least two different senses: a wider meaning, namely, all Syria; and a narrower meaning, that is, southern Syria (except Phoenicia). Third, many of the literary sources bearing on this question—for example, Strabo, Diodorus, Philo, Pliny, Josephus, Arrian, Appian, and Ptolemy—are of Roman date. When they use the terms "Palestine" and "Coele Syria" it is not always possible to know whether they are using them retrospectively or as a reflection of the usage in their time. Finally, there is no uniformity regarding the manner in which the ancient authors identified the regions or areas where the settlements were located. For example, some identified the foundations by their administrative or political (sub)division; others, by the geographic unit.[45]

Let us first consider the term "Palestine."

45. See SELEUKEIA Gadara, n. 1.

"Palestine"

I have mentioned that in antiquity the term "Palestine" was used differently in different contexts.[46] The term itself is simply the Greek or Latin designation for the land of the Philistines. In the Old Testament and in Near Eastern texts the term—that is, the land of the Philistines—essentially referred to the coastal district south of Phoenicia. And this meaning—namely, the coastal region south of Phoenicia—continued to be used by various Greek authors.

Palestine is first mentioned in the extant Greek sources by Herodotus, who referred to the "Syrians who are in Palestine" (2.104 [also quoted by Josephus, *CAp* 1.169], 7.89) and the "Palestinian Syrians" (3.5; cf. 1.105). Herodotus used the term to describe a subsection of Syria, in particular, the coast as far as Egypt (7.89). It was similarly used by Pliny (*NH* 5.68) and Josephus (*AJ* 1.137; cf. also 13.180, where he distinguished between Palestine and Judaea), both of whom lived in the first century A.D. Nevertheless, it could also be used to refer to the interior region as well. Aristotle, writing at the end of the fourth century B.C., described a lake in "Palestine" where "if there were any truth to the stories they tell about the lake in Palestine . . . they say if you bind a man or beast and throw him into it he floats and does not sink beneath the surface; and that the lake is so bitter and salty there are no fish in it and that if you wet clothes in it and shake them out it cleans them."[47] Philo, who lived in the first century A.D., equated ancient Canaan with "Palestinian Syria" (*De Abrahamo* 13, *De Vita Mosis* 1.163). And finally, Arrian, who was writing in the second century A.D., said of Alexander's conquests in this area that except for Gaza all of "Syrian Palestine, as it is called" (*τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης καλουμένης Συρίας,* 2.25.4), came over to the Macedonian king. Nevertheless, it is important to note that despite its appearance in various literary texts of and pertaining to the Hellenistic period, the term "Palestine" is not found on any extant Hellenistic coin or inscription. In other words, there is no attestation for its use in an official context in the Hellenistic period. Even in the early Roman period its use was not es-

46. See, for example, M. Avi-Yonah, *RE* Suppl. 13, s.v. "Palaestina"; L. H. Feldman, *HUCA* 61 (1990) 1–23; Sartre in *GHPO,* 20–21.

47. *Meteorologica* 2.359a, trans. Lee. Cf., however, Feldman (*HUCA* 61 [1990] 3), who dismissed the possibility that Aristotle was using the term "Palestine" in a broad sense. Feldman claimed that Aristotle derived his information secondhand. In support of his contention he cited Aristotle's prefatory statement ("If there were any truth . . . "). It would appear, however, that Aristotle's skepticism had to do with the allegations about the Dead Sea, not with its location. Feldman also claimed that the proximity of the Dead Sea to Joppe that was noted by Xenophilus (who lived in the third cent. B.C.; in Antigonus of Carystus; see A. Giannini, ed., *Paradoxographorum Graecorum Reliquiae* [Milan, 1965] p. 97, F151 = Pfeiffer, ed., *Callimachus* 407 [XXIII] = Stern, *Authors,* 22) and Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 8.3.8) was based on the same kind of "misinformation." See also Sartre in *GHPO,* 20–21 and notes.

pecially widespread. For example, Philo and Josephus generally used "Judaea" rather than "Palestine" to refer to the area.[48] Furthermore, "Palestine" is nowhere attested in the New Testament.

"Palestine" did not come into official use until the early second century A.D., when the emperor Hadrian decided to rename the province of Judaea; for its new name he chose "Syria Palaestina."[49] The new name took hold. It is found thereafter in inscriptions, on coins, and in numerous literary texts.[50] Thus Arrian (7.9.8, *Indica* 43.1) and Appian (*Syr.* 50), who lived in the second century A.D., and Cassius Dio (e.g., 38.38.4, 39.56.6), who lived in the third, referred to the region as "Palestine." And in the rabbinic literature "Palestine" was used as the name of the Roman province adjacent to Phoenicia and Arabia (e.g., *Bereshith Rabbah* 90.6).

"Coele Syria"

In antiquity the term *Κοίλη Συρία* apparently had multiple applications and designated quite different regions at different times.[51] Let us briefly consider the various designations in the pre-Roman period from a chronological perspective.

The term *Κοίλη Συρία* (i.e., "Hollow Syria") is first attested in the extant sources around the beginning of the fourth century in Ctesias (in Diod. 2.2.3). However, the use of the term *κοίλη* to indicate a depression can be found, with reference to Greece, in much earlier sources: for example, Homer has *κοίλη Λακεδαίμων* (*Il.* 2.581 and *Od.* 4.1); Herodotus, *Θεσσαλίη κοίλη* (7.129); and Sophocles, *κοίλη Ἄργος* (*Oed. Colon.* 378, 1387). E. Bickerman noted these early uses of the expression.[52] Now, there *is* a rift or "hollow" in Syria; it extends from northern Syria through the valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon to the Jordan River valley and then south to the Gulf of Aqaba; it is clearly visible in any satellite photograph or on any topographic map. As a result, Bickerman claimed that the Greeks differentiated between the coastal region—Phoenicia—and the interior, to which they ap-

48. Feldman, *HUCA* 61 (1990) 11–12.

49. On the date of the name change—before rather than after the Bar-Kochva revolt—see R. Syme, *JRS* 52 (1962) 90; and A. Kindler, *INJ* 14 (2000–2002) 176–79; see also A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 24 (1974) 48–49; id., *Comment.,* 1: 225.

50. For "Syria Palaestina" in inscriptions see, for example, *CIL* 3.2: 6034, 13: 1807; for the term on coins see *BMC Palestine,* 10, nos. 37–38; *SNG ANS* 6: 965–88. In general, see L. Feldman, *HUCA* 61 (1990) 14–19, especially references cited at p. 16 nn. 38–40.

51. The literature on Coele Syria is quite extensive; see for example, E. Bickerman, *RB* 54 (1947) 256–68; A. Schalit, *SH* 1 (1954) 64–77; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 423; M. Stern, *Authors,* 1: 14; A. B. Bosworth, *CQ* 24 (1974) 49–50; Högemann, *Alexander,* 31–32; M. Sartre in *GHPO,* 15–40; id., *Alexandre,* 12, 154–55.

52. *RB* 54 (1947) 256–68.

plied the term *Κοίλη* because of the rift between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon.

A. Schalit and M. Sartre disagreed.[53] They noted that as early as the fifth century B.C. we find a letter of Artaxerxes mentioning *kol awar nahara* (i.e., "all [the country] across the river," *Ezra* 4.20). Undoubtedly this was a reference to the Persian satrapy of Awar nahara ("across the river"). They suggested that (a) the area included all of Syria from the Mediterranean to the Euphrates and (b) in the developmental sequence the Greeks Hellenized the expression *kol awar nahara* without properly understanding its meaning. Thus the Semitic *kol* ("all") in the expression *kol awar nahara* became the Greek "Kole Syria" and, subsequently, "Koile Syria," that is, "Hollow Syria."[54] In short, Schalit and Sartre argued that the term *Κοίλη Συρία* reflected a misunderstanding of the Aramaic rather than any reference to a rift or hollow in the interior of Syria.

Sartre noted that—later—in the Seleucid chancellery "Coele Syria" referred to the former Ptolemaic territory, that is, the area south of the Eleutheros River, and that this usage was adopted by Polybius, Strabo, and often by Diodorus. Nevertheless, he claimed that the term was also frequently used in the wider sense to indicate "all Syria" or at least "all Syria except Phoenicia" by various authors.[55] And certainly the evidence he and Schalit collected argues convincingly for the equation of "Coele Syria" with "all Syria" as one of the designations for the term. But if "Coele Syria" could be used by various Greek and Latin authors in a wider sense to designate "all Syria," it also came to be used in a narrower, administrative sense to refer to Syria south of the Eleutheros River.

In the third century B.C. under the Ptolemies the region south of the

53. Schalit, *SH* 1 (1954) 64–77; Sartre in *GHPO,* 15–40; id., *Alexandre,* 12, 154–55.

54. Briefly, Schalit (*SH* 1 [1954]) 68–69) pointed to Ezra 4.20 and suggested (a) the form of the term was Aramaic, i.e., "Kol awar nahara," and (b) the normal name of the Persian satrapy was "awar nahara." He also noted Leuze's conclusion (*Die Satrapieneinteilung in Syrien und im Zweistromland von 520–320,* in *Schriften der Königsberger Gelehrten Gesellschaft* 11.4 [1934] 302–18) that sometime around 401 B.C. the satrapy of "awar nahara" was called "Syria" by the Greeks. Schalit then speculated that "it is possible that the part 'Kol' of the name under discussion became in Greek an integral part of the nomen proprium in the same degree as it was regarded as a pronomen so that the Greeks spoke at one and the same time of *Κόλη Συρία* and *πᾶσα Συρία*. . . . The hypothetical form used by the Greeks was initially *Κόλη Συρία* not *Κοίλη Συρία* as it appears in our sources. The change probably took place by natural development, the Semitic word *KL* having been replaced in Greek speech by a Greek word which resembled it in sound and thus *Κοίλη Συρία,* whose meaning is *πᾶσα Συρία* = Kol awar nahara, became the name *Κοίλη Συρία,* whose literal interpretation is 'hollow Syria.'" See also the important discussion of Sartre in *GHPO,* 15–40; id., *Alexandre,* 12, 154–55.

55. In *GHPO,* 21–25; see, for example, Diodorus 18.6.3, 61.4; 20.73.2; Polybius 8.17.10–11; Pliny *NH* 5.106–10; Arrian 2.13.7; and Ptolemy 5.14.1.

Eleutheros River was officially known as ἡ Συρία καὶ Φοινίκη.[56] Sartre has convincingly suggested that in using this expression the Ptolemies were indicating their claim to all of Syria. The same name continued into at least the early period of Seleucid rule. It is found in a Seleucid document, the "Hefzibah inscription," that dates to soon after the annexation of the region by Antiochos III.[57] I might add, incidentally, that in the papyri Greek-speaking merchants referred both to "Syria" as well as to local, geographic units such as Galilee, Ammanitis, and ancient Hauran.[58]

In the course of the second century the Seleucids began referring to this region as "Coele Syria and Phoenicia." This was often shortened to "Coele Syria." Thus an inscription dated to 197 B.C. records a dedication by Ptolemaios, the *strategos* and *archiereus* of Coele Syria and Phoenicia.[59] A number of literary sources that date to the second or first century B.C.—in other words, sources that are contemporaneous with the period of Seleucid rule in the area—often mention either "Coele Syria and Phoenicia" or, simply, "Coele Syria" when referring to this region; these sources include, for example, Polybius as well as 1 and 2 Maccabees.[60] It is interesting to note in this connection that in their discussion of the territory that had been seized by Ptolemy I Soter just before the battle of Ipsos, both Polybius (5.67) and Diodorus (21.1.5 in a fragment preserved by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *Excerpta de Sententiis* 344 [ed. U. P. Boissevain, 1906]) referred to it as "Coele Syria." And, finally, a little-noticed epigram attributed to Automedon of Aetolia mentions a merchant sailor who drowned while sailing to Thasos from Coele Syria.[61] This would suggest that Coele Syria was thought to include at least some coastal territory.

Nevertheless, the modern use of the term "Coele Syria" to describe the

56. E.g., *C. Ord. Ptol.*² 22.1–2, 19, 24; see also Sartre in *GHPO,* 21, 35.

57. Y. Landau, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 54–70, l. 14; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1970) 627; T. Fischer, *ZPE* 33 (1979) 131–38; J.-M. Bertrand, *ZPE* 46 (1982) 167–74; J. E. Taylor, "Palestine," 108—68; on the extent of the Syrian territory under Ptolemaic rule see, for example, Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 22–41; Tcherikover, "Palestine," 32–36; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.,* 12–13.

58. Syria: e.g., *PSI* IV 324.2 and 325.2 = Durand, *Palestine,* nos. 33 and 34, 261 B.C.; Galilee: *P. Col. Zen.* 2.18, 22 = *Palestine,* no. 17; Ammanitis: *P. Cair. Zen.* I 59003.3 = *Palestine,* no. 3, 259 B.C.; ancient Hauran: *P. Cair. Zen.* 59008.25 recto = *Palestine,* no. 16, 259 B.C. (?); *PSI* IV 406.17 = *Palestine,* no. 27. On Hauran (ancient and modern) see Durand, *Palestine,* 136 n. 104; and Bowersock, *Arabia,* 59 n. 2.

59. *OGIS* 230 = Y. Grandjean and G. Rougemont, *BCH* 96 (1972) 109; on the date see Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 161 n. 6.

60. "The *strategos* of Coele Syria and Phoenicia": 2 Maccabees 3.5, 4.5, 8.8, 10.11 and Polybius 5.66.6, 67.10. "Coele Syria": 1 Maccabees 10.69 and Polybius 5.1.5, 29.8, 34.6, etc. See also Κοιλοσύρων in Strabo 16.4.2.

61. *Greek Anthology* 7.534 = Epig. 25 in A. S. F. Gow, *Theocritus* (Cambridge, 1950). I am grateful to Henry MacAdam for calling this reference to my attention.

region south of the Eleutheros River during the Hellenistic period involves a couple of problems: (a) the term was not used in an official context when Alexander, Antigonos, or the Ptolemies ruled the area, namely, from 333/2 to 200 B.C.; (b) its official use was confined to the period of Seleucid rule, that is, 200 to 64 B.C. That having been said, we must bear in mind that the Seleucid rule over the region was never firm or widespread. Cities, principalities, and petty kingdoms were constantly breaking away. Thus, for example, in the half century after Antiochos's victory at Panion the Seleucids apparently lost control of (parts of) Ammanitis.[62] And of course it was in this same period that the Hasmonean state began breaking away from Seleucid rule.[63]

The name changes relating to the area south of the Eleutheros River in the Hellenistic period are an adventure in themselves. Both "Palestine" and

62. See PHILADELPHEIA Rabbat Amman, n. 5.

63. Incidentally, surviving coins from the Hasmonean period do not refer to a geographic area. Rather they mention the *Hever ha-Yehudim,* i.e., the "Council of the Jews"; see, for example, U. Rappaport, *EJ* s.v. "Hever Ha-Yehudim" and literature cited there; Y. Meshorer, *Ancient Jewish Coins* (New York, 1982) 1: 47–48, 123–59. The expression *Hever ha-Yehudim* is not attested in any of the extant literary sources. I would add parenthetically that in the post-Hellenistic period the application of the term Coele Syria continued to wander and to be used in "narrower" or "wider" senses: for example, Strabo 16.2.16; cf. 16.2.12. Note, however, that at 16.2.21 Strabo remarked that the interior region between the Anti-Libanos and Gaza was called Judaea. Pliny (*NH* 5.77) and Josephus (*AJ* 14.40) used the term in a restricted sense to refer to the plain between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon. Later, in the second century A.D. and extending into the early third, "Coele Syria" is found on inscriptions and coins of various cities of the Decapolis, the league of Greek cities in the Jordan Valley: thus, for example, SELEUKEIA Abila, DION, GADARA, PELLA, PHILADELPHEIA, and SKYTHOPOLIS. The precise significance of the term is not clear; at the very least, it apparently did not refer to an administrative subdivision; see, for example, J.-P. Rey-Coquais (*ADAJ* 25 [1981] 27–31 and *SHAJ* 7 [2001] 359–64), who suggested it referred to a district of the imperial cult (followed by C. Augé in *GHPO,* 328–29), and F. Millar (*Near East,* 423–24), who speculated that it implied "some conscious assertion of an identity which preceded the rearrangement of 106." Interestingly, a dedication to the emperor Hadrian refers to Tyre as the "metropolis of Phoenicia and Coele Syria" (W. H. Buckler et al., *JRS* 16 [1926] 74–75). Ptolemy—who was writing in the second century A.D. but grouped places by their geographic regions rather than by their administrative unit (i.e., by Roman provinces)—described the cities of the Decapolis as being in (the local geographic region of) Coele Syria (5.14.18; note that Ptolemy actually used "Coele Syria" with two different—"wider" and "narrower"—applications; see above for the "wider" application). In any event, the term "Coele Syria" continued to wander. In 194 A.D. the emperor Septimius Severus divided the province of Syria and made the northern part into a separate province called Coele Syria. As Fergus Millar remarked, "this very vague geographical term (*sc.* Coele Syria) had indeed had no very precise application (except that it was always used of the southern area around Mount Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon) until Septimius Severus, with remarkable perversity, chose it as the official name of the *northern* half of Syria as a separate province" (*Near East,* 423; see also Bosworth, *CQ* 24 [1974] 48–49; Sartre in *GHPO,* 16, 27; Rey-Coquais, *ADAJ* 25 [1981] 28; A. R. Birley, *Septimius Severus,* 2d ed. [London, 1988] 114).

"Coele Syria" are problematic terms that could be used differently (a) at different times, (b) by different authors, and (c) sometimes by the same author. This phenomenon of changeable and mobile regional names is in marked contrast to the relative stability in Asia Minor of regional names—and the areas they referred to—throughout antiquity.

How should the historian of Hellenistic Syria refer to the area between the Eleutheros River and the Sinai Peninsula? "Palestine" did not come into general—and official—use until the Roman period. As for "Coele Syria," literary sources indicate that during the Hellenistic period it was generally used to refer to southern Syria. On the other hand, its official use to refer to the region south of the Eleutheros was limited to the period of (the disintegrating) Seleucid hegemony. Furthermore, it was used with many different applications throughout antiquity. Conventionally, historians have distinguished between northern (i.e., Seleucid) and southern (i.e., Ptolemaic) Syria. In this connection they have often used the term "Coele Syria" or "southern Syria" (with or without "Phoenicia") to refer to the area that had been under Ptolemaic control and subsequently passed to the Seleucids.[64] Therefore, given the difficulties relating to both "Coele Syria" and "Palestine," I have generally opted for "southern Syria" to refer to this region.

In Appendix II I have reviewed the various foundations in the region that claimed to have been founded by Alexander or were attributed to him in antiquity: for example, DION, GERASA, PELLA, and CAPITOLIAS. In fact, none of these claims or attributions are secure. On the other hand, Alexander did settle Macedonians in SAMAREIA. This was apparently the first Macedonian colony established by Alexander in the course of his expedition.

As for the other cities that claimed to have been founded by Alexander, it should be noted that these assertions are first found in the extant sources in the second century A.D. and later. Maurice Sartre has suggested that this phenomenon was a reaction by the cities in question to inflated claims be-

64. For example, G. Hölscher, *Palästina,* 7, 99; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 21–22, 42; E. Cuq, *Syria* 8 (1927); 143; M. Cary, *A History of the Greek World from 323 to 146 B.C.,* 2d ed. (London, 1951) 82 n. 2; H. Heinen (in *CAH*², 7: 412 n. 2) opted for "Coele Syria." Rostovtzeff described it as either "Coele-Syria, Phoenicia and Palestine" or "southern Syria and Phoenicia" (*SEHHW* 332, 478, 536, 658, etc.). A. H. M. Jones referred to this region as "southern Syria" (*CERP*² 246, 258, 263, 269). G. Finkielsztejn described it as the "southern Levant" (in *Syrie,* 465). I have already mentioned that in *Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen* Tcherikover described the interior region east of Phoenicia as Coele Syria and referred to everything else south of this as Palestine (*HS,* 64–81). In subsequent works he referred to this general area as either southern Syria or (Phoenicia and) Coele-Syria (*HCJ,* 52–53, etc.; and in *The Hellenistic Age: Political History of the Jewish People from 332 B.C.E. to 67 B.C.E.,* ed. A. Schalit [New Brunswick, 1972] 68, 73).

ing made by other cities in the region— by Nea Traiane Bostra and Hadriane Petra Metropolis, for example.[65] Some cities—such as Kanatha Gabinia, GADARA Pompeia, and PELLA Philippeia—now claimed Gabinius, Pompey, or Marcius Philippus as their founder. Other towns proclaimed their Seleucid roots; it is at this time, for example, that Abila minted coins with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ*.[66] Still other cities now claimed Alexander as their founder.

But if the immediate catalyst was the pretentious name changes of neighboring towns, there is also a larger setting within which we should see this development. Throughout much of the second and into the early third century A.D. the discovery by many cities in Asia Minor of their alleged Greek and Macedonian roots was a widespread phenomenon. This could take a number of forms. For example, at this time the inhabitants of EUMENEIA in Phrygia claimed to be of Achaian descent. Other towns, such as AIGEAI in Cilicia, BLAUNDOS, DOKIMEION, and PELTAI in Phrygia as well as HYRKANIS in Lydia, now claimed to be of Macedonian descent. As for Alexander, the tradition of regarding him as the founder now appears in certain cities. At APOLLONIA and OTROUS in Phrygia coins and an inscription dating to the Imperial period bear witness to this claim. In the third century A.D. a coin of Sagalassos, for example, had a picture of Alexander on horseback and the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ* (*SNG* [von A] 5206). NIKAIA in Bithynia issued a coin under Commodus bearing a diademed head of Alexander on the reverse with the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΝ ΝΙΚΑΙΕΙΣ* (e.g., *BMC Pontus,* 159, no. 47). And a local tradition in AIGEAI in Cilicia also laid claim to Alexander as founder. Furthermore, this "Alexandrolatry" may possibly be seen at this time in THESSALONIKE as well. Undoubtedly it was also within this larger context that DION, GERASA, PELLA, and CAPITOLIAS laid claim to Alexander as founder.

We may expect that Antigonos Monophthalmos also founded settlements in the area; however, there is no extant evidence to corroborate this.

M. Rostovtzeff suggested that the Ptolemies surrounded the region with a "screen of fortified cities of the Greek type": (a) along the coast, (b) east of the Jordan, and (c) south, in Idumaea.[67] In fact, there is no definite evidence for any Ptolemaic settlement on the coast of southern Syria (PTOLEMAIS Ake was in Phoenicia). Farther north, on the Syrian coast above LAODIKEIA by the Sea, the discovery by archaeologists of the remains of a

65. In *Hellenismos,* 433–39.

66. Sartre also cited the example of GERASA, which was renamed Antioch on the Chrysorhoas, and noted that it coined money with this ethnic under Marcus Aurelius. In fact, the dynastic name is also attested—in full or abbreviated form—earlier: in the second century B.C. as well as the first century A.D.; see further GERASA.

67. *SEHHW,* 346–47, see also Hengel, *Judaism,* 14.

Ptolemaic settlement at RAS IBN HANI raises the possibility that there were others. And it is possible that other coastal settlements whose early history is unknown might have been Ptolemaic in origin. Nevertheless, the available evidence does not support Rostovtzeff's claim that the Ptolemies actively built a "chain of strongholds and numerous strongholds" along the coast of Syria. Furthermore, the extant evidence suggests Seleucid activity there was also limited. Thus, excluding Ptolemais Ake, which was renamed ANTIOCH, we are left with SELEUKEIA Gaza. The extant evidence relating to ANTHEDON, APOLLONIA, and ARETHOUSA suggests—but does not prove—these were Hellenistic foundations. On the other hand, there is more evidence for both Ptolemaic and Seleucid activity in the Jordan Valley and beyond.[68] There, the Ptolemies were responsible for PELLA/BERENIKE, PHILADELPHEIA Rabbat Amman, and PHILOTERIA as well as the mysterious ARSINOE in Coele Syria and possibly SKYTHOPOLIS.[69] In addition there was a military colony at BIRTA of the Ammanitis. To the Seleucids we may ascribe the refoundation of GADARA as SELEUKEIA (and ANTIOCH?), GERASA as ANTIOCH ON THE CHRYSORHOAS, ABILA as SELEUKEIA, and as well as the (re)founding of ANTIOCH by Hippos, SELEUKEIA in the Gaulan, and possibly Damascus as DEMETRIAS.[70]

THE RED SEA BASIN

In discussing the history of the Red Sea basin in the Hellenistic period it is useful to bear in mind a number of points: (a) its two coasts—the Arabian and the African—had quite different histories in the Hellenistic period; (b) the harbor towns served different mercantile needs at different times; (c) in general, we must be careful to distinguish between the evidence for the Ptolemaic and Roman period. In many instances it is quite clear that practice and usage changed from the one period to the other. Already in antiquity, for example, Strabo observed in regard to Alexandreia: "Such, then, . . . was the state of affairs under the later kings . . . but the Romans have . . . set

68. On settlements in the central and northern Jordan Valley see Chang-Ho C. Ji in *SHAJ* 7 (2001) 379–89.

69. On the eastern frontier of Ptolemaic Syria see, for example, Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 61.

70. In the past it was generally agreed that Auranitis was situated beyond the areas settled by Greeks during the Hellenistic period. What scattered evidence that survived for a Greek presence there—for example, at Bostra (Busra) and Kanatha (Kanawat)—dated primarily to the Nabataean and Roman periods. See, for example, M. Sartre, *Bostra* (Paris, 1985) 46, 59; id., *Syria* 58 (1981) 349–57; J.-M. Dentzer, *Hauran,* vol. 1 (Paris, 1985) 392–98; J.-M. Dentzer et al. in *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan* 7 (2001) 457–68; C. Augé in *Travaux Le Rider,* 25–35. On the other hand, note that excavation in 1998 and 1999 at DIONYSIAS (Suweida) has revealed the presence of a sanctuary and other artifacts that date to the late Hellenistic period.

most things right" (17.1.13, trans. Jones).[71] Let us first consider the two Red Sea coasts.

Under pharaonic Egypt ships involved in the incense trade with Somalia sailed the length of the Red Sea.[72] And in the period before Alexander the Arab kingdoms in southwestern Arabia also played an important role in the incense trade between Arabia and Somalia and the Mediterranean.[73] In fact, it was the Arabian coast that attracted the attention of Alexander the Great when, in 324/3 B.C., one of his naval officers, Anaxikrates, conducted an exploratory expedition there.[74]

There is very little information relating to Ptolemy I Soter's activity in the Red Sea basin. On the other hand, from Theophrastus and some papyri we do learn that already in the late fourth/early third century B.C. there were commercial contacts between Egypt and South Arabia and, via South Arabia, with India.[75]

Syria was under Ptolemaic control in the third century B.C. and remained so until the end of the century. Agatharchides noted (frag. 104) that Ptolemaic Syria was enriched by the incense trade coming from the land of the Sabaeans and the Gerrhaeans, namely, Arabia. The trade route—whether overland or via the Red Sea—ended at Gaza and other ports of Phoenicia and southern Syria (Diod. 5.42.2), whence it fanned out to the rest of the Mediterranean, including Egypt. Gaza was, of course, an important commercial center in the Hellenistic period; in particular, it was an important center for the aromatics trade. In fact, as I have already mentioned, in the mid-third century B.C. there was an official there, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς λιβανωτικῆς,* who was responsible for supervising the importation of aromatics into Egypt.[76] In this connection we may also recall that Strabo, who lived in the latter part of the first century B.C./beginning of the first century A.D., commented (16.4.4) that Ailane (BERENIKE) at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba was on the incense trade route and that a road connected it with Gaza (16.2.30), and noted (16.4.23–24) that a trade route for aromatics ran from LEUKE KOME to Petra and on to Rhinokoloura (el-Arish). It is possible that the

71. For another example of the need to differentiate between Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt see also the way various ethnic groups were distinguished in the two periods (see, for example, R. S. Bagnall in *Portraits and Masks,* ed. M. L. Bierbrier [London, 1997] 7–9).

72. G. W. Van Beek, *BA* 23 (1960) 77; J. Rougé in *Arabie,* 61–64; Casson, *Periplus,* 11 and n. 2.

73. See, for example, De Romanis, *Cassia,* 33–95.

74. Strabo 16.4.4; see also Hofmann, *Wege,* 39–45; Högemann, *Alexander,* 80–87; S. Amigues, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 671–77.

75. See *Enquiry into Plants* 4.4.10, 14 (rice, frankincense, myrrh, cassia, balsam, cinnamon); 8.4.2 (Indian barley); 9.4.1–10 (frankincense and myrrh trees); 9.20.1 (pepper). See also Desanges, *Recherches,* 247–52; and S. Amigues, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 671–73.

76. See above, p. 33, n. 34.

Ptolemies also founded AMPELONE on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea in connection with this trade.

The Ptolemaic concern with the Red Sea may also be seen in the decision to reopen the canal between the Pelousiac branch of the Nile and the Red Sea at Pithom (Heroonpolis) in the sixteenth year of Philadelphos's reign (270/69 B.C.). According to the Pithom Stele (l. 16), "in the year 16, the third month. . . of His Majesty, they dug a canal to please the heart of his father Tum, the great god, the living of Succoth, in order to bring the gods of Khent ab [the Sethroïte nome]. Its beginning is the river [the river-arm] north of Heliopolis, its eastern end is the Lake of the Scorpion, it runs towards the great wall on its eastern side, the height of which is hundred [cubits?]." It was probably around the same time that ARSINOE at the mouth of the canal was founded. Both Diodorus (1.33.12) and Strabo (17.1.25) say this Arsinoe was located at the point where the canal emptied into the Heroonpolitan Gulf. The settlement was undoubtedly named in honor of the sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[77]

At about the same time as or shortly after the opening of the canal (the precise dates are not known) Philadelphos also sent out two expeditions: one, under the command of Ariston, explored the Arabian coast (Agatharchides frag. 87a); the other, under Satyros, explored the Trog[l]odytic country of Africa in order to investigate the hunting of elephants (Strabo 16.4.5). It is possible that in connection with these enterprises Philadelphos also moved against the Nabataeans, who were disrupting commercial traffic in the Red Sea and the Gulf of Aqaba.[78]

Despite the importance of the Arabian trade, the Ptolemies focused most of their attention and energy on the development of the African coast. According to Agatharchides (frags. 1, 80b) Ptolemy II Philadelphos was interested in elephants, both out of scientific curiosity and for military purposes. Elsewhere (frag. 41b) he adds that Ptolemy III was also much concerned with hunting elephants.

The Greeks first encountered the military use of elephants during Alexander's campaigns. The main source of elephants was India, and after Alexander's death the Seleucids eventually came to control the land routes to the

77. The fact that Strabo says some call Arsinoe "Kleopatris" suggests it may have subsequently been renamed by one of the later Ptolemies.

78. Agatharchides refers (frag. 90a) to the piratical actions of the Nabataeans and their subjugation by the "kings in Alexandreia." It is generally agreed that this refers to the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphos (e.g., Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 151, n. 2); Fraser (*Alexandria,* 177) dates this campaign to the 270s B.C.; Bowersock, however, correctly noted that this reference is "undated and undatable" (*Arabia,* 20–21); rather, he suggested the emergence of Nabataean piracy resulted from the seaborne commerce the Ptolemies developed in the second century as a result of the discovery of the monsoon (on which see below).

region. This effectively denied the Ptolemies access to both the elephants and their trainers. In the first generation of the Diadochoi this was not a problem. In 321 B.C. Perdikkas invaded Egypt with a force that included elephants (Diod. 18.33–36). The invasion failed, and Perdikkas was subsequently killed by three of his officers. Nevertheless, we may well expect, as H. H. Scullard has suggested, that Ptolemy took over (some of) the surviving elephants and their trainers.[79] We are on much firmer ground when we come down to 312 B.C. In that year Ptolemy Soter captured forty-three of Demetrios's elephants at the battle of Gaza (Diod. 19.82.3–4, 84.4). However, by the 270s this generation of elephants was dying out. Furthermore, in c. 280 B.C. the First Syrian War broke out.[80] Ptolemy II Philadelphos needed to replenish his supply. With access to India and the Indian elephant blocked, he turned to Africa and the African elephant. It was the latter need that particularly spurred Ptolemaic exploration and development of the African coast of the Red Sea.

In antiquity it was generally believed that Indian elephants were larger than the African ones. For example, both Polybius (5.84) and Pliny (*NH* 8.27) mention this. This led to a rather interesting controversy, which I will attempt to summarize. The belief that the Indian elephant was larger than the African was largely accepted until the end of the nineteenth century. However, according to Scullard,

> when the interior of Africa began to be opened up, doubts arose: the African elephant was now seen in his full stature and was clearly bigger than the Indian and so the ancients must be wrong. . . . This new knowledge then led to an attack on Polybius in particular . . . ; soon these doubts became orthodox doctrine. The Hellenistic historian Edwyn Bevan pointed out that Indian elephants measure only up to 10 ft at the shoulder, whereas Africans often reach 12 ft. Sir William Tarn then lent his great authority to the view, and suggested that the alleged superior size of the Indians was just a silly mistake that had been made originally by Ctesias, who lied in order to flatter his Persian employer who owned Indian, not African, elephants. . . . Tarn's view may be said to have held the field unquestioned for some twenty years until in 1948 it was challenged and demolished by Sir William Gowers, one-time governor of Uganda, who was a classical scholar and who knew elephants at first hand. He made clear that Tarn's main argument was based on a false premise, namely that all African elephants belong to one race. This . . . is not so.[81]

In fact, there are two types of African elephant—the big Bush elephant and the smaller Forest elephant. The former is larger than the Indian; the

79. Scullard, *Elephant,* 80–81.
80. Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 24.
81. *Elephant,* 61–62.

latter, smaller. This has prompted the reasonable suggestion that the Ptolemaic expeditions hunted the Forest elephant.[82]

I have already mentioned Strabo's observation that Philadelphos began hunting African elephants for two reasons: scientific curiosity and military purposes. To Strabo's comment we may add an ancillary but economically important reason: the acquisition of ivory from elephant tusks.[83] These objectives as well as the gold and other minerals that were mined in the Eastern Desert led to the founding of numerous settlements on the African Red Sea coast. Strabo (16.4.5, 7) and Pliny (*NH* 6.168, 171) explicitly say that BERENIKE Trogodytika, PHILOTERA, and PTOLEMAIS Theron were founded with a view to the hunting and transportation of elephants. MYOS HORMOS was also probably founded under the Ptolemies. In addition to these settlements there were many elephant hunting stations strung out along the coast. Often these hunting stations were known simply by the name of the leader of an expedition: for example, Strabo (16.4.8–15) mentions the Island of Straton, the Lookout Post of Demetrios, the Altars of Konon, the Harbor of Antiphilos, the Harbor of Eumenes, the Pillars and Altars of Pytholäus, Lichas, Pythangelos, and Leon.[84] Furthermore, we learn from a papyrus dated to c. 255 B.C.[85] that an official named Demetrios headed an elephant expedition. This raises the possibility that many of these hunting stations may also date to the same period. If so, it would bear witness to the intense interest of the Ptolemies in this region.

The great period of these settlements coincided with the Ptolemaic hegemony in the third century B.C. It would appear that by the latter part of the third century B.C. these elephant hunting grounds were becoming depleted. In any event, under Ptolemy III Euergetes and Ptolemy IV Philopator elephant hunting was extended south of PTOLEMAIS Theron. Ports were now established on the coastal region around the Strait of the Bab el-Mandeb. Among these were BERENIKE Epi Dires, an ARSINOE near Deire, and BERENIKE Panchrysos (or Sabaia). But elephant hunting came to an abrupt end. The failure of the African elephants in the face of the Indian elephants

82. On Ptolemaic elephant hunting see PTOLEMAIS Theron, n. 2 and literature cited there.

83. See S. M. Burstein, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 799–807.

84. See also H. Heinen in *Politics,* 143–46; Scullard, *Elephant,* 128 and map, p. 129. Note, however, that the transportation of elephants via these maritime settlements was only one way to bring the animals to Egypt. Greek inscriptions at Abu Simbel dealing with elephant hunting call attention to the existence of an inland—Nile River valley—route for the transportation of elephants, in addition to the maritime route. See A. Bernand and O. Masson, *REG* 70 (1957) 29, no. 20; 24, no. 14; 34, no. 27; 35, no. 29; and especially J. Desanges in *Actes du quatre-vingt-douzième Congrès national des Sociétés Savantes, Strasbourg et Colmar 1967, Section d'Archéologie* (Paris, 1970) 31–50.

85. *Chrest. W.* 435.78–80.

employed by the Seleucids at the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C.—despite the fact that the Ptolemies won the battle—and the subsequent native unrest in Egypt effectively ended Ptolemaic interest in elephant hunting.[86] I find less convincing S. E. Sidebotham's suggestion that the decline in elephant hunting should be connected to the fact that after Ptolemy IV the herd was sufficiently large and the breeding so regular that the Ptolemies no longer needed to import elephants.[87]

In the decade following the battle of Raphia the native Egyptians rebelled against their Ptolemaic overlords. From 206 to 186 B.C. Upper Egypt from Thebes to the First Cataract was ruled by native kings, while the Dodekaschoinos to the south was occupied by Meroitic forces. With the recovery of central control under Ptolemy VI during the second quarter of the second century B.C., the Ptolemies once again extended the frontier to the Second Cataract. But this would not last. By the end of the second century B.C. the frontier stood at the southern end of the Dodekaschoinos, north of Hiera Skymnos, and by the end of Ptolemaic rule in 30 B.C. the frontier had been withdrawn farther north to Syene. In short, after the end of the second century B.C. the Ptolemies had neither the incentive to hunt elephants nor control of the hunting grounds.[88]

Despite this, some of the Red Sea ports continued to play an important commercial role. In the second century B.C., particularly after the Ptolemies lost control of Syria and Palestine, these ports remained important as conduits in the trade in incense and other products with southern Arabia, Somalia, and, after the discovery of the monsoon winds—probably in the last quarter of the second century—India as well.[89] It is generally agreed that in much of the first millennium B.C. Arab and Indian sailors knew how to exploit the monsoon winds. These, of course, are the winds of the western Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea that blow from the southwest during the summer and northeast during the winter, thus assuring merchants good sailing weather in both directions. For some reason Greek sailors did not orig-

86. See, for example, Scullard, *Elephant,* 140–43; B. Bar-Kochva, *The Seleucid Army* (Cambridge, 1976) 134.

87. *Erythra Thalassa,* 4.

88. See Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 10–11.

89. On the incense trade see, for example, G. W. Van Beek, *BA* 23 (1960) 70–95; Desanges, *Recherches,* 298–300; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 119–217; U. Fantasia in *Profumi,* 395–412; N. Groom, *Frankincense and Myrrh: A Study of the Arab Incense Trade* (London and New York, 1981). On the monsoon trade routes see, for example, Tarn, *GBI*^{2}, 366–70; Raschke, *ANRW* 2:9.2 (1978) 660–61; Thiel, *Eudoxus,* 16–19; Casson, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 21–36; id., *Periplus* 11–12, 224; Böker, *RE Suppl.* s.v. "Monsunschiffahrt nach Indien"; M. Reddé and J.-C. Golvin, *Karthago* 21 (1987) 60–61.

inally know about these winds. In fact, the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* specifically says (26) that Greek ships sailing into the Indian Ocean did not go beyond Eudaimon Arabia (present Aden). It was apparently in the late second century B.C. that the Greeks discovered the monsoons and began making regular voyages to India.

Later Ptolemaic interest both in the Red Sea and, beyond the Bab el-Mandeb, in the Indian Ocean can be seen in the appearance—probably in the late second and continuing into the first century B.C.—of an official, *ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς Θαλάσσης*. This office is first attested in an inscription from Koptos that is probably dated to 110/9 B.C. In the mid-first century B.C. a certain Kallimachos held the expanded office as *ὁ στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστράτηγος τῆς Θηβαίδος καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς καὶ Ἰνδικῆς Θαλάσσης*.[90] Having mentioned the Ptolemaic interest beyond the Bab el-Mandeb I would also call attention to the island of DIOSKORIDES (Socotra) in the Indian Ocean. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (30), which probably dates to the first century A.D., mentions Greeks among the inhabitants of the island of Dioskorides in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, who lived in the sixth century A.D., the inhabitants of the island included colonists who were settled by the Ptolemies and who still spoke Greek. Despite this tantalizing information we have no evidence that there was actually a formal Ptolemaic settlement on the island. In any event, an archaeological survey of Socotra found no trace of any occupation earlier than the late Middle Ages.[91]

It is difficult to say how many of the settlements survived the end of the elephant trade. Some, of course, are only attested in the extant evidence from the Roman period. This is the case, for example, for KLYSMA in the Heroonpolitan Gulf, LEUKE KOME, and LEUKOS LIMEN. In any event, what is clear is that trade in other products and with other regions prompted the Ptolemies to maintain their interest and a strategic presence in the Red Sea in the second and first centuries B.C. S. M. Burstein has suggested that by the end of Ptolemaic rule the only southern Ptolemaic ports still functioning were PTOLEMAIS Theron and Adoulis.[92] How many others—if any—continued to exist? We do not know.

90. See *SB* V 8036, I 2264; *I. Philae* 52, 53, 56. It is to this office that Eudoxus of Cyzicus probably refers when he mentions the "guards of the Arabian Gulf" (in Strabo 2.3.4; see Thiel, *Eudoxus,* 32). On Kallimachos see L. M. Ricketts, *AS* 14 (1983) 161–65; and Mooren, *Aulic Titulature,* no. 061. Despite the later Ptolemaic interest in the Indian Ocean we should note that the excavators at BERENIKE Trogodytika have thus far found little to suggest extensive long-distance trade in the Hellenistic period; the evidence for this only becomes clearer under Roman rule; see Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 13 (2001–2) 41.

91. P. L. Shinnie, *Antiquity* 34 (1960) 100–110.

92. *Agatharchides,* 11; see also BERENIKE Panchrysos.

EGYPT

In this section I should like to address two questions. First, there is much evidence from the Ptolemaic period for settlements in Egypt with Greek toponyms. Thus it appears that during the Hellenistic period many of the nome capitals had Greek names. Were these nome capitals Hellenistic settlements in the same mold as some of the colonies—the *poleis* and the smaller, rural *katoikiai*—founded by the Hellenistic monarchs in other parts of the Middle East? Second, many of the towns and villages in the Fayum, that is, the Arsinoite nome, had Greek toponyms. Were these Hellenistic settlements? In short, should one include (a) the nome capitals and (b) the Fayum towns and villages in a study of Hellenistic settlements?

By way of background, let us first consider how other scholars have approached this problem. As with many other questions, we should do well to begin with J.-G. Droysen. In his enumeration of the colonies founded by Alexander's successors Droysen devoted less than one full page to Egypt. He mentioned (briefly) Philadelpheia, Ptolemais, Arsinoe in the Fayum, Ptolemais Hormou, Dionysias, and Bacchis *(sic)* and then proceeded to discuss the settlements in the Red Sea basin.[93] In this connection it is important to bear in mind that Droysen was writing in the nineteenth century, that is, before the great discoveries of papyri that began in the last decade of that century and continued into the twentieth. In considering Ptolemaic Egypt outside of Alexandreia he was relying primarily on the literary notices in, for example, Strabo and Pliny. And they have relatively little to say, for example, about the settlement of the Fayum.

During the twentieth century most scholars who discussed the question of settlement foundings in Ptolemaic Egypt focused on the question of cities. In her study of the Hellenistic world Claire Préaux observed[94] that the Ptolemies wanted to preserve the agricultural economy of Egypt and therefore were not interested in urbanizing. In the course of her remarks, Préaux cited Tcherikover. He emphasized the Ptolemaic bureaucratic system and its integrated political, economic, and cultural character and noted that "within this bureaucratic machine there was no room for the Greek cities and their dangerous demands for 'freedom', 'autonomy' and the like."[95] In devoting so little attention to the settlements in Egypt Tcherikover was adhering to the guideline implicit in the title of his work—*Die hellenistischen Städtegründungen.* Actually, I might add, in the course of his discussion of the settlements of Asia Minor, Tcherikover recorded a number of settlements that were simply *katoikiai:* for example, THYATEIRA.

93. *Hist.,* 2:760–61.
94. *Monde,* 407–8.
95. *HCJ,* 25–26; see also *HS,* 11.

In his discussion of Ptolemaic Egypt W. W. Tarn focused on Alexandreia (and PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid) and said practically nothing about the settlements in the Fayum.[96] F. W. Walbank remarked that "the traditions of the highly centralized kingdom of Egypt and the inclinations of the Ptolemaic dynasty were both against founding local centres of even limited autonomy, which is what cities must inevitably have become."[97] E. Will said: "One can imagine the reasons why the Ptolemies did not found *poleis* in Egypt . . . : unlike Asia, Egypt responded well to centralization, against which the creation of cities posed fatal obstacles; nevertheless, the ease of internal communication allowed the dispersal of Hellenes in small groups in the *chora,* without their having a sense of isolation surrounded by a native population that was not hostile at first."[98] On the other hand, Rostovtzeff observed that "Alexandrias in miniature were strewn over Egypt. These were the recently founded city-like settlements of Philadelphus. And they had around them their own little Egypts—the large *doreai* or gift-estates granted by the king to his assistants."[99]

Any examination of Ptolemaic settlement founding activity in Egypt cannot be removed from the question of the nature and extent of the available evidence.[100] For example, the survival of so many papyri but so few inscriptions from the Fayum has yielded the names of thousands of towns, villages, and smaller hamlets in the Fayum and elsewhere. Most of these were too small to be noted by Strabo or Pliny or to produce inscriptions; furthermore, they could not have minted their own coins. Nevertheless, thanks to the papyri, we know of their existence and, in some cases, where they were located, even if we know little else.

By contrast, practically no papyrological evidence has survived from Asia Minor and Syria. On the other hand, we do have literary notices, coins, weights, and inscriptions from and relating to various foundations in these areas. And it is from these that we can learn something about the Hellenistic settlements there. For example, we know of a group of rural settlements of Macedonians in second-century B.C. Lydia only from dedications recorded in inscriptions that were made by the settlers. Similarly, we know about the administration and organization of village life in Roman Syria from the many inscriptions found there.[101]

96. *HC*^{3}, 179, 183–86.

97. *Hellenistic World,* 114.

98. In Will, Mossé, and Goukowsky, *Orient,* 2: 469 n. 1.

99. *SEHHW,* 420.

100. See pp. 16–17.

101. See, for example, G. Mc. Harper, *YCS* 1 (1928) 105–68; H. I. MacAdam, *Studies in the History of the Roman Province of Arabia* (Oxford, 1986) 147–222; M. Sartre and J.-P. Rey-Coquais in *L'epigrafia,* 117–35, 137–49.

Ptolemaic Colonizing Activity in Egypt

Speaking broadly, Ptolemaic colonizing activity in Egypt took place in roughly two periods: (a) the late fourth century B.C. to the mid-third and (b) the middle of the second century (a short and modest effort). This time frame, incidentally, is similar to that encountered for the Seleucid colonizing effort. According to Josephus and the *Letter of Aristeas* Ptolemy I Soter sent various people from Syria to Egypt.[102] For example, he brought Jews from Judaea and Samareia to Egypt and settled them there.[103] And after the battle of Gaza in 312 B.C. he sent the prisoners to Egypt—there were over 8,000—with orders to the nomarchs to distribute them (i.e., among the nomes; Diod. 19.85.3–4). Undoubtedly Ptolemy's decision to distribute the prisoners throughout Egypt was prompted by security considerations.[104] In addition, an inscription refers to Ptolemy Soter as the founder of PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid.[105] As for Soter's son and successor, there is extensive evidence for his colonizing activities beyond the narrow confines of the Nile Valley. We can, for example, definitely ascribe the following settlements in the Red Sea basin to Ptolemy Philadelphos or his agents: PTOLEMAIS Theron, PHILOTERA on the Red Sea, BERENIKE Trogodytika, ARSINOE Trogodytika [?]. Beyond Egypt we find PHILADELPHEIA Rabbat Amman, PTOLEMAIS Ake, ARSINOE Patara, and ARSINOE in Cilicia. There was another (small) spurt of settlement foundings in Egypt under Ptolemy VI Philometor and Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II. From the time of their reigns there is epigraphic and papyrological evidence for the founding of three settlements that are described as *poleis:* PHILOMETORIS, KLEOPATRA, and EUERGETIS.

The Toponymy of the Nome Capitals and the Fayum Towns

A glance at a map of Hellenistic Egypt reveals many places with Greek toponyms. Some of these toponyms were derived from dynastic or nondynastic names or epithets; others were combinations of *-polis* with a different prefix. The question is, How many of these represented (a) newly established towns or villages, (b) the renaming of native towns or villages by the settlers, or (c) simply the way Greeks referred to native towns. Before trying to address these

102. For the military operations of Ptolemy I and Seleukos I in Syria in 312/1 B.C. see J. K. Winnicki, *AS* 22 (1991) 147–201, esp. 164–85.

103. Josephus *AJ* 12.7; *Letter of Aristeas* 12–14. According to the *Letter of Aristeas*—a historical romance—he armed 30,000 of them and settled them in garrisons in the country.

104. Diodorus 19.85.3–4; Plutarch *Demetrius* 5.2.

105. For the inscription from Philae see *I. Philae* 166 (= Strack, *Dynastie,* 9 = *CIG* 4925); see also the fragmentary *SEG* 20:665.2–3 and Fraser's comments (*Berytus* 3 [1960] 128–29, 131).

questions let us first consider the names of Seleucid settlements in Syria as well as Ptolemaic possessions overseas and in the Red Sea basin. Appian says (*Syr.* 57) that in founding settlements in Syria and the Upper Satrapies Seleukos I Nikator chose some names from his own family, some from his own exploits, some in honor of Alexander, and some from Greece and Macedonia. As a result, he says, in Syria and in the Upper Satrapies there are many names of Greek and Macedonian towns. Appian mentions the following: Antioch, Laodikeia, Apameia, Stratonikeia, Beroia, Edessa, Perinthos, Maroneia, Kallipolis, Achaia, Pella, Oropos, Amphipolis, Arethousa, Astakos, Tegea, Chalkis, Larisa, Heraia, and Apollonia; in Parthia he records Sotera, Kalliope, Charis, Hekatompylos, and Achaia as well as Alexandropolis in India, Alexandreschata in Scythia, Nikephorion in Mesopotamia, and Nikopolis in Armenia.

In the Ptolemaic overseas possessions we find settlements with names like Arsinoe, Berenike, Philadelpheia, Philotera and Philoteria, and Ptolemais. In the Red Sea basin we encounter, for example, Arsinoe, Berenike, Dioskorides, Kleopatris, Myos Hormos, Philotera, and Ptolemais. In Ptolemaic Egypt itself we find villages and towns with Egyptian names as well as places with Greek toponyms, such as Arsinoe, Bakchias, Dionysias, Euhemeria, Kleopatra, Philadelpheia, Philoteris, and Ptolemais. There are also villages with Semitic names, like Magdola. Finally, there are numerous places with toponyms that are combinations of *-polis* with a different term: for example, Aphroditopolis, Apollonopolis, Diospolis, Heliopolis, Herakleopolis, Hermoupolis, Hierakonpolis, Krokodilopolis, Latopolis, Leontopolis, Letopolis, Nilopolis, and Panopolis.

Curiously, there is no evidence extant for village or town names derived from Greek or Macedonian toponyms. The explanation for this may lie in the circumstances surrounding the founding of the settlements. Appian specifically says that the settlements in Syria and the Upper Satrapies were founded by Seleukos Nikator: in other words, these colonies were founded by the first generation of settlers, that is, primarily by men who had been born in Macedonia or Greece or who were, at the most, one generation removed. As far as we know, the major land reclamation and settlement effort in the Fayum took place under Ptolemy II Philadelphos and, to a lesser extent, under Ptolemy III. In other words, the main Ptolemaic effort took place at least a generation after the Seleucid effort. Roger Bagnall has demonstrated that the Ptolemaic klerouchs came primarily from the soldiers of Alexander and Ptolemy I.[106] The settlers who came to the Fayum in the mid-third century B.C. were descended from these men. In other words, at the time of the settlement effort in the Fayum most of the colonists were two or

106. *BASP* 21 (1984) 7–20.

three generations removed from Greece and Macedonia. Furthermore, the hostility of the Antigonids to the Ptolemies would have denied the latter direct access to Macedonians and Greeks who were living in areas under their rule. This would suggest that most of the Macedonian settlers coming to the Fayum probably came from other parts of Egypt or the Middle East rather than directly from Macedonia and that the Greek settlers came from these same regions or from the part of Greece not under Macedonian rule. Nevertheless, there were occasions when settlers apparently came directly from Greece to Egypt. Thus a fragmentary inscription that apparently was from PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid records a copy of Imperial date of a decree voted by the *boule* and *demos*.[107] The decree is concerned with a "Greek city" that was founded by Ptolemy Soter; the city in question was undoubtedly Ptolemais in the Thebaid. The surviving part of the decree contains a reference to the introduction—after the initial founding—of new settlers to the city. These new settlers apparently were brought over from the Peloponnese, northern Greece, and possibly other areas as well. We do not know when this refoundation took place. In any event, we may assume either that the settlers were also brought in by Ptolemy I (i.e., in the period before the Antigonids firmly established themselves in Macedonia) or that they came from areas not under Antigonid control.

On the Greek mainland we do find theophoric toponyms. Thus, for example, we find Dion in Euboea, Crete, and Pieria in Macedonia; Herakleia/Herakleion in Elis and Athamania and Lynkestis in Macedonia; Apollonia in Crete, Pieria and Mygdonia in Macedonia, Thrace, and Illyria. In addition, there are place-names on the mainland ending in *-polis:* for example, Megalopolis and Kainepolis in the Peloponnese, Hyampolis in Phokis/Boeotia, Metropolis in Aetolia and Thessaly, Neapolis and Amphipolis in Macedonia, Kallipolis in Thrace, and Anopolis on Crete. What we do not find on the mainland in the extant evidence are theophoric names combined with *-polis*. Furthermore, contrived *-polis* toponyms with personal names are attested only for Philip II and his successors. Thus Philip II founded Philippopolis (i.e., *Philippou polis*) in Thrace. Interestingly, Theopompus (*FGrH* 115 F110) tells us the city was nicknamed "Poneropolis" because of the criminals, sycophants, and false witnesses that Philip used to populate the city. In 340 B.C. Alexander, acting as regent for his father, founded a settlement that, according to Plutarch (*Alexander* 9), he called ALEXANDROPOLIS (i.e., *Alexandrou polis*).[108] Two other cities named PHILIPPOPOLIS are known, one in Thessaly and one in Aetolia. For the Seleucid Empire Appian mentioned two settlements with *-polis* names that he attrib-

107. *SEG* 20:665 and above, n. 13.

108. See Cohen, *Settlements in Europe,* 16–17; and N. Litinas, *Archiv* 41 (1995) 66–76.

uted to Seleukos—ALEXANDROPOLIS in India and (probably erroneously) NIKOPOLIS in Armenia. In addition, we know of TRIPOLIS in Lydia, DIONYSOPOLIS in Phrygia, and three cities named HIERAPOLIS—in Phrygia, Cilicia, and Syria. And, of course, Beth Shean in the northern Jordan River valley was renamed SKYTHOPOLIS.

Farther east, there was, according to Stephanos (s.v. "Diadochou"), a DIADOCHOUPOLIS. And in India we have evidence for a XYLINEPOLIS and, from the second century A.D. (Ptolemy 7.1.43, 1.86, 2.2, ed. Nobbe), for a DIONYSOPOLIS, PANTIPOLIS, and PENTAPOLIS; these latter settlements, however, were probably not founded by the Seleucids but rather by the successor rulers in the various areas. In any event, what becomes clear is the apparent disinclination of the Seleucids to use *-polis* toponyms in general and theophoric *-polis* toponyms in particular for their settlements. The only attested example of the latter—Dionysopolis in India—is late. The evidence is found in Ptolemy (7.1.43, ed. Nobbe), who records a "Nagara that is [also known as] Dionysopolis." Presumably the latter toponym indicates the presence of Greek colonists at the town. Nevertheless, it is unlikely this was a Seleucid foundation. In short, there is no firm extant evidence for the use of a theophoric name combined with *-polis* by the Seleucids for any of their settlements. The same is true for the Ptolemaic overseas and Red Sea settlements.

In his discussion of Hellenistic settlements in the east, Tarn called attention to the fact that some are known to us by their nicknames or by some descriptive allusion rather than their formal toponyms.[109] In the former category he included Prophthasia and Zetis; in the latter category he noted Diadochoupolis, Ionaka polis (Ptol. 6.4.2, ed. Nobbe), Portus Macedonum (Pliny *NH* 6.110), Asylum Persarum (Pliny *NH* 6.135), Komopolis (Ptol. 6.1.5, ed. Nobbe). I might also mention the Persian capital that the Greeks referred to as Persepolis (e.g., Strabo 15.3.6). This, of course, was not its official Persian name. In fact it was called Parsa in Persian documents.[110]

The same process appears to have been at play in Ptolemaic Egypt where, it has been reasonably suggested, the Greeks often used associative or allusive names to refer to native towns.[111] Frequently the name was based on the identification of a local god with the Greek equivalent. Diodorus (1.89), for example, mentions that "one of the early kings whose name was Menas, being pursued by his own dogs, came in his flight to the Lake of Moeris, as it

109. *GBI*², 13–15.

110. See, for example, E. M. Yamauchi, *Persia and the Bible* (Grand Rapids, 1990) 335 and n. 1; Yamauchi noted that the name Parsa is found approximately 350 times in the Elamite tablets from Persepolis.

111. See, for example, Jones, *CERP*², 298.

is called, where, strange as it may seem, a crocodile took him on his back and carried him to the other side. Wishing to show his gratitude to the beast for saving him, he founded a city near the place and named it City of the Crocodiles (*πόλιν κτίσαι πλησίον ὀνομάσαντα Κροκοδείλων*)" (trans. Oldfather). And earlier, Herodotus (2.148) referred to a labyrinth that was "near the place called the City of Crocodiles" (*κατὰ Κροκοδείλων καλεομένην πόλιν μάλιστα κῃ κείμενον*). At the time he was writing—the mid-fifth century B.C.—the name of this city was Shedet. Krokodilopolis was not the name of the city; rather, it was simply the way Herodotus and other Greeks referred to it. The same was apparently true for other cities. Thus the town where the chief deity was Ra was called Heliopolis. A town named Apollonopolis was probably a center for the worship of Horus. In other cases the toponym may reflect the totemic animal that was considered holy in that particular place. Strabo (17.1.38, 40, 47), for example, says that the oxyrhynchos (a fish) was honored in the like-named town; he also says that, among other places, dogs were honored at Kynopolis, the latus (a fish) at Latopolis, the lykos (a jackal) at Lykopolis, the lion at Leontopolis, the crocodile at Krokodilopolis, and the falcon at Hierakonpolis. He also mentions the *polis* of Eileithuias (the goddess of childbirth).[112]

I would also mention, incidentally, a modern example of toponymic usage by an immigrant group: a study of Finnish place-names in the United States reveals that the immigrant Finns developed a vocabulary of what has been called "in-group place names."[113] According to M. Kaups, "these place names never received recognition outside the group, but to the Finns they were, and to some of the older members of the group they still are, 'official.'" For example, in the 1890s an advertisement for land in Finnish-language newspapers in the United States referred to Kirkasjärvi and Kalajärvi; these were both translations of existing place-names—Clear Lake and Fish Lake.[114]

There will undoubtedly have been large numbers of individual Greeks who settled in the various Egyptian towns and cities—including some nome capitals—with Greek or Hellenized toponyms. But there were also significant numbers of Greeks who settled in the old Phoenician cities such as Tyre and Sidon during the Hellenistic period, and yet one would not refer to any of these as Hellenistic settlements. These Greeks may even have had various communal organizations. Nevertheless, as far as we know, their arrival did not result in any substantial change in the administration or governance of

112. Note, too, that there are no extant examples of a Ptolemaic dynastic name being joined with *-polis* to form a toponym.

113. M. Kaups, *GR* (1966) 392–95.

114. For in-group geographical names among the Chinese in San Francisco and the Japanese in the western United States see W. J. Hoy, *California Folklore Quarterly* 2 (1943) 71–75; G. W. Hewes, *American Speech* 21 (1946) 101–5.

the city.[115] What we must ask, therefore, is whether a similar situation existed in Hellenistic Egypt. That is, is it simply that Greeks settled—as individuals—in various old, Egyptian cities—including some nome capitals—and began referring to them by Hellenized names? In other words, did the Greek settlers begin using "in-group place names" to refer to these towns? But, if the *-polis* names of the nome capitals began as allusive names or "in-group place names," they developed into official names, used by Greeks in their official correspondence. Of course these names were not used by the Egyptians; they continued to use the native toponym.[116]

Finally, it is well to recall that the ancient Egyptians were relatively liberal about creating new toponymic designations and thus often used multiple names for a place.[117] Furthermore, the names tended to reflect different aspects of the city. For example, at various points in its history Memphis was also known as "the Balance of the Two Lands," "the Life of the Two Lands," and "the White Wall." Another name, "the Palace of Ptah's 'Ka'" (Hekuptah → Aigyptos), reflected the importance of Ptah in the life of the city.[118] In fact, it was a common practice for the ancient Egyptians to refer to a particular place as "the house of god X or Y."[119] Thus it would appear that in referring to various Egyptian towns by means of theophoric toponyms ending in *-polis* the Greeks were, in fact, not far removed from Egyptian usage!

Based on the important compilation of villages in the Fayum that was made by Grenfell and Hunt in *P. Tebt.* II, Rostovtzeff called attention to the fact that in the Fayum there were 114 villages.[120] He also calculated that 66 of these had Greek names and 48 had Egyptian. Rostovtzeff pointed out that

115. In fact, Fergus Millar has argued (*PCPS* [1983] 55–71) that despite the prominent presence of Greeks in the various Phoenician cities, the cities remained essentially Phoenician; cf. F. Briquel-Chatonnet, *RStudFen* 19 (1991) 3–21; Briquel-Chatonnet emphasized the continuing Hellenization in Phoenicia at the same time as Aramaic replaced Phoenician as the spoken language in the first and second centuries A.D.

116. It is interesting to note, incidentally, the way Pliny refers to cities in Egypt (*NH* 5.60). He refers to Diospolis (*Magna* = Thebes) as Diospolis and, similarly, Panopolis by name. Further on, however, he refers to Diospolis *(Parva)* as *oppidum Jovis.* He also refers to Aphroditopolis, Hermoupolis, Kynopolis, Herakleopolis, and Heliopolis as the *oppida . . . Veneris, Mercuri, Canum, Herculis,* and *Solis.* In other words, rather than use their Greek names he uses the Latin equivalents to refer to these towns.

117. See, for example, K. Zibelius in *Egypt. Cong. I,* 693–98.

118. See, for example, Kees, *RE* s.v. "Memphis"; Sethe, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Altertumskunde Aegyptens* (Hildesheim, 1964) 3:121f.; Gardiner, *Onomastica,* 2: 122–24; H. S. Smith, *A Visit to Ancient Egypt* (London, 1974) 7–8; Zibelius in *Egypt. Cong. I,* 695; Thompson, *Memphis,* 3. See also, for example, the various names by which the ancient Egyptians referred to Herakleopolis (M. R. Falivene, *The Herakleopolite Nome* [Atlanta, 1998] xii–xiii).

119. See, for example, J. Quaegebeur and K. Vandorpe in *Namenforschung,* ed. E. Eichler (New York, 1995–) 841–42.

120. *Estate,* 10.

many villages in the Fayum had names that were homonymous with towns in Lower and Middle Egypt. Thus we have evidence in the Fayum for Athribis, Boubastos, Bousiris, Memphis, Mendes, Pharbaithos, Sebennytos, Tanis, and so on. We also find, for example, Apollonopolis, Hermoupolis, Heliopolis, Kynopolis, and Letopolis. Rostovtzeff suggested—reasonably—that these toponyms recalled the names of places whence the Fayum settlers came.

Rostovtzeff also called attention to the fact that 14 of the toponyms found in the Fayum are dynastic names. Rostovtzeff saw in this a rarity of dynastic names. To explain this he suggested that settlers could not take a dynastic name without special permission and that a dynastic name implied some kind of royal patronage, possibly even the institution of a royal cult by the settlers. We should note, however, that there is no extant evidence to support this suggestion. In any event dynastic names are far more common in the Fayum than in the rest of Egypt. In the Nile Valley we know only of the dynastic names PTOLEMAIS, PHILOMETORIS, and KLEOPATRA and the dynastic epithet, EUERGETIS. These four were described in antiquity as *poleis*.[121] Rostovtzeff also noted the relatively high number—52—of nondynastic Greek toponyms in the Fayum. In addition to the *-polis* names I have already mentioned, we find, for example, Alexandrou Nesos, Andromachis, Aristarchou, Athenas, Bakchias, Dionysias, Euhemereia, Lysimachis, Herakleia, Metrodorou, Polydeukia, Theognis, and Trikomia. This is in sharp contrast to Middle and Lower Egypt. A glance at a map shows practically no evidence for such toponyms there. In fact, practically all the "Greek toponyms" attested for Middle and Lower Egypt are *-polis* names. Of course, the Nile Delta and Valley were areas of habitation that went back to high antiquity. And, as I have tried to demonstrate, the *-polis* names by which we know these places are probably "in-group place names"—that is, names that reflect how the Greeks referred to these places but names that tell us nothing about the organization or history of the communities there. For this reason and in the absence of other supporting information I do not consider these cities—including the nome capitals—to be Hellenistic settlements.

In contrast, much of the Fayum was brought under development for the first time under the Ptolemies. Is it the case that the relative abundance of dynastic and nondynastic Greek toponyms in the Fayum as opposed to the rest of Egypt reflects the more intense influx of settlers into the region? If—as is likely—that is the case, then we must ask ourselves whether or not these Fayum villages were Hellenistic settlements. It is to this question that I now want to turn.

121. In M. Drew-Bear's list of toponyms in the Hermopolite nome, for example, I can find reference only to a Kleopatra and a Kleopatris (*Le nome Hermopolite* [Ann Arbor, 1979] 141–44).

Fayum Towns and Royal Founders

In Egypt itself, there is extensive evidence for Philadelphos's land reclamation program in the Fayum.[122] The magnitude of this achievement cannot be overstated. The reclamation program opened up significant amounts of land for development and settlement. Furthermore, it is clear that the Ptolemies oversaw the distribution of the land to the settlers. To these areas came Greeks, Macedonians, Thracians, Egyptians, Jews, and Syrians, among others. They settled in the Fayum, many in villages located on newly reclaimed land. The fact that many of the Fayum settlements were founded on land reclaimed in the third century B.C. obviously means these were—by definition—"Hellenistic settlements"; and the same undoubtedly holds true for some of the other Fayum villages as well. However, the question I am trying to address is somewhat more focused: Were these Fayum villages and towns Hellenistic settlements in the same mode as, for example, the many Hellenistic foundations in Europe, Asia Minor, and Asia? In short, were they—as Rostovtzeff claimed—"city-like settlements . . . miniature Alexandrias"?

A key date for settlement activity in the Fayum is 253 B.C. In July of that year Ptolemy Philadelphos made a visit to the region.[123] W. Clarysse has suggested—convincingly—that one result of this visit was an extensive klerouchic settlement shortly thereafter in a number of villages in the northeastern part of the Arsinoite nome. In fact, a number of papyri provide evidence for klerouchs traveling to or receiving their allotments. For example, *P. Lugd. Bat.* XX 67 is a letter of introduction, dated to November 253 B.C., in which Asklepiades asks Zenon to help Artemidoros, a soldier, get hold of his land allotment. From another document (*PSI* VI 627) we learn the names of ten of his companions; these were veterans from Memphis who were settled in the village of Tanis, 10 kilometers south of Philadelpheia. From still other papyri we learn of problems arising at Ammonias, a village near Philadelpheia, in the course of the allocation of land lots to various infantrymen (*P. Lond.* VII 1980–81; see also *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59245, 252 B.C.). Another papyrus dated to November 253 B.C. (*P. Lugd. Bat.* XX 38) refers to veterans who were settled on land in the *epoikion* of Andromachos and the estate of Panouphis. Other letters in the Zenon archive that are (apparently) concerned with klerouchs traveling to their allotments include *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59284 (251 B.C.), a letter written on behalf of a certain Hermogenes who was coming to the Fayum or a neighboring district as a klerouch (see also *P. Lond.* VII 1945–46 [257 B.C.], 2027; *PSI* IV 415).

122. See, for example, Rostovtzeff, *Estate,* 56–70; Edgar in *P. Mich. Zen.* pp. 5–43; D.J. Crawford (Thompson), *Kerkeosiris,* 40–43, D.J. Thompson in *Agriculture in Egypt,* 107–17, 123–26.

123. *PSI* IV 354; see also Rostovtzeff, *Estate,* 114, 163; Clarysse in *Ptolemaic Memphis,* 85–88.

In addition, there is information indicating, for example, that Apollonios played a role in construction efforts. Thus a letter that Diodoros sent to him in 258/7 B.C. discusses problems with the wood supply.[124] There is, in addition, evidence for Zenon's participation in various aspects of the construction program.[125] Finally, W. Schubart pointed out that the Greek names of many villages in the Fayum correspond to Alexandreian demotics.[126] This raises the possibility—but does not prove—that there was a centralized plan for the settlement of the Arsinoite nome.

What the extant papyri and inscriptions do not tell us is who actually was considered to be the founder of particular Fayum settlements. In fact, there is no explicit evidence that any settlement in the Fayum was founded by or on order of a Ptolemaic king. It is true that in a number of papyri Philadelpheia is specifically called a *κώμη Φιλαδέλφου*.[127] This, of course, indicates the person for whom the village was named: Arsinoe Philadelphos.[128] It does not, however, indicate who founded the settlement or anything about the actual founding process. In addition, there is evidence for the Ptolemaic dynastic cult. For example, in a letter, Apollonios instructs Zenon to show a visitor around Philadelpheia, including the site of the proposed temple of the Gods Adelphoi.[129] But, of course, the dynastic cult was different from a founder cult.

The linkage of various settlements to Ptolemaic kings (or queens) is invariably based on the toponyms themselves and the fact of their first appearance in the extant evidence at some point in the third century B.C. For example, a cursory survey from selected Fayum villages indicates the earliest extant papyri date to c. 259–221 B.C.[130] Furthermore, at a number of sites where excavation or surface survey has taken place—for example, at Karanis, Magdola, Soknopaiou Nesos, Tali, and Theadelpheia—researchers have not been able to find any evidence for pre-Ptolemaic habitation at the site. However, the question I wish to address is not when these settlements were founded but what role, if any, the central government may have played

124. *PSI* V 496 = *P. Lugd. Bat.* XX 48; see also *PSI* V 500 and Edgar's discussion in *P. Mich. Zen.*, pp. 27–30.

125. See Edgar in *P. Mich. Zen.*, pp. 27–30.

126. *Archiv* 5 (1913) 88–89 n.2; see also W. Clarysse and W. Swinnen in *Studi Adriani*, 15.

127. E.g., *P. Lond.* VII 1954.1, 1955.1; *SB* VI 9126.7, I 1214.6.

128. See Skeat on *P. Lond.* VII 1954.1.

129. *P. Cairo Zen.* II 59169 = *P. Lugd. Bat.* XX 28; for the temple see also the demotic *PSI* IV 358 = *P. Lugd. Bat.* XX 13 (252 B.C.).

130. E.g., Philoteris (Herakleides)—222/1 B.C. (*P. Magd.* 19 = *P. Enteux.* 50); Ptolemais Arabon—221 B.C. (*P. Enteux.* 3); Ptolemais Hormou—259/8 B.C. (*P. Lugd. Bat.* XX A.46); Theadelpheia—237 B.C. (*P. Tebt.* III.2 866); Lysimachis (Polemon)—231 B.C. (*CPR* XVIII 21.439–40); Magdola—third cent. B.C. (*P. Petrie* III 66b, col. 4.12); Herakleia—222 B.C. (*P. Enteux.* 59 = *CPJ* I 37); Lysimachis (Themistos)—246 B.C. (*SB* XII 10845); Philopator Apiados—224/3 B.C. (*Chrest. W.* 304); Ptolemais Kaine—third cent. B.C. (*P. Petrie* II 28, col. 2.21); Soknopaiou Nesos—241 B.C. (*P. Lille* I 3.20); Trikomia—251/0 B.C. (*P. Col. Zen.* I 51).

in founding them. At present there is no evidence to indicate any king took a role in founding any of these settlements. It is the absence of this kind of information for the Fayum—a region that filled with settlers in the third century B.C.—that gives me pause. Of course, most of the evidence from the region is papyrological and only begins c. 260 B.C. Among other things, one could argue plausibly that we should not expect to find this kind of information in the papyri. But there are, in addition, inscriptions—mainly dedicatory and funerary ones—and none of these says anything about founders.

On the other hand, in other parts of Egypt there is both epigraphic and papyrological evidence for royal involvement—either directly or through the agency of a high royal official—in the founding of various *poleis:* for example, at Ptolemaic Alexandreia there (probably) was a founder cult of Alexander as well as a dynastic cult.[131] Elsewhere, an inscription from Philae that is dated palaeographically to the mid-second century A.D. refers to (Ptolemy I) Soter as the founder of PTOLEMAIS.[132] There is also evidence for a cult of Ptolemy there.[133] A papyrus dated to 132 B.C. specifically refers to Boethos, the *suggenes, epistrategos,* and *strategos* of the Thebaid, as the founder of the *polis* of EUERGETIS.[134] Earlier, a dedication to Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra, which dates to between 152 and 149 B.C., describes the same Boethos as the founder of two *poleis* in the Triakontaschoinos, PHILOMETORIS and KLEOPATRA.[135]

The contrast between the available evidence for these cities and the lack of evidence for the Fayum settlements is striking; but it is not probative. It is, after all, based on the absence of evidence. And we should be careful about building an argument based on this silence.

Fayum Towns: Josephus and Plutarch on Hellenistic Settlements

In discussing the aftermath of the building of the tower of Babel and the dispersion of people, Josephus remarks: "Of the nations some still preserve the names which were given them by their founders, some have changed them,

131. The only definite evidence extant for the cult of Alexander the Founder is late, dating to 120/1 A.D. (*SB* III 6611 and Habicht, *Gott.*^{2}, 36). From the Ptolemaic period, note *P. Hal.* 242–45, that a fixed amount in the sale of property was to be "sacred to Alexander"; this may also be an allusion to the founder cult. See, for example, G. Plaumann, *Archiv* 6 (1913) 77–99; L. R. Taylor, *CP* 22 (1927) 162–67; Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 190–91; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 212, 2: 360–61. For the (dynastic) cult of Alexander, which Ptolemy Soter established, see Wilcken, *SPAW* (1938) 306–8; Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 191; Nilsson, *Geschichte,* 2: 154–55; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 215–16, 2: 364–65; and ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, n. 34.

132. See above, n. 13.

133. *I. Philae* 20; Habicht, *Gott.*^{2}, 123 and n. 1; and PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid.

134. B. Kramer, *Archiv* (1997) 328–31, ll. 3–5.

135. *OGIS* 111 = *Dynastie* 95.9–10.

while yet others have modified them to make them more intelligible to their neighbours. It is the Greeks who are responsible for this change of nomenclature; for when in after ages they rose to power, they appropriated even the glories of the past, embellishing the nations with names which they could understand and imposing on them forms of government, as though they were descended from themselves" (*AJ* 1.121, trans. Thackeray). Thus Josephus associated the founding of Hellenistic settlements with the imposition by the ruling authorities of new toponyms and new governmental forms. Plutarch (*Mor.* 328d–e) supported the second point when he observed that Alexander overcame the barbarian ways of Asia by establishing more than seventy cities there and "sowing all Asia with Hellenic magistracies."[136]

A consideration of the extant evidence from the various Hellenistic settlements in Egypt provides evidence for a *boule* and *demos* and other *polis* accoutrements only at ALEXANDREIA and PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid. There were, of course, gymnasia in the *poleis* of Ptolemaic Egypt as well as in the district capitals and villages.[137] These gymnasia served as cultural and athletic centers for the Greek and Macedonian settlers and their descendants. In fact, it is not until 1 B.C. that we have our first clear evidence for a member of a gymnasium whose father had an Egyptian, rather than a Greek, name.[138] However, it is important to remember that under Ptolemaic rule gymnasia were not governmental institutions nor were they supported by state subsidies. Many, in fact, were supported by private contributions.

It has often been remarked that the Greco-Macedonian recipients of land were often absentee landlords who preferred to live in the larger towns rather than in the villages where their allotments were located.[139] But neither the villages nor the towns had civic organizations. In the villages and towns of Ptolemaic Egypt expressions of a common will—and particularly the voting of dedications—were usually made through other organizations, such as associations of soldiers. These were the *politeumata.* We know of at least six, five of which had ethnic titles: Boeotians, Cretans, Cilicians, Idumaeans in Memphis, and Jews in Herakleopolis.[140] There was also a *politeuma* in Alexan-

136. In this connection we may note a series of letters from Eumenes II to the inhabitants of Tyriaion in which the king made various grants to them (L. Jonnes and M. Ricl, *EA* 29 [1997] 3–28). Among other things, the king granted the inhabitants of Tyriaion and those living in [nearby] fortified places the right to organize themselves into one *politeuma.* This grant included the right to have a *politeia,* to use their own laws, and to have a gymnasium. The king also specified that he would arrange for the establishment of a *boule,* magistrates, the distribution of people to the tribes, as well as the building of the gymnasium and the provision of oil to the youths.

137. Bowman and Rathbone, *JRS* 82 (1992) 121; N. Lewis, *Ptolemaic Egypt,* 27.

138. *BGU* IV 1189; see Lewis, *Ptolemaic Egypt,* 163; *SEG* 20:672 = *SB* IV 7246 is problematical.

139. E.g., E. Will in Will, Mossé, and Goukowsky, *Orient,* 2: 470.

140. Boeotians: *SEG* 2:871 = *SB* III 6664; Cretans: *P. Tebt.* I 32; Cilicians: *SB* IV 7270 = *I. Fayoum* 15; Idumaeans in Memphis: *OGIS* 737 and D. J. Thompson Crawford in *Pap. Cong. XVII,*

dreia.[141] Tarn also called attention to evidence for Greeks forming themselves into *politeumata* in particular districts:[142] for example, "the Greeks in the Delta," "in the Thebaid" (*OGIS* 709), or "in the Arsinoite nome."[143] But these all date from the Roman period. There is, of course, evidence for dedications in various Fayum villages of Ptolemaic Egypt. For example, we find a late Hellenistic dedication made by an *epistates* together with individuals from three villages (Dionysias, Philoteris, Kanopias).[144] The only example we have of a dedication that may have been made by the common consent of a village/town community is a heavily restored honorific inscription from Krokodilopolis that was made by ἡ π[όλις].[145] Beyond that, practically all the other dedications that survive were made by individuals or (professional) groups rather than by the common consent of the village community or of an organized group of settlers in the particular village. In this connection Marcel Launey rightly observed that "le *politeuma* offre dans une certaine mesure l'image d'une *polis,* sans territoire, sans *astu,* et sans autonomie réelle; malgré ses limitations, il assure à ses membres les formes d'une vie politique et nationale; c'est, dans ce royaume sans cités, l'institution qui ressemble le plus à une cité hellénique."[146] In short, it was the *politeuma* rather than the settlement that gave the settlers the means to express their collective voices and their collective will. There are still many unanswered questions regarding the *politeumata:* for example, we do not know whether they were founded spontaneously by the settlers or whether the initiative for their creation came from the king. In any event, what is clear is the dearth of evidence for governmental forms for the Fayum settlements in Ptolemaic Egypt. The reason for this is not far to seek, even if it is *ex silentio:* the villages and the village officials did not have the means or the power to initiate. Village officials, such as the *komarch* or the *komogrammateus,* who, incidentally, were usually exter-

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1069–75; Jews in Herakleopolis: *P. Polit. Iud.*; J. M. S. Cowey, *Das Archiv des judischen politeuma in Herakleopolis und das Archiv des phruarchen Dioskurides* (Heidelberg, 2000); and A. Kasher, *Jewish Quarterly Review* 93 (2002) 1–12; S. Honigman, *SCI* 21 (2002) 251–66. In general see W. Ruppel, *Philologus* 82 (1927) 268–312, 433–54; Launey, *Recherches,* 1064–85; Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies,* 72–75; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 280–81.

141. *SEG* 20:499 and Fraser, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 147–52.

142. In Tarn and Griffith, *HC*³, 202.

143. G. Plaumann, *Archiv* 6 (1920) 176–83; *P. Tebt.* II 566.

144. *I. Fayoum* 19: Ἡρακλείδης ἐπιστάτης καὶ οἱ ἐγ Διονυσιάδος, Φιλωτερίδος, Κανωπιάδος. It is not likely that the dedication was made jointly by the villages as corporate entities. If, in fact, each village had officially voted a decree in favor of this dedication we would expect each village to have set up its own decree. Cf., for example, the decree of Antioch in Persis recognizing the festival of Artemis Leukophryene at Magnesia on the Maeander (*OGIS* 233); at the end of the decree we read that a number of other cities had passed similar—but separate—resolutions. Not surprisingly, the cities did not pass a joint resolution.

145. *I. Fayoum* 10, 80/79–69/8 B.C.

146. *Recherches,* 1079–80.

nally appointed and almost always Egyptians, were essentially agents whose function was to implement directives sent down from above.[147] It will not be surprising, therefore, that practically all of the surviving inscriptions from the Fayum record either funerary monuments or dedications that were made by individuals or associations. In any event, there is no extant inscription from the Hellenistic Fayum that records the official *acta* of a village/town council, assembly, or board of magistrates.[148] Of course these *were* villages, and—oftentimes—small ones at that. Estimates of the adult population in the third century B.C. for Fayum villages in the Themistos division range from 60 and 70 (Isieion Aigialou and Ankonos) to 1,150 and 1,160 (Dionysias and Philoteris).[149] As an average figure, D. Rathbone has estimated a population of 1,000 per village for the third century B.C. On the other hand, it is not likely that the settlements of Macedonians in second-century B.C. Lydia were much larger than some of these Fayum villages. And, as we have seen, the Macedonians in those settlements occasionally joined together to vote dedications.

The Egyptian Context of the Fayum Settlements

Of course, the papyri and archaeology provide wide-ranging indications of the presence of Greeks and Macedonians in Fayum villages. At the same time, the available evidence also indicates (a) a large part of the population of the various villages was Egyptian, (b) many of the village officials were Egyptians, (c) Egyptian deities were worshipped, (d) letters were increasingly dated by reference to Egyptian, rather than Macedonian, month names. There are, in addition, other indications of the Egyptian context.

For example, it is generally—and correctly—believed that the model for most of the Hellenistic settlements in Asia was Alexander. Of course the paradigm that Alexander drew on for his colonization program owed far more to the Middle Eastern (i.e., Assyrian/Babylonian/Persian) model than to Greek precedents.[150] The same undoubtedly holds true for Egypt. There the Ptolemies used a system of granting land to soldiers in return for military service. Certainly the granting of land in return for military service or obligation is to be found in Greece and Macedonia. And, of course, the terms

147. J. Bingen in *L'epigrafia,* 116; W. Peremans, *AS* 2 (1971) 34–35, 44; 10 (1979) 143; Verhooght, *Menches,* 66, 79 and n. 34; L. Criscuolo, *Aegyptus* 58 (1978) 40 and nn. 5–10.

148. G. Wagner in *L'epigrafia,* 108–10; Bernand, *I. Fayoum* 3: pp. 185–89.

149. See especially D. W. Rathbone, *PCPS* (1990) 103–42, esp. 130–33. Rathhbone correctly warns (130) that the colonization (and populating) of the Fayum will have taken some time. Hence population figures that are drawn from documents relating to the third century B.C. will necessarily reflect the early stages of a settlement's development and indicate a low population level.

150. See Cohen, *Settlements in Europe,* 15–19, and in *Egypt and the Hellenistic World,* ed. E. Van 't Dack et al. (Leuven, 1983) 63–74.

used for the Ptolemaic system—*kleroi, klerouchoi*—were Greek. But the system was also widely used in pharaonic Egypt. And this was certainly known to the Ptolemies.[151]

We may appreciate another—and significant—difference between Hellenistic Asia and the Fayum if we consider the reasons underlying the settlement programs in each region. The Seleucid and Ptolemaic overseas settlements were founded for various reasons: for example, as harbor towns, to anchor trade routes, or for internal or external security. The settlers in these foundations were usually given land to cultivate; but the cultivation of land was not the primary raison d'être of these colonies. By contrast, the Fayum settlements were essentially farming villages. There were, of course, places such as Ptolemais Hormou, which were river towns, providing the means for the transportation of farm produce to ALEXANDREIA. But the vast majority of the new villages were tied—directly or indirectly—to the expanded agricultural exploitation of the Fayum under the Ptolemies. Here, as in other areas, the Ptolemies showed themselves to be heirs of the pharaonic traditions.[152]

Finally, I mentioned earlier that Philadelpheia was laid out on a grid plan; in fact, at least two other Fayum villages—Dionysias and Tali—were similarly planned, as was the port city of KLYSMA. The discovery of a grid plan at the Fayum towns prompted the observation by a number of scholars that they were planned in a manner characteristic of Hellenistic cities.[153] Thus, in support of this characterization of Philadelpheia as a "miniature Alexandreia," Rostovtzeff noted, among other things, its "chess board plan, its straight streets crossing each other at right angles."[154] In fact, it is important to remember that orthogonal town-planning was not uniquely Greek. It is also found in various cities and towns of pharaonic Egypt. Thus the Fourth Dynasty (2613–2494 B.C.) necropolis at Giza was planned orthogonally. A number of fortress towns of the Twelfth Dynasty (1991–1786 B.C.) built along the Second Cataract were laid out in a grid plan. The large pyramid city of Hotep Sesostris (Kahun), which was built by Sesostris II during the Middle Kingdom on the edge of the Fayum, was also laid out on an orthogonal plan. And Akhetaton (el-Amarna), which was founded approximately 1,100 years before the Ptolemaic settlement of the Fayum, was also laid out on an or-

151. Bouché-Leclercq, *Lagides,* 230–32; Lesquier, *Institutions,* 43–44; E. Will in Will, Mossé, and Goukowsky, *Orient,* 469–70.

152. For Egyptian-Greek connections in the religious sphere in Ptolemaic Egypt see, for example, J. Quaegebeur in *Hellenistic World,* 303–24.

153. E.g., Viereck and Zucker, *Philadelphia,* 7–8; P. Lévêque, *Le monde hellénistique* (Paris, 1992) 149 n.3; Bowman, *Egypt,* 147; Lewis, *Ptolemaic Egypt,* 26; see also Edgar, *P. Mich. Zen.* p. 28; and Bernand, *I. Fayoum* 1: p. 198.

154. *SEHHW,* 420.

thogonal plan.[155] In short, the discovery of a grid plan at Dionysias, Tali, and Philadelpheia could reflect Hellenic influence; but it could also reflect Egyptian.[156]

Hellenistic Settlements in Asia Minor and Syria

As a final step in this exercise I believe it would be instructive to consider briefly—by way of comparison—some Macedonian and Greek settlements in Hellenistic Asia Minor and Syria. According to Stephanos (s.v. "Thyateira"), Seleukos established the colony at THYATEIRA after his victory over Lysimachos. Furthermore, Strabo specifically refers to Thyateira as a "Macedonian settlement" (13.4.4). In addition, a number of inscriptions mention the presence of Macedonians at Thyateira. The military organization of the colony can be seen in the dedication made to Seleukos by the "officers and soldiers" (*OGIS* 211). There is also evidence dating from the second century B.C. for Macedonians at various places in Lydia: AGATHEIRA, AKRASOS, DOIDYE, -ESPOURA, KOBEDYLE. The evidence consists of dedicatory or honorific inscriptions set up by the Macedonians living there. Clearly these Macedonians had some kind of organizational structure that enabled them to decide collectively on the various honorific decrees that have survived. The earliest evidence for Macedonians at HYRKANIS is an inscription of the early second century B.C. that records an honorific decree of a "Macedonian Hyrkanian." A dedication of the third century A.D. to Zeus Seleukeios has been found near the site of the colony (*SEG* 15.740 = *TAM* V.2 1306). Zeus Seleukeios was undoubtedly a god of the Macedonian colonists, and this suggests the founder of the colony was a Seleucid.

It was in Lydia and Phrygia that Antiochos III apparently founded colonies of Babylonian Jews. We know about these JEWISH COLONIES from a letter of Antiochos that Josephus records (*AJ* 12.148–53). We may note the following: Antiochos consulted with his *philoi* and decided to transport a total of 2,000 families to Asia Minor. Josephus does not actually indicate how many colonies were established; hence we cannot specify the size of any settlement. At the very least, it will be clear that no single colony was very large. The colonists were given land to live on and to cultivate as well as short-term tax exemptions. All this is suggestive of the situation for the Fayum settlements. But there were differences. Thus the fact that Antiochos guaranteed the use of Jewish ancestral law suggests the population was (unlike the population

155. B. J. Kemp and S. Garfi, *A Survey of the Ancient City of El-'Amarna* (London, 1993).

156. In general, see Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 66; *Ptolémées,* 56–57; P. Gilbert, *CE* (1965) 72–7; P. Lavedan, *Histoire de l'urbanisme* (Paris, 1966) 33–41; Bruyère, *Clysma,* 51; P. Lampl, *Cities and Planning in the Ancient Near East* (London, 1968) 30; J. Parlebas, *Ktema* 2 (1977) 49–57; C. Orrieux, *Zénon de Caunos* (Paris, 1985) 131.

of the Fayum settlements) homogeneous and did not include natives. We may also note that Antiochos had a role in the establishment of the Jewish colonies. As we have seen, there is no definite indication the Ptolemaic king played a similar role with regard to the Fayum settlements.

A number of coastal cities and towns of Phoenicia and Syria minted weights in the Hellenistic period. The weights were normally inscribed with the city ethnic, the date and the denomination, and the name and title—usually the *agoranomos*—of the person heading this department; in addition we usually find official Seleucid symbols such as the anchor, the elephant, Nike, or Tyche. These weights are, of course, found at major settlements such as LAODIKEIA by the Sea. But they are also found at lesser centers, such as HERAKLEIA by the Sea. Undoubtedly, a town that minted such weights had a functioning municipal government of some kind. Other settlements—besides the major foundations such as ANTIOCH near Daphne—were the sites of mints that produced autonomous or quasi-autonomous coins in the second and first centuries B.C.: for example, HIERAPOLIS in Cilicia and in Syria, KYRRHOS, ALEXANDREIA by Issos, and LARISA Sizara.[157]

Lastly, I would mention DOURA EUROPOS, the Macedonian settlement on the banks of the Euphrates. The fact that Seleukos I Nikator was the founder of Europos is demonstrated by, among other things, one of the three bas-reliefs found in the ruins of the temple of the Gaddé. In the bas-relief the figure crowning the Gad or Fortune of Doura (represented as Zeus Olympios) is identified in the accompanying Palmyrene inscription as Seleukos Nikator.[158]

In other words, at various minor Seleucid settlements we find evidence for, among other things, municipal government of some kind, an organizational structure that enabled the settlers to make collective decisions, the minting of weights and coins, and royal founders. It is these elements we are searching for in the Fayum.

Consider, for example, Philadelpheia in the Fayum. It was laid out on a grid plan. Although it was occasionally described as a *polis* in the Zenon papyri,[159] it, in fact, was a *kome*.[160] In any event, the extant evidence from Philadelpheia is not much different from any of the other Fayum villages for which there is information. Thus the papyri provide evidence from the Hellenistic period for numerous offices, including the *komarch,* the *komogrammateus,* and the *epistates.* There is also evidence from the first half of the second century B.C. for a gymnasium (*BGU* VI 1256.28). In addition there is evidence for the

157. See Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 124–26; KYRRHOS.

158. For other evidence for Seleukos Nikator as founder see DOURA EUROPOS and nn. 8–11.

159. E.g., *P. Lond.* VII 1954.6 (257 B.C.); *PSI* IV 341.3 (256/5 B.C.), 402.5.

160. E.g., *P. Lond.* VII 1954.1, 1955.1 (257 B.C.); see Rostovtzeff, *Estate,* 69.

worship of numerous deities, Greek and Egyptian, as well as of Arsinoe Philadelphos. What we do not find at Philadelpheia is any evidence for, for example, (a) a founder cult, (b) a (royal or civic) mint, (c) a *boule,* an *ekklesia,* or a board of *archontes,* or decrees or dedications voted by the common consent of the village. In short, I cannot find sufficient evidence to justify Rostovtzeff's characterization of Philadelpheia as a "miniature Alexandreia."

I mentioned earlier the observations of Josephus and Plutarch that Alexander and his successors spread Greek toponyms and governmental forms throughout the Near East. Admittedly, Plutarch was thinking of *poleis,* not smaller settlements. Nevertheless, I believe that the observations of both authors can serve as (partial) criteria as to what we should expect to find in a Hellenistic settlement. In fact, we do find evidence for Greek toponyms and/or (some kind of) civic organization at many smaller settlements in Asia Minor and Syria. When, for example, Antiochos III decided to settle 2,000 Babylonian Jews in Asia Minor one of the terms of the settlement program was that the colonists could use their own laws, that is, they could govern themselves.[161] And when Eumenes II elevated the civic status of Tyriaion in Phrygia he specified that, among other things, the inhabitants were to be allowed to use their own laws.[162] In short, it would appear that the right to have some kind of local self-government was an important aspect of a Hellenistic settlement. By contrast, there is no firm evidence extant for a civic or municipal organization for any of the Fayum settlements with Greek toponyms. Nor is there any evidence for royal founders.

The Fayum villages were, of course, Hellenistic foundations, but of a sort quite different from the settlements established elsewhere in the Hellenistic Near East. It is understandable, therefore, that scholars—with the notable exception of Rostovtzeff—have generally preferred to exclude them from consideration in any discussion of Hellenistic colonization. This is perhaps prejudicial, based on the implicit notion that the settlements in Egypt should somehow fit the criteria for settlements found elsewhere in the Middle East. Nevertheless, it is clear that the Hellenistic settlements in Egypt differed somewhat from those in, for example, Syria. For this reason, I have decided not to include the Fayum settlements in the present study.

CYRENAICA

Cyrenaica was part of the Hellenistic world from the arrival of Alexander in Egypt; when the Macedonian king invaded Egypt, the Cyrenaeans allied

161. Josephus, *AJ* 12.147–52.
162. Above, n. 136.

themselves with him (Diod. 17.49.2; Curt. 4.7.9). It came under Ptolemaic rule in 322 B.C. and remained under direct or indirect Egyptian control until 96 B.C.[163] There are at least four settlements in Cyrenaica that are associated with the Hellenistic period: APOLLONIA, ARSINOE, BERENIKE, and PTOLEMAIS. The extant evidence suggests these were founded in the third century B.C.

We know relatively little about the population of these settlements. The fact that Arsinoe, Berenike, and Ptolemais received Delphic *theoroi* at the end of the third century B.C. presumably reflects the presence of Greeks at the time.[164] Inscriptions also provide evidence for the presence of Greek institutions and, if we may judge from the names, Greeks, Macedonians, Thracians, and Anatolians at these settlements. In addition there is evidence for Jewish settlers. In fact, according to Josephus (*CAp* 2.44), it was Ptolemy Soter who first brought Jews to Cyrenaica in order to strengthen his hold on the country.[165]

The only extensive part of Cyrenaica suitable for habitation lies north of the Jebel el-Akhdar and the coastal plain north of it, in the area between Benghazi and Derna. Most of the cultivatable land of Cyrenaica is located in this region. As for the coastal plain, much of it is narrow; furthermore, it is occasionally broken by mountain ridges reaching the sea.[166] As a result, it was not possible to have a continuous, commercially viable road along the Cyrenaican coast. This increased the dependence on the sea for communication within the country and from Egypt with the rest of North Africa. Of course the sea also provided the means for communication with Greece, Italy, and Sicily. Ptolemaic interest in the west was long-standing.[167] It will be recalled, for example, that Ptolemy II Philadelphos established diplomatic relations with Rome. The Ptolemies also maintained diplomatic relations with Syracuse as well as with Carthage. In addition, the Ptolemies cultivated commercial relations with the west. Ceramic evidence from third- and second-

163. The literature on Cyrenaica in the Hellenistic period is quite extensive; see, for example, Rowe, *Cyrenaica,* 37–44; Jones, *CERP*[2], 354–59; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.* 25–37; Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 52–63; G. B. D. Jones and J. H. Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 64–78; Laronde, *Cyrène;* J. M. Reynolds, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Pentapolis"; Reynolds and Lloyd in *CAH*[2],10: 619–30. For the literary evidence see the footnotes to J. P. Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium* (repr., Verbania, 1940).

164. On the question of the status of towns that received the Delphic *theoroi* see PTOLEMAIS Larisa.

165. See also *AJ* 14.116. On the Jews in Hellenistic Cyrenaica see especially Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 131–200.

166. For the geographic background see, for example, F. Chamoux, *Cyrène sous la monarchie des Battiades* (Paris, 1953) 11–17; Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 2–4; Reynolds and Lloyd, *CAH*[2], 10: 622–24.

167. See, for example, Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 394–97, 1414–15; Laronde in *L'emporion,* 89–97.

century B.C. Italy, Attica, Megara, Knidos, and Rhodes makes this abundantly clear, as does the presence of Alexandreian ware in South Italy.[168] And, as Rostovtzeff noted, the discovery of Ptolemaic coins in Tunisia and the adoption of the Ptolemaic standard by the Carthaginians when they first minted coins give evidence of Egyptian commercial ties with North Africa. In his discussion of the trade pattern of fine pottery at BERENIKE, for example, Kenrick called attention to the fact that the settlement was well located for trade with both the eastern and the western Mediterranean.[169] It will not be surprising, therefore, to find Ptolemaic settlements on the coast of Cyrenaica. These foundations anchored the Egyptian presence in the region. They also served as ports of call for shipping and trade between Egypt and the west as well as with Crete and the Aegean.

168. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 1408–9, 1415; Laronde (in *L'emporion,* 89–90, 95–97), who also calls our attention to the fact that the south coast of Crete was only 300 km from Cyrenaica.

169. In *Cyrenaica,* 249–57; see also D. Bailey on imported lamps found at Berenike (in *Cyrenaica,* 195–96).

I

NORTHERN SYRIA

ACHAIA

Among the towns in Syria that Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions as a foundation of Seleukos I Nikator is Achaia. The name, of course, recalls the region in Greece.[1] There are no other firm attestations for this town. We do not know exactly where Achaia was located.

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In general see W. Thomaschek, *RE* s.v. "Achaia 9"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 239; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 153; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 675.

1. Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 6) speculated that Achaia might be identical with Achaiachala on the Euphrates mentioned by Ammianus (24.2.2). Bevan (*Seleucus,* 222 n. 6) thought this might refer to HERAKLEIA in Media. Despite Appian's statement (*Syr.* 57) that Achaia was among the Syrian colonies named for Greek and Macedonian towns, Wilcken (*RE* s.v. "Achaios 3") suggested the city was named for Achaios, the brother of Antiochos I.

ALEXANDREIA BY ISSOS

The earliest evidence—literary and numismatic—for Alexandreia is datable to the second century B.C. Ps.-Scymnus (923 = *GGM,* 1: 235 = Diller, *MGG,* 174) referred to it as a foundation of the Macedonian king; in addition, there is extant coinage dating to the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[1] Herodian adds (3.4.3) that at Alexandreia there was a monument to commemorate the battle of Issos, which was fought nearby, and a bronze statue of Alexander. On coinage of the second century B.C.–first century A.D. the ethnic is generally *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ*; on coins of the second and third centuries A.D. it is *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤ ΙΣΣΟΝ*.[2] On some coins of the second/first century B.C. there is a (Macedonian ?) helmet used as a countermark on the reverse.[3]

The identification of the founder remains a problem. Ps.-Scymnus is the only extant ancient literary source who says Alexander was the founder. Herodian does not actually say that Alexander established the settlement. Strabo (14.5.19) refers to the city but does not mention that it was built by Alexander. Neither Arrian nor Curtius Rufus refer to it at all.[4] The latter, however, does say (3.12.27) that after the battle Alexander erected three altars, which Cicero later saw (*Ad Familiares* 15.4.9). The evidence from the *Alexander Romance* is unclear. The *A* recension does not include it among Alexander's settlements. On the other hand, the settlement is recorded among his foundations in the Armenian translation as well as the *B* recension and its derivatives. Furthermore, the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (34b) mentions an "Alexandria qui cabiosum" among Alexander's foundations.[5] Finally, among a group of seals found just outside Iskenderun one had a portrait of Alexander.[6]

H. Seyrig has suggested that Antigonos chose Alexandreia to be the port city for ANTIGONEIA.[7] Iskenderun on the like-named gulf in eastern Turkey is the modern Alexandreia by Issos. However, the exact site of the settlement has not yet been identified.[8]

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 663; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Alexandreia 15"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 155; Tcherikover, *HS,* 58–59; Tarn, *Alexander,* 2: 237–38; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 36–37, 108–9; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 679; Billows, *Antigonos,* 298; Fraser, *Cities,* 20–23; Sartre, *Alexandre,* 116, 155 n. 7; N. G. L. Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 261–62.

1. For the **coinage** of Alexandreia see E. T. Newell, *AJN* 53.2 (1919 [1920]) 1–42; E. Levante, *NC,* 1971, 93–102. For coinage with a head of Antiochos IV within a Macedonian shield on the obverse see, for example, Levante, *NC,* 1971, 96, nos. 1–7; *SNG Switzerland I* 1831–32; *SNG France 2* 2405. For other coinage see *SNG* (von A) 5464–68; Levante, *NC,* 1971, 93ff., nos. 8–97; *SNG Switzerland I* 1833–52; *SNG France 2* 2406–19.

2. For the **ethnic** *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ* see, for example, Levante, *NC,* 1971, 96–99, nos. 1–70; *SNG* (von A) 5464; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 380–82 (first cent. B.C.); *Switzerland I* 1831–39, 1841–42; *SNG France 2* 2405–14.

For the ethnic *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤ ΙΣΣΟΝ* see, for example, Levante, *NC,* 1971, 99–101, nos. 71–97; *SNG* (von A) 5465–68; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 383; *SNG Switzerland I* 1840, 1843–52 and *Supplement* 432–33; *SNG France 2* 2417–19.

For the **toponym** see, for example, *Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ κατὰ Ἰσσόν* (Ptolemy 5.14.2); *Ἀλεξάνδρεια κατ' Ἰσσόν* (the *Stadiasmus* 152 = *GGM,* 1: 476); "Alexandria acata Ison" (Geog. Rav. 5.8, ed. Schnetz); "Alexandria Catisson" (*Tab. Peut.* IX.4).

For additional references to the city see, for example, Pliny *NH* 5.91, 6.207 ("Alexandria"); Hierokles 705.6 (*Ἀλεξάνδρεια*); Stephanos, "Alexandreia 8"; the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*SEG* 20: 324.15, *Ἀλεξάνδρεια*); *Itin. Ant.* 146.3 (ed. Cuntz, "Alexandria"); Malalas 12.297 (*CSHB* XXVIII, *Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ μικρά*).

3. For the **Macedonian helmet** on certain coins of Alexandreia see, for example, *SNG Switzerland I* 1835. For a similar helmet on coins of AIGEAI see, for example, *SNG Switzerland I* 1639.

E. T. Newell (a) attributed a group of Persian staters and obols to a mint at Myriandros, (b) suggested that Alexander continued minting coins at Myriandros, and (c) claimed that Alexander renamed Myriandros Alexandreia by Issos (*AJN* 53 [1919] 16–31 and below, n. 4). For the identification of Alexandreia by Issos with Myriandros see also, for example, Le Rider in *Meydancıkkale,* p. 90; Price, *Alexander and Philip,* 401. Note, however, that Strabo (14.5.19) indicates Myriandros and Alexandreia were separate and distinct towns; see Sartre, *Alexandre,* 116 n. 12. On the other hand, J. D. Bing has suggested that the coinage that Newell attributed to Myriandros was minted at Issos (*AJN* 2 [1989] 1–31). Price (*Alexander and Philip,* 401 and n. 1) was skeptical of both these suggestions.

4. Sartre noted the silence in the Alexander historians regarding Alexandreia by Issos; as a result he suggested that the settlement might have been founded under

another name and that the inhabitants might have subsequently taken to calling it Alexandreia (*Alexandre,* 116).

Three possible **founders** have been proposed: Alexander the Great, Antigonos Monophthalmos, or Seleukos I Nikator**.** E. T. Newell assumed that Alexandreia by Issos was founded by the Macedonian king (*AJN* 53 [1919] 25–26). H. Seyrig (*Syria* 47 [1970] 309 n. 1) appealed to the authority of Ps.-Scymnus in favor of Alexander; see also Hammond, *GRBS* 39 (1998) 261–62. Droysen (*Hist.,* 2: 663) dismissed the likelihood that Alexander founded the settlement when he was at the site, but suggested that the king might have ordered its construction later on when he was in the East (followed by Tarn, *Alexander,* 2: 237–38); on the other hand, Fraser (*Cities,* 21) dismissed the possibility that Alexander would have founded it at a later date, and remarked that Strabo's silence as to the founder was a strong argument against any connection with Alexander. Tcherikover (*HS,* 59) speculated it was founded by Antigonos Monophthalmos or Seleukos I; Jones (*CERP*², 197) opted for Seleukos I and suggested that Alexandreia resulted from a synoecism of Myriandros and Issos; Billows (*Antigonos,* 298; see also Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 253) believed it was founded by Antigonos and was intended to serve both as the terminal for the trade route from inner Asia (see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Alexandreia 15") and as the port for upper Syria (see also Wehrli, *Antig.,* 79; Wehrli suggested it was intended to serve as the port of ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes). Billows called attention to Strabo's observation (13.1.26) that Alexander's successors considered it an act of piety to name a city after him. Billows noted that (a) Strabo mentions that Lysimachos renamed ANTIGONEIA Troas after Alexander, (b) Ptolemy "put his energy into building up" ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, and (c) Appian (*Syr.* 57) says that Seleukos named settlements in honor of Alexander and mentions ALEXANDRESCHATA in Scythia and ALEXANDROPOLIS in India. Billows assumed that Antigonos followed the practice of naming a settlement for Alexander, and suggested that Alexandreia by Issos was an "obvious place to have been founded by him." Two remarks: (a) Ptolemy, of course, did not found Alexandreia near Egypt (though he did play a significant role in building it up); (b) since Appian specifies two settlements named by Seleukos for Alexander, it is quite possible he founded others. Hence we may rely on Appian to support the claim of Seleukos as founder of Alexandreia by Issos. But this is all quite speculative.

5. For the **corrupted form of the toponym** see, in addition to the *Excerpta Latina Barbari,* *Ἀλεξάνδρειαν τὴν Καβίωσαν* (*Chronicon Paschale* 321.11 [*CSHB* IV]); *Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ Καμβύσου* (Malalas 16.397, *CSHB* XXVIII); *Ἀλεξάνδρεια Κάβισσος* (George of Cyprus 824–25); "Mansio Alexandria Scabiosa" (*Itin. Burdig.* 580.8, ed. Cuntz). Presumably Alexandreia Scabiosa represents a further corruption of the toponym (i.e., Alexandreia kat' Issos → Alexandreia Kabissos/Kabiosa → Alexandreia Scabiosa). There the matter might rest, if it were not the case that LAODIKEIA near Libanos was also called Skabiosa (by Ptolemy [5.14.16] and the *Tab. Peut.* [IX.4]).

Fraser (*Cities,* 23) remarked that the word "'rough', or, of animals, 'mangy', is itself uncommon, and is not elsewhere applied to a city, let alone two, one an Alexandreia and the other an early Seleucid foundation. We may feel justified in concluding that, the addition of the initial consonant notwithstanding, the two names are the same, and that one of the two items is falsely so named, and in view of the more substantial evidence for Alexandria ad Issum being so called, it seems more likely that at some point the Roman nomenclature was added by error in the gazetteers

available to Ptolemy, who, in any case, occasionally uses Latin terms 'masquerading in Greek dress.'" Fraser said that he did not consider this an example of "the deliberate appropriation of a Seleucid city as an Alexandria" but simply an error in transmission. Although "scabiosa" is not found in other extant sources, "tracheia"—which would be a Greek equivalent—is attested for other regions and cities. Thus, for example, Pliny (*NH* 5.115) mentions "Smyrna cognomine Trachia" and Herodotus (4.99) refers to the "Rough Peninsula" in the Crimea. Cilicia, of course, was divided essentially into two parts, Pedias and Tracheia, i.e., Smooth and Rough Cilicia. Furthermore, Ptolemy (5.7.5) mentions Seleukeia Tracheia in Cilicia, and Pliny (*NH* 5.93) refers to it as "Tracheotis"; see further SELEUKEIA on the Kalykadnos. In short, Fraser is correct in pointing out that (a) "scabiosa" is an unusual term for a region or city and (b) the application of the term to Alexandreia undoubtedly resulted from further corruption in the tradition. However, Fraser's doubts about Laodikeia near Libanos/Skabiosa appear to be overstated; in any event, we should not exclude the possibility that "scabiosa" was there being used as a Latin equivalent of "tracheia."

6. For the **seal** with the head of Alexander see H. Seyrig, *MUSJ* 23.2 (1940) 97.

7. For the suggestion that **Alexandreia by Issos was the port for Antigoneia** see Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 308–9. See also Wehrli, *Antig.,* 79; Wehrli posited that Antigonos was at Alexandreia when he received news of the victory at the battle of Salamis (Plut. *Demet.* 17.2–5; see also ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes and SELEUKEIA in Pieria).

8. As regards **location,** Levante noted (*NC,* 1971, 94) that three imperial coins of Alexandreia have been found in the village of Saqit, 8 km south of Iskenderun. See map in J. D. Bing, *AJN* 1 (1989) 16.

ANTIGONEIA ON THE ORONTES

In 306 B.C. Antigonos Monophthalmos founded Antigoneia on the Orontes River. According to Diodorus (20.47.5), the site was "well adapted for watching over Babylon and the upper satrapies, and again for keeping an eye upon lower Syria and the satrapies near Egypt" (trans. R. Geer).[1] The city was quite large; it had a perimeter of over 70 stades. We do not definitely know whether Antigonos established a mint at Antigoneia.[2] In 302 Antigonos made plans to hold major games and a festival at Antigoneia (Diod. 20.108.1). Military threats posed by Lysimachos prevented him from carrying out these plans. After the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Seleukos destroyed the town and transported the population—which included Athenians and Macedonians, according to Malalas (8.201 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) and Libanius (*Or.* 11.92)—to the newly founded ANTIOCH near Daphne. It is also possible that some of the Antigoneians were also moved to SELEUKEIA in Pieria.[3] Despite Diodorus's claim regarding the destruction of Antigoneia we learn from Cassius Dio (40.29.1–2) that the town was still standing in 53 B.C.[4] The site is not definitely known. Libanius (*Or.* 11.85) placed it 40 stades from Antioch; Malalas (8.199) said it was between the Orontes and the river (the Arxeuthas, the modern Kara Su) that flowed out of the Amik Gölü. Most likely it was

located northeast of Antioch in the triangle of land where the Kara Su joins the Orontes.[5] It is likely that Antigonos was at Antigoneia when the news of the victory of the battle of Salamis was brought to him.[6]

* * * *

In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antigoneia 1"; Tcherikover, *HS*, 61; Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 135–36; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," 1610; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 426; Downey, *HAS,* 60–61; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 307–9; Wehrli, *Antig.,* 79–80; Briant, *Antigone,* 305–10; and Billows, *Antigonos,* 242, 297.

1. On the **strategic importance of Antigoneia** see Billows, *Antigonos,* 297. For **other literary references to Antigoneia** see, for example, Stephanos s.v. "Antigoneia 5, near Antioch"; Synkellos (ed. Mosshammer) 519, 520 (Antigonos founded Antigoneia on the Orontes River, Seleukos refounded it and called it ANTIOCH); essentially the same information in the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724* (E. W. Brooks, ed., and J.-B. Chabot, trans., in *CSCO Scriptores Syri Versio Series III, Tomus IV, Chronica Minora* [Leipzig, 1903] p. 83).

2. E. T. Newell (*WSM,* 84–86) suggested that under Antigonos there was a **mint at Antigoneia** that produced Alexander-type tetradrachms (nos. 1–5); see also Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, 788; L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 164; G. Le Rider in *Meydancıkkale,* pp. 90f., nos. 1934–47; id., *RBN* 145 (1999) 123–26, pl. XII, 9–11. However, serious doubts have arisen about the definite attribution of any coinage to a mint at Antigoneia: N. Breitenstein (*Acta Arch.* 13 [1942] 252–56) attributed the tetradrachms to Babylon. Price (*Alexander and Philip,* pp. 397–98, nos. 3191–95, and pp. 456, 480) suggested placing this coinage under Seleukos either at SELEUKEIA in Pieria or SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 123–28; *Antioche,* 18–21) likewise raised doubts about the existence of a mint at Antigoneia under Antigonos but—in support of Newell—was willing to consider the possibility ("only a speculation") that Seleukos briefly struck coins there: this would have happened in the c. eight-month period in 300 B.C. between the founding of SELEUKEIA in Pieria and the abandonment of Antigoneia.

3. Strabo (16.2.4), Libanius (*Or.* 11.92), and Malalas (8.255–56 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) indicate that **Seleukos destroyed or depopulated Antigoneia in order to populate Antioch.** It is Diodorus (20.47.6) who says that Seleukos destroyed Antigoneia and moved it to Seleukeia. A number of scholars have suggested that Diodorus was simply confused, or have tried to emend the text (see below). However, the importance of Seleukeia at the beginning of the third century B.C. makes it quite possible that, along with Antioch, it received some of the former Antigoneians (see Downey, *HAS,* 59; Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 137). As for the transfer of the population of Antigoneia to Antioch (rather than to Seleukeia), Marinoni has cited four pieces of supporting evidence (*Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 [1972] 590–93): (a) Malalas (8.201) mentions that Seleukos I placed a statue of the Tyche of Antigoneia in Antioch; (b) Malalas also says that Seleukos erected a bronze statue of Athena at Antioch (Marinoni suggests this could have been done in order to please Athenians who were part of the population of Antigoneia); (c) it was these persons, according to Libanius (*Or.* 11.92), who honored Seleukos with a statue at Antioch; (d) the bronze coinage of Antioch

has on the obverse a head of Apollo and on the reverse a draped figure of Athena (*WSM* 911–15). This would reflect the union of the inhabitants of Antigoneia and the subjects of Seleukos (see Downey, *HAS,* 77). Cf., however, Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 118–20), who noted, among other things, that Apollo is found on the coins of numerous mints, as is Athena. Furthermore, given that Athena was honored at Pella in Macedonia and that Alexander minted gold staters with her portrait head, it is not surprising that Seleukos cultivated her worship.

The claim of Kedrenos (1.166C–D [*CSHB* XIII]) that Antioch was actually built on the site of Antigoneia is unlikely.

4. Three possibilities emerge to explain **the existence of Antigoneia in 53 B.C.** after its destruction by Seleukos: (a) it was actually destroyed and at some later time rebuilt; (b) the destruction involved only a partial depopulation; (c) Antigoneia was relegated to the status of *kome* of the new city of Antioch (so Tcherikover, *HS,* 61, followed by Downey, *HAS,* 60 n. 28, and Billows, *Antigonos,* 297). In this connection, we should bear in mind that the "destruction" of a town could take a number of forms, not all of which involved physical destruction; see further KOLOPHON in Ionia.

5. For the **location** of Antigoneia see Downey, *HAS,* 60; Seyrig, *Syria* (1970) 308 and map 2 (p. 295); Billows, *Antigonos,* 297.

6. According to Plutarch, after the battle of Salamis Aristodemos brought word of the victory to Antigonos while the latter was at a *βασίλειον* (*Demet.* 17; on Hellenistic royal residences see especially Hoepfner and Brands, *Basileia*). The existence of **an Antigonid royal residence on (or near) the coast of Syria** and Antigonos's earlier shipbuilding activity at Tyre, Byblos, and Sidon (Diod. 19.58.1–4) suggest that Antigonos probably established a port on the Syrian littoral. We do not know the name of this port (if he did build one) nor where it might have been located. In short, therefore, we do not know where Antigonos was when the news of the victory at Salamis was brought to him.

An important piece of evidence for this discussion is Diodorus, who says that the city of Antigoneia was short-lived because Seleukos destroyed it and transferred it *ἐπὶ τὴν κτισθεῖσαν μὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν* (20.47.6). There are two problems connected with this passage: (a) Diodorus says that the destruction of Antigoneia was followed by the founding of Seleukeia, rather than Antioch (on this problem see above, n. 2, and SELEUKEIA in Pieria); (b) it is not clear to what or whom *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ, ἀπ' ἐκείνου* refers. Various solutions to the latter have been proposed:

i. Both *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* and *ἀπ' ἐκείνου* refer to the same person, i.e., Seleukos; so translated by Geer in the Loeb edition (" . . . Seleucus dismantled it and transported it to the city which he founded and called Seleucea after himself"). However, this is grammatically awkward, as Le Rider noted (*RBN* 145 [1999] 138).

ii. *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ* refers to Antigonos and *ἀπ' ἐκείνου* to Seleukos (Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia [Pieria]," 1185). Thus Honigmann suggested that Seleukos built Seleukeia on the site of an earlier foundation of Antigonos. In this he was followed by Downey (*HAS,* 59: " . . . Seleucus destroyed it and transferred the inhabitants to the city built by him [i.e., Antigonos] which he named Seleucia for himself"). Contra: H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 309 n. 2; McNicoll, *Fortifications,* 82. Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 138–39), who also objected to the suggestion that Antigonos founded a settlement at the site of the future Seleukeia ("Il faut faire violence à

la grammaire pour comprendre ainsi la phrase de Diodore"), noted that (a) according to Plutarch, Aristodemos, who brought the news of the victory, went up to Antigonos (πρὸς τὸν Ἀντίγονον ἀνέβαινε; the verb suggests Antigonos was somewhere in the interior, i.e., at Antigoneia, rather than on the coast); (b) at the time of the battle, Antigonos was in the interior of upper Syria, founding the city of Antigoneia (Diod. 20.47.5); and, less convincingly, (c) Antigonos sent numerous servants and friends to meet Aristodemos in order to learn as quickly as possible about the outcome of the battle. This is difficult to understand, given that Antigonos was on the coast and Aristodemos had also disembarked on the coast. Note, however, that Plutarch's narrative does not necessarily indicate Aristodemos disembarked at the place where Antigonos was waiting. It is possible, after all, that Antigonos was also on the coast, but at some distance from the spot where Aristodemos landed (see also Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 38).

iii. Marinoni suggested (*Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 [1972] 589, noted approvingly by Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 139) that ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου should be understood in a temporal sense: i.e., "the city of Antigoneia only existed for a short time, Seleukos having destroyed it and transferred it to the city founded by him (which) since then has been called, Seleukeia."

iv. The text should be emended. Thus Wessling (1793) and Dindorf (1842) suggested ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκεια; Fischer (1906): ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου δὲ κληθεῖσαν Σελεύκειαν; see also Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 729; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 1," 2443.

Finally, we may return to the question, Where was Antigonos when the news of the victory at Salamis was brought to him? Possible answers include (a) a coastal town that was the site of the later Seleukeia (Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia [Pieria]," 1185; Downey, *HAS,* 58); (b) ALEXANDREIA by Issos, which was serving as the port of Antigoneia (Wehrli, *Antig.,* 79); (c) Antigoneia (Billows, *Antigonos,* 157; Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 138–39). The latter seems the most likely.

ANTIOCH IN PIERIA

Stephanos (s.v. "Antioch 7"), who is not always the most reliable source, records an Antioch in Pieria ἣν Ἄραδον οἱ Σύροι καλοῦσιν. This is our only evidence for the existence of this town.

Tcherikover cautions that this has nothing to do with the Phoenician city of Arados. He points out that Rhosos on the south coast of the Gulf of Issos was also known as Arosos (modern Arsuz, now also called Ulçinar) and was often confused with Arados (e.g., Pomp. Mela 1.69).[1] Tcherikover then suggests that we are dealing here with the city of Rhosos and that Stephanos may have written "Arados" instead of "Rhosos" ("Arosos").[2] We do not know the founder. Tcherikover's suggestion—Antiochos IV Epiphanes—is a reasonable speculation.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 47; Tcherikover, *HS,* 59; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 116; MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 343; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 692.

1. Ritter, *Erdkunde,* 17.2: 1812; see also J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires,* 63–65. According to Plutarch (*Demet.* 32) and Malalas (8.198 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), Seleukos first encountered Stratonike at Rhosos.

MacAdam (*Topoi* 3 [1993] 343 and n. 90) followed Stephanos and suggested that (a) following the Third Syrian War Antiochos II renamed Arados, and (b) Pieria "refers to the old Macedonian town"; Grainger (*Seleukid Prosopography,* 692) equated Arados with Antioch in Pieria and suggested the founder was either Antiochos IV or VII. Now, Pieria referred to two coastal *regions* in Macedonia: on the Thermaic Gulf and on the Gulf of Kavala (according to Thucydides 2.99.3, the latter, at the foot of Mount Pangaios, was inhabited by settlers who had been expelled from the former); see, for example, Papazoglou, *Villes,* 103–24, 385–413. There was also a city named Pieris in Pieria on the Thermaic Gulf (Papazoglou, *Villes,* 111–12; Papazoglou also suggested that in *IG* VII.2486 [second cent. B.C.] the reference to Pieria was probably to a place rather than a region, i.e., to the former Pieris). However, it has generally been assumed that Pieria in Syria was named for the Macedonian region. And this seems reasonable.

The equation of Antioch in Pieria with Arados remains questionable.

2. For the **location** see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 442f. and map XI (opposite p. 440).

ANTIOCH NEAR DAPHNE

Legends preserved by Libanius and Malalas mention the presence of three settlements—Iopolis, Kasiotis, Herakleia—in the area of the future Antioch near Daphne.[1] Scanty archaeological remains provide some support for these traditions.[2]

Libanius also preserved a tradition that Alexander the Great planned to found a city on the site of what was later to become Antioch (*Or.* 11.72–76). Prevented by the need to continue his campaigning, Alexander, nevertheless, according to Libanius, established a shrine of Zeus Battaios (76), named for the region in Macedonia whence he came. Libanius also says Alexander established an *akra* called Emathia after his homeland. What, if anything, Alexander actually did at or near the site of the future Antioch is unclear. The tradition may simply be, as Downey has suggested, an aetiological legend designed to glorify the origins of Antioch.[3]

After his victory over Antigonos at Ipsos in 301 B.C. Seleukos Nikator first founded Seleukeia in Pieria on 23 Xanthikos 300 B.C., and a month later, on 22 Artemisios, Antioch, most probably naming it for his father.[4] Both Libanius (*Or.* 11.85–88) and Malalas (8.199–200 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) tell how Seleukos came to ANTIGONEIA and sacrificed to Zeus. An eagle thereupon descended, snatched up part of the sacrifice, and flew off to the future site of Antioch.[5] Libanius (*Or.* 11.90), in a narrative that recalls the description in the *Alexander Romance* (1.31–33) of the founding of ALEXANDREIA near

Egypt, tells how Seleukos placed elephants where the towers would later be and marked out the streets with wheat.[6] According to Malalas (8.200), Seleukos founded the city on the site of the village of Bottia and then began building a temple to Zeus Bottiaios. Malalas says that Xenarios was the architect in charge of building the walls. There were also three "supervisors of the buildings"—Attaios, Perittas, and Anaxikrates—who probably assisted Xenarios (Tzetzes *Hist.* 7.118 [ed. Leone, 1968]). The founding population apparently included persons drawn from a number of sources: retired soldiers of Seleukos (Libanius *Or.* 11.91), former inhabitants of Antigoneia (Libanius *Or.* 11.92; Malalas 8.201), as well as Cretans, Argives, Cypriots, and Heraklids who had previously been settled on Mount Silpios, and the descendants of Triptolemos (Libanius *Or.* 11.91; Malalas 8.201; Strabo 16.2.5). Strabo adds that the inhabitants of Antioch worshipped Triptolemos on nearby Mount Kasios.[7]

The size of the original population is not precisely known. Both Strabo (16.2.4) and Malalas (8.201) specify that the founding population included settlers brought from nearby ANTIGONEIA. Malalas gives the figure of 5,300 Athenians and Macedonians from Antigoneia who were settled at the new foundation. If this figure is correct and if it refers to adult male citizens rather than the total free population it would suggest a total founding population—exclusive of the descendants of the "sons of Triptolemos"—of between 18,000 and 25,000.[8] Julian (*Misop.* 362C) refers to the 10,000 *kleroi* in Antioch in his day. Whether these *kleroi* were vestiges of the early settlement is not clear.

According to Strabo (16.2.4) Antioch consisted of four quarters: the first was founded by Seleukos I Nikator, the second was a *πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων . . . κτίσμα*, the third was founded by Seleukos II, and the fourth by Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[9] Seleukos Nikator set up statues of, among others, Zeus Keraunios,[10] Athena, Tyche,[11] and the Tyche of Antigoneia.[12] Kalliope, along with Apollo and Zeus, was considered to be a guardian deity of Antioch.[13] After a particularly terrible earthquake hit Antioch in 115 A.D. (Cassius Dio 68.24) Trajan set up a bronze statue of Kalliope on four columns—"in the manner of the Tyche of the city" (Malalas 11.276)—being crowned by Seleukos and Antiochos. The presence of the kings in the statuary group indicates that a founder cult still existed at the time.

In his encomium for Antioch Libanius remarks (*Or.* 11.104) that Seleukos I "established his sceptre here and, so to speak, gave this city of ours a like right to rule over the others . . . and found no other more worthy of the royal residence" (*ἀλλ' αὐτός τε ἐνταῦθα τὸ σκῆπτρον ἱδρύσατο καὶ ταύτῃ κατὰ τῶν ἄλλων τὸ ἴσον ἔδωκεν, ὥσπερ θεραπαίνας αὐτῇ τὰς ἄλλας οἰκοδομούμενος καὶ βασιλείοις πρεπωδεστέραν ἑτέραν οὐχ ὁρῶν,* trans. G. Downey). Despite Libanius's claim, some scholars have suggested that originally Seleukos intended SELEUKEIA in Pieria to be his capital and that only under Antiochos I Soter was the capital moved to Antioch.[14]

I have mentioned that Strabo recorded Seleukos II as one of the founders of Antioch. In his account Libanius does not mention Seleukos. However, he does say (*Or.* 11.119) that Antiochos III settled the island in the Orontes and built a wall around it. He also added persons of "Hellenic stock, Aeolians and Cretans and Euboeans" to the population. There is no necessary contradiction between the accounts of Strabo and Libanius. It is possible that Antiochos simply concluded work that was begun by Seleukos. In any event, it is quite probable that some of the new inhabitants brought in by Antiochos were from Greece and Asia Minor.[15] In addition, Antiochos appointed Euphorion of Chalcis head of the library in Antioch (*Suda* s.v. "Euphorion"). Later, Antiochos III proclaimed Laodike his queen at Antioch (Polyb. 5.43.1).

Strabo mentions (16.2.6) that the Antiochenes and the neighboring population were accustomed to hold a festival (*πανηγυρίζειν*) at Daphne.[16] It is possible that this is the festival attested in 197 and 195 B.C. In an inscription dated to 197/6 B.C. a group of *theoroi* and the *architheoros* recorded their gratitude to the agonothete, Theophilos, for the reception they received at a festival that took place in 197 B.C.[17] Furthermore, Livy (33.49.6) says that in 195 B.C. the future Antiochos IV was holding ritual games at Daphne when Hannibal arrived. It is quite probable that the inscription and Livy record two celebrations of the same games. If so, this would indicate that (a) the earlier games were also held at Daphne and (b) the games were possibly held on a trieteric cycle.

In addition to building a fourth quarter, "Epiphania" (Strabo 16.2.4; Malalas 8.205), Antiochos IV built, among other things, a temple to Jupiter Capitolinus (Livy 41.20.9) and a bouleuterion (Malalas 8.205).[18] The precise location of the bouleuterion is not known. However, Downey has suggested that it may have been in a Hellenistic agora that was probably in Epiphania.[19] Antiochos probably also built an aqueduct. Various monuments built by Antiochos are also known, among them a rock-cut bust, the "Charonion." In c. 167 B.C. the king celebrated elaborate games at Daphne.[20] In addition, Libanius (*Or.* 11.125) mentions the presence of temples of Minos, Demeter, and Herakles, a theater, paved roads, and a water system.

During the reign of Alexander Balas (150–145 B.C.) a series of bronze coins appear with the legend *ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ*, "of the brother peoples," replacing the civic ethnic. These were probably coins of Antioch and SELEUKEIA in Pieria. Their appearance marked the establishment of a short-lived league between the two cities.[21]

Except for c. 246–244 B.C., when Antioch was briefly under Ptolemaic rule, the royal mint there produced coins continuously from Seleukos I until Tigranes II assumed control of the city in the early first century B.C.[22] The last attested Seleucid coins were minted during the first reign of Antiochos XIII (69/8–68/7 B.C.). In addition to the royal mint, there is possible evidence for civic bronzes bearing the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ* under Seleukos I

and perhaps under Antiochos I. Under Antiochos IV Epiphanes Antioch produced quasi-municipal coins with the portrait of the king on the obverse and the legend *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ* on the reverse. Under the same king the coinage underwent a small weight reduction around 173/2 B.C.[23] This ethnic is also attested—with minor variations—on inscriptions from the late third century B.C. onward as well as in the literary sources down to the second century A.D.[24] In addition to coins, weights from Antioch have survived; the weights—both royal and civic—date to the second and first centuries B.C.[25]

We may attempt to sketch what is known about the organization and administration of Antioch. Strabo tells us (16.2.5) that the city was the royal residence (*τὸ βασίλειον*); in the riots of 147 B.C. Demetrios II Nikator took refuge in the palace. Strabo also says that Antioch was the metropolis of Syria. The title *ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ* is frequently found on Antiochene coinage and in other sources beginning in the first century B.C. The Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160) provides fragmentary information about Antioch following the death of Antiochos II in 246 B.C., when Ptolemy III briefly took control of the city. According to the papyrus (III.20–22) the Ptolemaic party approaching Antioch was met by the satraps, generals, priests, and magistrates as well as the "young men of the gymnasium." Polybius's account of Antiochos's great procession in c. 167 B.C. refers to the dispatch of ambassadors *(presbeis)* and sacred envoys *(theoroi)* to announce the games, as well as the presence of "around eight hundred" *epheboi;* he also mentions the agora as well as the offices of *agoranomos* and *demarchos*. The inscription of 198/7 B.C. mentions the presence of an agonothete. In Libanius's time (fourth century A.D.) there were eighteen tribes; we do not know how many there were in the Hellenistic period. The Antiochenes used Macedonian month names (Malalas 8.202). The fact that Epiphanes built a bouleuterion obviously means that in the second century B.C. there was a council. In c. 203 B.C. Teos granted *politeia* to the *demos* of Antioch (as well as LAODIKEIA by the Sea and SELEUKEIA in Pieria). An inscription from Rhosos of 31 B.C. records the existence of a *boule* and *demos* (*IGLS* 718.7). In the course of the Hellenistic and early Roman periods at least four eras are attested at Antioch: the Seleucid, Pompeian, Caesarean, and Aktian.[26]

For the Seleucids northern Syria was essential for access to the western part of their empire and for control of their eastern possessions. And the dominant city in northern Syria was Antioch. Diodorus's description of nearby Antigoneia (20.47.5)—"well adapted for watching over Babylon and the upper satrapies, and again for keeping an eye on lower Syria and the satrapies near Egypt" (trans. R. Geer)—may apply equally well to Antioch. Furthermore, according to Libanius (*Or.* 11.100), it was important as a "starting point for [travel to] other cities."

Antioch was located in the plain north of Mount Silpios, on the Orontes

River. The precise size of the city is difficult to fix. It is estimated that the wall of Seleukos enclosed an area of 90 hectares and that this grew to c. 500 hectares by the time of Justinian. Previously it was thought that the inhabited part extended only from Mount Silpios north to the Orontes. However, epigraphic evidence has now demonstrated the existence of a fullers' quarter on the right (i.e., north) bank of the Orontes in 73–74 A.D. We do not know how large this area was or whether it was inhabited in the Hellenistic period. Like other Hellenistic cities Antioch was laid out on a gridiron plan. The main street was on a northeast-southwest axis. The streets off it were spaced at intervals of approximately 112 meters and were 58 meters apart (compared with 112 × 57 meters at LAODIKEIA by the Sea and 107 × 54 meters at APAMEIA on the Axios). From the epigraphic evidence of 73–74 A.D. we learn that names—usually of persons, occasionally of associations, a divinity, or a monument—were attached to the *plintheia,* that is, the city blocks.[27]

Antioch was located at the site of the modern Turkish city of Antakya.

* * * *

In general see Müller, *Antiquitates Antiochenae;* R. Förster, *JDAI* 12 (1897) 103–49, 16 (1901) 39–55; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 1"; J. Weulersse, *BEO* 4 (1934) 27–79; Tcherikover, *HS,* 60–61; E. T. Newell, *The Seleucid Mint of Antioch* (New York, 1918); Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 45; G. Haddad, *Aspects of Social Life in Antioch in the Hellenistic-Roman Period* (Chicago, 1949); Downey, *HAS,* 46–142 and passim (his *Ancient Antioch* is a condensed version), and *PAPS* 103.5 (1959) 652–86 (translation of Libanius's *Oration* 11 [*Antiochikos*] with introduction and brief commentary); R. Martin in *Antioche païenne et chrétienne,* ed. J. Festugière (Paris, 1959) 38–61 (archaeological commentary on the *Antiochikos*); J. Lassus, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 54–102; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 122–29 and passim, and *Seleukid Prosopography,* 683–85; F. W. Norris, *ABD* s.v. "Antioch of Syria"; Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey,* 4: 231–52; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 497–99; Ern. Will, *Syria* 74 (1997) 99–113 and in *Mégapoles,* 482–91; M. Sartre in *Mégapoles,* 492–505.

For the results of the excavation at Antioch see G. W. Elderkin, R. Stillwell, et. al., eds., *Antioch* I–V; J. Lassus, *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Orontes."

1. The major **literary sources for Hellenistic Antioch** are Libanius *Or.* 11 and Malalas. In addition, Diodorus, Strabo, and Julian (*Misopogon*), among others, provide useful information about the founding and early history of the city. For **Libanius and Antioch** see A. F. Norman, *Antioch as a Centre of Hellenic Culture as Observed by Libanius* (Liverpool, 2000). For **Malalas** see E. Jeffreys, B. Coke, and R. Scott, eds., *Studies in John Malalas* (Sydney, 1990), and the introduction to the English translation of the *Chronicle* (Melbourne, 1986) by E. Jeffreys, M. Jeffreys, and R. Scott; B. Baldwin, *ODB* s.v. "Malalas, John"; P. Chuvin in *GHPO,* 99–110. **An anonymous Arabic description of the city** also provides interesting information; see below, n. 4. For a selection of the writings of the Arabic geographers on Antioch see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 367–77. In general see Downey, *HAS,* 35–45. For a discussion of the archaeological, epigraphic, and numismatic evidence see Downey, pp. 24–35.

For **Herakleia** see below, n. 16.

2. On **pre-Macedonian Greek settlement** around Antioch and the various founding legends relating to them see Downey, *HAS,* 46–53.

3. On **Alexander and Antioch** see Downey, *HAS,* 54–55. On the **Bottiaioi** and **Emathia** see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 124–58. According to Libanius (*Or.* 11.76) it was Alexander who founded **the temple of Zeus Bottiaios.** See further Downey, *HAS,* 68 and n. 62; Musti, *SCO* 15 (1966) 94.

4. The **ancient sources disagreed about whether Seleukos named Antioch for his father or for his son, Antiochos I.** Some claimed the former (see, for example, Strabo 16.2.4; Appian *Syr.* 57; Pausanias of Damascus quoted by Malalas 8.204; Justin 154.8; George Kedrenos 166D [*CSHB* XIII]; Eustathius, *Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 [= *GGM,* 2: 379]); others (Malalas 2.29, 8.200, 204; Julian *Misop.* 347A; Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19, ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 1273]; John of Nikiu 61, trans. R. H. Charles [London, 1916]) suggested the latter. In Libanius *Or.* 11.93 the MSS vary; some relate the naming to the father; others, to the son. However, the superior manuscripts refer to the father.

There are a number of reasons for believing Seleukos named the settlement for his father rather than for his son: (a) the tradition favoring the father includes two important ancient (as opposed to Byzantine) sources, Strabo and Appian, while the tradition favoring the son is rooted in the later, Byzantine tradition; (b) as Downey has suggested, the most likely reason for supposing that Seleukos named it for his father is "the way in which the other cities of the tetrapolis were named"; Downey explains: "If Seleucia Pieria was named for Seleucus, Apamea for his wife, and Laodicea for his mother, it seems logical to suppose that Antioch was named for Seleucus' father rather than for his son" (*HAS,* 581–82). In general see Downey, *HAS,* 581–82; and Brodersen, *Komment.,* 147.

I would also call attention to the **anonymous Arabic account of the founding of Antioch,** which was probably composed between 969 and 1268 A.D. (Arabic Codex 286 of the Vatican Library; see I. Guidi, *Rendiconti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* [1897] 137–61 [text and Italian translation]; W. F. Stinespring, "The Description of Antioch in Codex Vaticanus Arabicus 286" [PhD diss., Yale University, 1932] [English translation and commentary]). According to the account, King Antiochos *(sic)* founded the city. Among other things, he built an aqueduct (note, however, Downey, *HAS,* 72 and n. 83: [a] the account is late, and [b] "the statement might simply represent an inference based on the supposition that a city such as Antioch must have possessed aqueducts from the beginning") and two grain elevators. In addition, the account says the king removed people from surrounding towns and villages in order to populate the new settlement, granted them immunity from taxes for three years, and gave them dwellings, shops, gardens, and productive lands.

The reference to **Antiochos as the founder of Antioch** is also found in Agapius (*Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 [*PO* XI, p. 109, ed. A. Vasiliev]) and in other Arabic as well as some rabbinic sources; see, for example, Yakut, *Mujam al-Buldan,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld (Leipzig, 1866–1873) 1: 382; and Le Strange, *Palestine* 375–76 (on the confusion in Yakut see Haddad, *Antioch,* 3 n. 1); Masudi, *Muruj al-Dhahab (Les prairies d'or),* ed. and trans. C. Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille (Paris, 1863–1917) 3: 409; *Midrash Tehillim* 9.8; *Yalkut Shimoni Tehillim* 9.8; *Bereshith Rabbah* 23. See also S. Krauss, *REJ* 45 (1902) 27–49, esp. 27–33; Haddad, *Antioch,* 3 and nn. 1–2.

5. Regarding **the eagle with the sacrificial meat in its claws,** Malalas (8.200) says

it flew to Mount Silpios, and Libanius (*Or.* 11.88) says it flew to the altar of Zeus Bottiaios that Alexander had established. Coins of the Imperial period with an eagle standing on the leg and thigh of an animal may recall this incident; see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 187ff., nos. 304, 43, 51, 58–59, 61–65, 80–82, 93; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 205, 229.

6. **Seleukos's founding of Antioch is depicted on a sculptured capital** that is dated to the fourth century A.D. The capital was found at Bourg es-Sleyb, which is approximately 20 km north of Latakiya and is presumably the site of HERAKLEIA by the Sea (*REA* 42 [1940] 340–44; see also Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 239). For the **founding of ALEXANDREIA near Egypt** see that entry.

7. For the worship of **Zeus Kasios** see, for example, Amm. Marc. 22.14.4–5; Julian *Misop.* 361D; Libanius *Or.* 11.116f., 18.172; Malalas 8.327; see also SELEUKEIA in Pieria. According to Synkellos (ed. Mosshammer) 237, Kasos and Belos, sons of Inachos, founded Antioch (cf. Malalas 2.28).

8. On the **founding population of Antioch** see Downey, *HAS,* 79. On the **population of Antioch** see Tcherikover, *HS,* 199–200; Downey, *TAPA* 89 (1958) 84–91 and *HAS,* 582–83. With Malalas's figure we may compare Polybius (5.61.1), who says that in 219 B.C. there were 6,000 *eleutheroi* in SELEUKEIA in Pieria; presumably this refers to "free citizens or men of military age" (Walbank, *Comment.* on Polyb. 5.61.1).

In the early first century A.D. we have some basis of comparison for estimating the probable population of Antioch. Strabo, who lived in the latter half of the first century B.C./early first century A.D., described Antioch as not much smaller than ALEXANDREIA near Egypt or SELEUKEIA on the Tigris (16.2.5). Now, for the former, Diodorus, who flourished in the third quarter of the first century B.C., gives a figure of 300,000 *eleutheroi* (17.52.6). And Pliny (*NH* 6.122), who lived in the first century A.D., says that the population of the latter was 600,000. This probably represents both slave and free population (see Downey, *HAS,* 86). With these two cities we may also compare the census figure of 117,000 *homines cives* for Apameia on the Axios in 6/7 A.D. (*CIL* III 6687; see further APAMEIA, n. 13 and references cited there).

Josephus's claim (*C. Ap.* 2.39, *AJ* 12.119, *BJ* 7.43–44) that **Seleukos I granted the Jews citizenship rights in Antioch** has been correctly received with much skepticism by modern scholars; see, for example, Haddad, *Antioch,* 50–51; R. Marcus, ed., *Josephus,* Loeb Classical Library, 7: 742; Downey, *HAS,* 80.

9. We do not know precisely what Strabo meant when he described the second quarter as a **κτίσμα . . . τοῦ πλήθους τῶν οἰκητόρων** (16.2.4). Two questions—neither of which allows a definitive answer—immediately come to mind: (a) What population group is meant by *τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκητόρων,* and (b) who was the founder of this quarter? As to the first question: most likely these were native Syrians as opposed to Greek or Macedonian colonists. As to the second question: we do not know the founder. Downey has suggested (*TAPA* 72 [1941] 89) that since Strabo did not mention a royal founder, it was probably established at the same time as the first quarter; I have suggested that the *oiketores* were brought in after the initial settling of the colonists; how long after is impossible to say (*Seleucid Colonies,* 39). See especially Downey's discussion in *TAPA* (1941) 89–95 and *HAS,* 79–82; and Jones, *CERP*², 242–43.

10. Presumably these were the same **statues of Zeus Keraunios and of Athena** that

were sent from Antioch to Rome when M. Calpurnius Bibulus was governor of Syria (51–50 B.C.; Malalas 8.212 and Downey, *HAS,* 151 n. 41). One of the *plintheia* (i.e., apartment blocks) of Antioch was named for an association of Keraunisates (D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 [1985] p. 83, B27–28, and p. 102). On Zeus Keraunios see SELEUKEIA in Pieria.

In general, for the Greek cults at Antioch see B. Cabouret, *Topoi* 7 (1997) 1005–22.

11. With regard to the **Tyche of Antioch,** Pausanias (6.2.7) says that Eutychides, a pupil of Lysippos, made a statue of Tyche for the "Syrians on the Orontes." Pliny (*NH* 34.51) places Eutychides in the 121st Olympiad, i.e., 296–292 B.C. Finally, Malalas (8.201) adds two important details: (a) it was Seleukos who ordered the statue of the Tyche, and (b) the river (i.e., the Orontes) was at the feet of the figure. This last detail has allowed the identification of the work on statuettes, as well as on coins, gems, and lamps. See especially the important article of J.-C. Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 840–51 (extensive references and bibliography); see also, for example, T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin, 1960); J. M. C. Toynbee, *The Hadrianic School* (Cambridge, 1934) 131–33; Downey, *HAS,* 73–75, 216–17; B. S. Ridgway, *Hellenistic Sculpture,* 1: 233–35. For the Tyche within a portable shrine see Price and Trell, *Coins,* 35 and fig. 42.

Curiously, there are no extant examples of the Tyche of Antioch on the coins of the Seleucid monarchs. On issues of Antioch the earliest extant coin with a Tyche dates from 88/7 B.C. (e.g., *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 152, nos. 19–20; and *Antioch* IV.2 252). From the first century B.C. onward coins from Antioch with the Tyche are increasingly common; thus, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 156ff., nos. 37–39, 52, 69–70, 74–79, 85, 95–98, 101–2, 105–7, 116–18, 123–24, etc.; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 86, 94, 99–103, 112, 115–18, 122–23, 126, etc.; *Antioch* IV.2 256, 259, 261, 291–93, 400–401, 421, 429, 442–45, etc.; in general see the list of citations in Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 845–47.

Tigranes II issued coins with the Tyche during his rule in Antioch (83–69 B.C.; on the dates see below, n. 22); see, for example, *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 103ff., nos. 1–18; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Seleucid Kings* 435; *CSE* 397–98; and P. Z. Bedoukian, *Coinage of the Artaxiads of Armenia* (London, 1978) 13, 47–61, nos. 7–11, 17–87; L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 175; and Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 845.

The Tyche on the reverse of coins of Demetrios I (for example, Newell, *Seleucid Mint,* 79–94, 102–8; *CSE* 143–44; and *Antioch* IV.2 129–30) is not the Tyche of Antioch; see Downey, *HAS* 74–75 and nn. 88, 93.

12. According to Malalas (8.201), when Seleukos destroyed ANTIGONEIA he erected a statue of **Tyche of Antigoneia** in Antioch; it is not clear, incidentally, whether the king made a new statue or—as seems more likely—brought the statue from Antigoneia; see Müller, *Antiquitates,* 40; and Downey, *HAS* 74–76 and notes. Malalas adds that he placed the statue in a *tetrakionion* (a tetrastyle shrine). On coins from Antioch of the second and third centuries A.D. there are numerous examples of Tyche within a *tetrakionion;* thus *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 222ff., nos. 600–601, 623–24, 628–29, 653–57, etc.; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 284, 292–96; Bellinger, *Dura: The Coins* 1737, 39–42; *Antioch* IV.2 632, 702–3, 706–8, 711–13, etc. We do not know if the Tyche represented on the coins is the one of Antigoneia rather than that of Antioch. See further Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 846, and examples cited there.

13. On **Apollo** who was especially honored by the sanctuary at Daphne see, for

example, Strabo 16.2.6; Libanius *Or.* 11.56, 94–99, 233–36; Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.19 (ed. Bidez and Hansen) (= *PG* 67: 1273); as well as L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 173; and Downey, *HAS,* 68 and n. 6. On **Kalliope** see, for example, Libanius *Or.* 1.102, 15.79, 20.51, 60.13; *Epist.* 811, 1182 (ed. Förster); and Julian *Misop.* 357C. The **statue of Kalliope in the fashion of the Tyche of the city being crowned by Seleukos and Antiochos** (Malalas 11.276) reappears—with significant modifications—on coins struck by Severus Alexander and on gems. On the reverse of the coins we see the Tyche of Antioch in the center; on the left a standing Tyche, holding a rudder and cornucopia; on the right a figure in cuirass, crowning the Tyche of Antioch. The latter figure is probably a Roman emperor, undoubtedly Severus Alexander himself, rather than Seleukos; see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 208f., nos. 474–83; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 256; Bellinger, *Dura, The Coins* 1706–10; Waage, *Antioch* IV.2 645–46; and other citations in Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 846. For the same on gems see, for example, Richter, *Metrop. Museum Gems,* p. 376, no. 380; Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia,* 29; and additional references in Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 848. See also, for example, Rostovtzeff in *Mélanges syriens,* 288–89; Downey, *HAS,* 75 n. 93, 216–17; Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 239; Balty, *LIMC* s.v. "Antiocheia," 841; B. S. Ridgway in *Festschrift Himmelmann,* 269–70.

For Severus Alexander as an incarnation of Alexander the Great see Rostovtzeff in *Mélanges syriens,* 28; in general for the "Alexandrolatry" of the Severan age see OTROUS and THESSALONIKE.

14. For the view that **Seleukos originally intended SELEUKEIA in Pieria** to be his capital see that entry.

15. **For the alleged contradiction between Strabo and Libanius regarding the settlement activity of Seleukos II and Antiochos III** see Downey, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 86–91, following Müller, *Antiquitates,* 51, and R. Förster, *JDAI* 12 (1897) 120. I am not convinced by Droysen's rejection of Libanius's account in favor of Strabo (*Hist.,* 3: 449 n. 4). In general on the various founders and the quarters they founded see Downey, *TAPA* 72 (1941) 85–95.

For the likelihood that some of the later settlers of Hellenistic Antioch came from Greece and Asia Minor see Briant, *Paysans,* 276–78. In support of his contention Briant correctly notes that social unrest in Greece in the latter part of the third/beginning of the second century B.C. would have encouraged emigration. Furthermore, the treaty of Apameia did not prohibit emigrants from leaving Asia Minor.

16. On **festivals at Daphne** see also *I. Perg.* 1: 160B (= *OGIS* 428), which records a decree, apparently of Athens, that honors King Eumenes and his family for helping Antiochos IV gain his throne. (The original editor, Fränkel, thought it was a decree of Antioch. However, M. Holleaux argued persuasively that it was, in fact, an Athenian decree [*Ét.,* 2: 127–47; see also Downey, *HAS,* 95 n. 42]). The decree refers (l. 50) to festivals "King Antiochos will celebrate at Daphne." For a letter of Antiochos III dated to 189 B.C. appointing a chief-priest at Daphne see *RC* 44 (= *IGLS* 992).

On **Daphne** see, for example, D. N. Wilber in *Antioch,* 2: 49–94; J. Lassus, *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Orontes"; A. H. M. Jones and A. J. S. Spawforth, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Daphne."

A number of late sources refer to "Herakleia/Herakleis" and either identify it with Daphne or place it nearby. Thus Malalas (204.8–16) identified Herakleia with Daphne. According to him, Herakles founded the settlement and called it Hera-

kleis; subsequently it was renamed Daphne. See also Eustathius, *Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 917 (= *GGM* 2:379). In this connection we may note Palladius (*Dial. De Vita S. Ioannis Chrysostomi* 16.104, ed. Malingrey and Leclercq), who mentions games held in honor of Herakles at Daphne in his time that were called Olympics; Libanius (*Or.* 11.56, 94–99, 233–36) attributed the founding to the Herakleidai. He referred to the place as both Herakleia and Herakleis and apparently distinguished it from Daphne. Finally, among the towns named Herakleia, Stephanos mentioned no. 13, "in Syria"; no. 14, "in Phoenicia"; no. 15, "in Pieria." Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 208) has suggested identifying the latter with the suburb of Antioch; see further HERAKLEIA by the Sea. On Herakleia see Downey, *Antioch,* 82–83; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 208; Haddad, *Antioch,* 40–41.

17. For the **inscription recording the thanks of the *theoroi*** see C. H. Kraeling, *AJA* 68 (1964) 178–79 (= *SEG* 31: 1280); J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1965) 436. On Livy 33.46.9 see Briscoe, *Comment. XXXI–XXXIII,* 335. Briscoe argues that the games were probably trieteric, for the following reasons: (a) since such games were rarely annual, this would exclude 196 as the year of Hannibal's meeting the younger Antiochos, and (b) since Hannibal's year as *sufete* probably belongs to 196, his flight from Carthage and arrival at Antioch probably dates to 195 B.C. On Hannibal's flight and visit to Antioch see Holleaux, *Ét.,* 5: 181–83.

18. In two places (8.205, 10.233) **Malalas specifically says that Epiphanes did not wall in the quarter he built;** rather, this was done by Tiberius. On the other hand, Strabo, who lived through the early part of Tiberius's reign, says that "Antiocheia is likewise a tetrapolis, since it consists of four parts; and each of the four settlements is fortified both by a common wall and by a wall of its own" (16.2.4, trans., Jones); i.e., it had a common wall before Tiberius. Müller (*Antiquitates,* 54) relied on the superior authority of Strabo and concluded that Malalas was wrong (see also W. Weber in *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann* [Tübingen, 1927] 28 n. 1; A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* [Stuttgart, 1931] 455–56.). On the other hand, Downey has demonstrated that (a) "what Strabo writes about Antioch is an equally rhetorical complement to his rhetorical statements about the tetrapolis of Seleucis and its four satrapies," and hence its value as historical evidence is not unimpeachable (*TAPA* 72 [1941] 88), and thus that (b) Epiphanes did not necessarily build a wall around his quarter of Antioch (91–93).

On the **walls** of Antioch see Downey, *HAS,* 612–15.

19. For the—circumstantial—evidence regarding a **Hellenistic agora in Epiphania** see Downey, *HAS,* 621–31. The evidence for Epiphanes building an **aqueduct** is the appearance of the name Cossutius on the channel wall of an aqueduct that was dated by the excavators to the second century B.C. (Downey in *Antioch,* 2: 160–61, no. 90 = *IGLS* 825; see also W. A. Campbell, *AJA* 42 [1938] 205–6). Cossutius was the Roman architect who was in charge of Antiochos's work on the temple of Olympian Zeus in Athens (Vitruvius 7.160–61). If he is the same person whose name was inscribed on the channel wall then we would have strong evidence for Epiphanes as builder of the aqueduct. On the **Charonion** see G. W. Elderkin in *Antioch* 1: 83–84; and Downey, *HAS,* 103 and n. 82. For Epiphanes' building activity see also Downey, *HAS,* 102–7.

20. For the **games celebrated by Antiochos IV at Daphne** see Polyb. 30.25–27 (cf. Athen. 5.194–95 and 10.439b) and Diod. 31, frag. 16.2; see also Downey, *HAS,* 97

and n. 52; and Walbank, *Comment.,* 3: 448–54. For coins of Antiochos that Newell suggests were struck in commemoration of the games see *Seleucid Mint,* pp. 28f., nos. 62–66.

It is not clear whether the **palace and the gymnasium** mentioned by Polybius in connection with Epiphanes' games (30.27.3, 26.1) were at Daphne or—as is more probable—at Antioch (Athen. 10.439b).

21. For **bronze coins with the legend *ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ***, see, for example, A. Dieudonné, *RN,* 1927, 5–6; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 151–52, nos. 1–11; *Antioch* IV.2 720–21; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 394–97; *SNG GB* 4: 5922–24. For the claim that the coins revealed a short-lived league between Antioch and Seleukeia see, for example, Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 60 and n. 6, 62 n. 17; Downey, *HAS,* 121 and n. 11; contra: K. J. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 242–48. See also SELEUKEIA in Pieria.

22. For the **royal mint at Antioch** see, for example, Newell, *Seleucid Mint* and *WSM,* 907–1127; *CSE* 1–400; Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, pp. 3ff.; Mørkholm, *ANS MN* 11 (1964) 64–66 and *Studies,* 8–34; V. K. Golenko, *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993) 128–29; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins* 12–26, 335–54, 570–75, 687–716, 920–25, 1037–64. See also Le Rider, *RBN* 145 (1999) 115–39; in *Recueil Denyse Bérend,* 95–108; and *Antioche* (important discussion and reevaluation of various attributions made by Newell in *WSM*).

The precise date of Tigranes' arrival in Antioch is not clear. Briefly, Appian (*Syr.* 48) says that Tigranes ruled Syria for fourteen years. Since the king undoubtedly evacuated the country in 69, when Lucullus invaded Armenia (App. *Syr.* 49), this would mean his rule in Syria began in 83 B.C. However, Justin twice states (40.1.4, 2.3) that Tigranes ruled seventeen (or eighteen) years (actually the MSS have four different readings: *X et VII, X et VIII, X et IIII,* and *decem et septem;* the *X et IIII* was probably an attempt by a copyist to reconcile the text of Justin with that of Appian, as T. Liebmann-Frankfort [*Frontière,* 192 n. 4] has suggested), meaning that his rule of Syria began in 87 (or 86) B.C. Liebmann-Frankfort (*Frontière,* 192–94; review of earlier opinions, 192 n. 5) has plausibly suggested that Tigranes crossed the Tauros into Syria in 87/6 but did not take the throne until 84/3 B.C.; see also Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 80f., 95–97; Downey, *HAS,* 136–38; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 76–77; Koehler, *Nachfolge,* 10ff.

23. For the **civic coinage** see *WSM* 910 (Seleukos I, two examples) and *SNG Spaer* 1: 218 (Antiochos I). As regards *WSM* 910, Newell noted the similarity (laureate head of Zeus/thunderbolt) to coins at SELEUKEIA in Pieria. He also observed that the site of Antioch was chosen by a sign from Zeus. For the tentative attribution of *SNG Spaer* 1: 218 to Antioch under Antiochos I see Houghton's comment ad loc. Note, however, that Le Rider (*RBN* 145 [1999] 129, 131–32) reserved judgment on both attributions; among other things, he remarked that the provenience of the *WSM* 910 coins is unknown.

For quasi-municipal coins with the portrait of Antiochos IV Epiphanes on the obverse and the legend *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ* on the reverse see, for example, *RdS* 624–44; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 50f., nos. 58–62, see also nos. 63–72; *Antioch* IV.2 116–18; *SNG* (Cop) *Seleucid Kings* 210–14; *CSE* 129–33. See also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 125–30; and *INC Rome* 2: 63–67. There is evidence for these municipal coins under Antiochos IV at eighteen other mints: SELEUKEIA in Pieria, APAMEIA on the Axios, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, ALEXANDREIA by

Issos, AIGEAI, SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos (Mopsos), HIERAPOLIS Castabala, ANTIOCH on the Saros (Adana), Tripolis, Byblos, LAODIKEIA Berytos, Sidon, Tyre, ANTIOCH Ptolemais (Ake), Askalon, ANTIOCH on the Kalirrhoe (EDESSA), and ANTIOCH in Mygdonia (Nisibis) (Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 126). At APAMEIA on the Axios, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, and KYRRHOS we find similar coins under Alexander Balas; at SELEUKEIA in Pieria under Balas and Antiochos VII Sidetes.

For the **weight reduction** in the coinage see Mørkholm, *Syria,* 7–43.

24. The **ethnic** *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ* is found on the municipal coinage of the second century B.C. (see above, n. 23) and on numerous inscriptions beginning at the end of the third century B.C. and extending to the Imperial period; for example, see P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) p. 40, Block D, ll. 102–3 (Teos, c. 204/3 B.C.): *Ἀντιοχέων τῶμ [πρὸς] Δάφνηι*; the Panathenaic victor lists at Athens: *IG* II² 2314.31 (182/1; on the date see S.V. Tracy, *Hesperia* 60 [1991] 218–21): *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφ*; S.V. Tracy and C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 188, I.4 (170/69 B.C.) and II.23 (166/5 B.C.): *Ἀντιοχεὺς τῶν πρὸς Δάφν(ηι)*. See also *IG* VII.518.5 (Tanagra, end of the third cent. B.C.): *Ἀντιοχείας τῶν ποδ Δάφνῃ*; *I. Iasos* 172.22–24 (185/4 B.C. or later; on the date see C. Crowther, *BICS* 37 [1990] 146) and 184.8 (171/0 or later; on the date see Crowther, *BICS* 37 [1990] 150): *Ἀντιοχεὺς Ἀντιοχείας τῆς πρὸς Δάφνῃ*; *FD* 3:4 429.2–3 (Delphi, 182/1 B.C.; see G. Daux, *Delphes au IIe et au Ier siècle* [Paris, 1936] 29): [*Ἀντιοχεῖ*] *τῶν ποτὶ Δάφναι*; Heberdey-Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44.6 (1896) p. 10, no. 26 (Mallos, second cent. B.C.?); *IG* VII.3196.9, 11, 26, 28, 38 (Orchomenos, beginning of the first cent. B.C.); L. Bizard, *BCH* 44 (1920) 251, no. 10.18 (Ptoïon, beginning of the first cent. B.C.): *Ἀντιοχεὺς ἀπὸ Δάφνης*; *FD* 3:1 551.25 (Delphi, 138–161 A.D.): *Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς Δάφνην*; *FD* 3:6 143.5 (138–161 A.D.): *Ἀντιοχέα τῆς πρὸς Δάφνην*; and *IGLS* 1072: *Ἀντιοχέων τῶν ἐπὶ Δάφνηι*. See also C. Habicht (*ZPE* 93 [1992] 50–51), who has argued effectively against the claim of W. D. Lebek (*ZPE* 90 [1992] 77–83) that the title "near Daphne" was not applied to Antioch until the first century A.D.

For *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνῃ* see, for example, Strabo 15.1.73, 16.2.4; and Jos. *AJ* 17.24. See also *FD* 3:1 547.15–16 (138–161 A.D.): *Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δάφνης*; and *OGIS* 456.14 (Mytilene, late first cent. B.C.): *Ἀν]τιοχήᾳ τῇ πρὸς τῇ Δάφνῃ*. Plutarch (*Lucull.* 21) refers to it as *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ Δάφνης.* Regarding the name, Pliny (*NH* 5.79) explicitly says: "Antiochia libera, Epi Daphnes cognominata." Theophanes (*Chronog.* 218 [ed. de Boor]) refers to it as *Ἀντιόχεια Συρίας μεγάλη*; Malalas (8.201; cf. 204) calls it *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ μεγάλη*; and Stephanos s.v. *Ἀντιόχεια. πρώτη Σύρων.*

By the first century B.C. the ethnic found on coins is simply *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ* with the title *ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ* (see, for example, Waage, *Antioch* IV.2 250–69, etc.; on the title see Rigsby, *Asylia,* 497–99). Cf. Josephus *BJ* 3.29: *Ἀντιόχεια ἣ μητρόπολις ἐστι τῆς Συρίας*; and *AJ* 12.119. After Julius Caesar granted autonomy to the city in 47 B.C. the coins of the latter half of the first century B.C. bore the additional *ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* and shorter variations thereof (see, for example, *Antioch* IV.2 270–74, etc., and *RPC* 1: 4218–41; Waage noted [p. 24] that coins dated by the Seleucid and Pompeian eras have the title "Metropolis" and that "Autonomos" is found on most of the coins with Caesarean and Aktian dates).

As far as I know, the name "Antioch on the Orontes" is not found in the extant numismatic or epigraphic corpus and is not attested in the literary evidence until the Imperial period. Thus Ptolemy, who lived in the second century A.D., writes *Ἀν-*

τιόχεια ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὀρόντου ποταμοῦ (5.14.12), and Pausanias (6.2.7), referring to Eutychides, says he made the famous statue of Tyche for the *Σύροις τοῖς ἐπὶ Ὀρόντῃ*. Cf. the scholiast to Strabo, printed with the fragments of book 26 of Diodorus by Dindorf in his edition (Paris, 1878), 2: 466 n. 19: *Ἀντιόχειαν τὴν πρὸς τῷ Ὀρέντῃ*; and Synkellos 237 (ed. Mosshammer): *Κάσος καὶ Βῆλος Ἰνάχου παῖδες πρὸς τῷ Ὀρόντῃ ποταμῷ καὶ τὴν νῦν Ἀντιόχειαν τῆς Συρίας πόλιν ἔκτισαν.*

Another possible occurrence of the toponym "Antioch on the Orontes" is Pausanias 8.33.3: *ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἡ Σελεύκου παρὰ τῷ Ὀρόντῃ.* Downey suggested (*HAS,* 582) that Pausanias was speaking about Antioch rather than about Seleukeia in Pieria, and he is undoubtedly correct. Nevertheless, there is a slight problem with this suggestion: the preposition Pausanias uses is *παρά*. Normally, when a town was situated on or near a river or mountain the preposition found in the toponym or ethnic (in the epigraphic or numismatic evidence) is *ἀπό*, *πρός,* or *ἐπί* (and *ὑπό* for a mountain), not *παρά* (on *ἐπί* with place-names or ethnics [rare and generally confined to the Imperial period] see L. Robert, *Hellenica* 1 [1940] 38 n. 1). Of course the use of *παρά* by Pausanias may simply reflect his own usage; cf. 1 *Maccabees* 11.8: *Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας*.

In his enumeration of the cities founded by Seleukos Nikator, Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει* along with SELEUKEIA in Pieria, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia, and APAMEIA in Syria as the most famous. It is most likely that Appian was referring to Antioch near Daphne and had mislabeled it (see, for example, Brodersen, *Komment.,* 150). See further ANTIOCH under Libanos.

25. For the **weights** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 39–77, nos. 1–11 and *IGLS* 1071a–k; *Fleischman Collection,* 98; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 453–54, 1431–32.

On the civic weights, as late as the mid-first century B.C., one finds the legends *Ἀντιοχεία μνᾶ* or *Ἀντιόχειον δίμνουν, ἡμιμναῖον, τέταρτον,* etc. Note, however, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) no. 11 (42/1 B.C.), which bears the legend *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣ κτλ.*

26. On the **palace** see Josephus *AJ* 13.136, 138; 1 Macc. 11.46; and above, n. 20. For Antioch as ***ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣ*** see the numismatic evidence above, n. 24. The title is also found in literary and epigraphic sources; see, for example, *IGLS* 1071i; D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) p. 79, A.15–16 (73–74 A.D.); and Josephus *AJ* 12.119. There is **no specific evidence that Antioch was the capital of a satrapy.** Of the four cities of the Tetrapolis only APAMEIA is definitely known to have been the capital of a satrapy. Nevertheless, the importance of Antioch and the presence of satraps (*FGrH* 160 III.20, the Gurob Papyrus) supports the notion that it was. For the ***agoranomos*** see Polyb. 26.1.5 and *IGLS* 1071 i and h; for the ***demarchos*** see Polyb. 26.1.5. For the **tribes** see Libanius *Or.* 11.245, 19.62, 23.11, 24.26, 33.35–37.

For the grant of ***politeia*** by Teos see P. Herrmann, *Anadolu* 9 (1965) p. 40, Block D, ll. 102–3 = Ma, *Antiochos III,* no. 18; Gawantka, *Isopolitie,* 44–46, 119–27, 214; P. Gauthier, *Les cités grecques et leurs bienfaiteurs* (Paris, 1985) 169–75. On the date of the Teos documents (c. 203 or 197/6 B.C.) see Ma, *Antiochos III,* 260–65 (favoring the high dating).

On the **eras** in use in Hellenistic and early Roman Antioch see E. T. Newell, *NC,* 1919, 75–77; and H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 5–15; see also Kubitschek, *RE* and *RE*

Suppl. III s.v. "Aera"; A. E. Samuel, *Greek and Roman Chronology,* 245–48; and Burnett, et al., *RPC* 1: pp. 608–9 In general see Downey, *HAS,* 112–15.

27. On **the city plan of Antioch** see, for example, Lauffray in *ACM,* 4: 8–11; J. Lassus, *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Orontes"; id., *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 55–65; E. Will in *Akten XIII Kong.,* 259–64; Downey, *HAS,* 70–71, 604–49, and maps, plans, and photographs at end; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 272; J. Leblanc and G. Poccardi, *Syria* 76 (1999) 91–126. For corrections of D. N. Wilber's plan of Antioch (published in C. R. Morey, *PAPS* 76 [1936] 638) see G. Poccardi, *MEFRA* 106 (1994) 993–1023. On the **size of Antioch** see R. Martin in *Antioche païenne et chrétienne,* ed. J. Festugière (Paris, 1959) 38–39; Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 92; Ern. Will, *Syria* 74 (1997) 99–113. Förster (*JDAI* 12 [1897] 142–43) estimated the circuit wall of the late Roman/early Byzantine city was 17 km and the area enclosed was 1,924 hectares. Cf. F. Stählin, E. Mayer, and A. Heidner (*Pagasai und Demetrias* [Berlin and Leipzig, 1934] 191 and n. 1), who remarked that the figures were quite uncertain. J. C. Russel (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 48.3 [1958] 82) estimated the walls extended approximately 10 km and enclosed an area of 1,750–2,100 hectares; followed by J. H. W. G. Liebeschutz, *Antioch* (Oxford, 1972) 92 n. 4. Cf., however, Will, *Syria* (1997) 108 n. 23: "On ne sait trop sur quoi peuvent reposer les évaluations de . . . Russel." In any event, the Hellenistic city presumably would have been smaller.

On the **fullers' quarter** see D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) p. 77, A17–19, p. 79, B16–17 and p. 89 (two inscriptions with the same document, followed by different lists of *plintheia*; the inscriptions are concerned with the digging of a canal, called the fullers', on the right bank of the Orontes in 73–74 A.D.); and id., *REG* 98 (1985) xvii–xviii. On the **main street** see J. Lassus, *Antioch,* 5: 13–126. There are differing views on the **size of the city blocks.** Sauvaget (*BEO* 4 [1934] 94, followed by Downey, *HAS,* 70, and Martin, *Urbanisme*², 123) gave the figure of 112 × 58 m. Weulersse (*BEO* 4 [1934] 47, followed by Feissel, *Syria* 62 [1985] 91) said it was 126 × 56 m.; Lassus accepted this figure in *Antioch,* 5: 5 but gave the size as c. 120 × 35 m. in *PECS* s.v. "Antioch on the Orontes." In any event, the disparity in the figures undermines Downey's suggestion (*HAS,* 70) that the similarity in the size of the city blocks at Antioch and LAODIKEIA by the Sea, which was also founded by Seleukos Nikator, indicates the same architect may have planned both cities. Incidentally, the city blocks of central and northern Manhattan (which was laid out on a grid plan in the early nineteenth century) measure 200–300 × 70 m. On the **names that were attached to the *plintheia*** see Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 95–103.

On the **region of Antioch** see Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires,* 17–65; and Dussaud, *Topographie,* 425–39; J. Leblanc and G. Poccardi, *Syria* 76 (1999) 91–126; Ern. Will in *Mégapoles,* 482–91.

ANTIOCH UNDER LIBANOS

Among the cities founded by Seleukos Nikator, Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions *Ἀντιόχεια ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ ὄρει* along with SELEUKEIA in Pieria, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia, and APAMEIA in Syria as the most famous. Appian's reference is the only source of information regarding Antioch under Libanos.[1] The context makes it reasonably clear that at *Syriake*

57 Appian was referring to the great Antioch, namely, ANTIOCH near Daphne.[2] Furthermore, since Mount Lebanon did not extend that far north we must conclude that he erroneously called it "under Libanos."[3]

* * * *

1. With the toponym **Antioch under Libanos** cf. CHALKIS under Libanos (*Χαλκὶς ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ,* Jos., *AJ* 14.126 and *BJ* 1.185); see also PROUSA in Bithynia (where the accusative rather than the dative is used: *Προῦσα . . . ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν Ἀσιανὸν Ὄλυμπον,* Memnon, *FGrH* 434 F28.6; *Prusa sub Olympo,* Pliny *NH* 5.148).

2. Jones commented (*CERP*², 244): "Perhaps it (i.e., Antioch under Libanos) was Arca which was later known as Caesarea under Libanos and used the Seleucid era. Arca was apparently also called Heracleia in Pieria"; see also Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 236. In fact, Jones raised two separate questions: (a) Was there an Antioch under Libanos quite distinct from Antioch near Daphne, and (b) was Arka also known as Antioch, Herakleia, and, later, as Caesarea? As to the first question, the context of Appian's narrative makes it quite clear, as I have said, that he was thinking of the great cities of Seleukis. The question, therefore, is whether there was also an Antioch under Libanos distinct from Antioch near Daphne. We do not know. Regarding the second point, we may note that there is evidence proving Arka was also called HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia, *not* HERAKLEIA in Pieria; see E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies,* 123–24. Furthermore, Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus* 24) says that Arka was also called Caesarea. As far as I know, however, there is no evidence proving that Antioch under Libanos was also called Herakleia or Caesarea. In general see the discussion in HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia.

3. On **Appian's erro**r see Brodersen, *Komment.,* 150. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that in naming Seleukos's major foundations Appian apparently erred twice, first in describing Antioch near Daphne as "under Libanos" and then in calling LAODIKEIA by the Sea "in Phoenicia." In both cases the error resulted from Appian—or his source—associating these cities farther south with Phoenicia rather than Seleukis in Syria.

APAMEIA ON THE AXIOS

We can trace at least four names for the city that we ultimately know as Apameia: Pharnake, Pella, Chersonese, and Apameia. According to Malalas (8.203 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) and Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 [= *GGM,* 2: 379]) Seleukos I Nikator founded Apameia on the site of a village called Pharnake.[1] This was obviously a Persian settlement. Strabo (16.2.10) tells us that the site was also "called Pella at one time, by the first Macedonians, because the majority of the Macedonians who made the expedition took up their abode there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become, as it were, the metropolis of the Macedonians" (trans. H. L. Jones).[2] Strabo does not say who settled these Macedonians; however, it is a reasonable assumption that it was either Alexander or, more prob-

ably, Antigonos I Monophthalmos.[3] After the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. Seleukos came into possession of Syria. Strabo says (16.2.4) that Seleukos named Apameia for his wife, Apama. Inasmuch as Seleukos probably married Stratonike in 299 B.C., it is reasonable to expect that he was discreet enough to found and name Apameia before this! In other words, we may expect that Apameia was founded in the period 301–299 B.C.[4] This, of course, is the same period when Seleukos founded ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria. Because, according to Strabo, the city was located on a hill that was a peninsula between the Orontes and a lake (Aelian *De Nat. An.* 12.29), it was also called Chersonese.[5]

Strabo (16.2.4) describes Apameia as one of the four cities of the Tetrapolis of Seleukis (along with ANTIOCH near Daphne, SELEUKEIA in Pieria, and LAODIKEIA by the Sea) founded by Seleukos Nikator.[6] He emphasizes the strategic importance of the site and the fertility of the surrounding region. Apameia was the military headquarters of the Seleucid empire. Strabo says (16.2.10) that Seleukos and his successors kept most of the army there as well as the elephants and horses; it was the site of the war office and the royal stud. Strabo also adds (16.2.19) that it was situated close to the Ptolemaic fortress. In other words, until 200 B.C. Apameia protected the southern flank of Seleucid Syria. The Hellenistic city wall enclosed an area of approximately 255 hectares.[7]

Demetrios Poliorketes was brought as a captive to Apameia in 285 B.C. and died there two years later while being kept under guard by Seleukos (Plut. *Demet.* 50, 52; Diod. 21.20). In 221 B.C. Antiochos III assembled his forces at Apameia before moving to Laodikeia (Polyb. 5.45.7).

Strabo says (16.2.4) that Seleukis was divided into four satrapies; Apameia was the seat of the Apamene satrapy (*RC* 70.7) and had a number of towns and fortresses in its territory. Among these were LARISA, KASIANA, MEGARA, and APOLLONIA (Strabo 16.2.10). Strabo says these, as well as other towns, were dependencies of Apameia and paid tribute to it. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that Strabo describes Diodotos Tryphon as a native of Kasiana; Athenaeus (8.333c) simply says he was from Apameia. When Tryphon rebelled these towns supported him. Ultimately Tryphon was besieged, captured, and put to death at Apameia (Jos. *AJ* 13.224). Later Antiochos IX Kyzikenos built a citadel at Apameia, which Pompey subsequently destroyed (Jos. *AJ* 14.38).

In the past it had been assumed that there was an active royal mint at Apameia in the third century B.C. This should now be considered doubtful; a number of scholars have questioned the attributions of early Seleucid coinage to Apameia that had been made by Newell in *Western Seleucid Mints*.[8] Under Antiochos IV Epiphanes and Alexander Balas Apameia produced quasi-municipal coins with the portrait of the king on the obverse. The municipal coinage of the first century B.C. bears the legend *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ* or *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*.[9] Under the

empire Zeus Belos was worshipped at Apameia (Cassius Dio 79.8.5–6).[10] In the first century B.C. the Seleucid era was temporarily (from 68/7 to 41/0 B.C.) replaced by a Pompeian era.[11] The Macedonian calendar is attested for the Roman period (e.g., *IGLS* 1363 [134 A.D.], 1318 [469 A.D.], etc.).

It is common to refer to this city as Apameia on the Orontes. Nevertheless, as far as I know, the city is never called that in the ancient sources. Appian (*Syr.* 57) and Cassius Dio (79.8.5) refer to it as Apameia of Syria. Most other writers call it simply Apameia. On the coinage we find the legend *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ* and, under Antiochos IV Epiphanes, *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ*; the latter name is also found in Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.15.12, *Ἀπαμείας τῆς πρὸς τῶι Ἀξίωι ποταμῶι,* ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 1457]). Finally, we also find *Ἀπαμεὺς τῆς Συρίας* on a sarcophagus found at NIKOMEDEIA.[12]

Like Laodikeia by the Sea, the main street of Apameia was on a north-south axis. The east-west streets off the main street were spaced at intervals of approximately 107 meters and were 54 meters apart (compared to 112 × 57 meters at Laodikeia and 112 × 58 at Antioch near Daphne).[13] According to the census of 6/7 A.D. the population of *homines cives* was 117,000. If by this term we understand adult, male citizens, then the total population of Apameia could have approached 400,000.[14]

There was a local tradition that the mausoleum of Alexander was located 2 kilometers north-northwest of the city. In addition, the *Suda* s.v. "Euphorion" (ed. Adler) records one tradition that Euphorion of Chalkis, the librarian at Antioch, was buried at Apameia, and another that he was buried at Antioch.[15] When Antiochos VI ascended the Seleucid throne he first minted coins at Apameia.[16]

Apameia, on a plateau overlooking the Orontes Valley, was located 130 kilometers southwest of Aleppo at the modern Qal'at el-Mudik.[17]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Apameia 1"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 51; Tcherikover, *HS,* 61; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 198ff.; Jones, *CERP*², 243; el-Zein, "Apameia," 1–109, 138–98; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 103–15; J.-C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Brussels, 1981); Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 48–50 and passim; id., *Seleukid Prospography,* 688; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 502–4.

For the results of excavation at Apameia see, for example, J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, eds., *Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie: Miscellanea,* Fasc. 6, 7, 13 *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches archéologiques,* 1965–1968, 1969–1971, 1973–1979 (Brussels, 1969, 1972, 1984), and various authors in individual volumes of *Fouilles d'Apamée de Syrie: Miscellanea;* J.-C. Balty, *CRAI,* 1994, 77–101; id., *CRAI,* 2000, 459–81; and id. in *Syrie,* 223–35; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Apamea"; J.-C. Balty, *OEANE* s.v. "Apamea."

1. On the occupation of the site before the fifth century B.C. and on **Pharnake** see el-Zein, "Apameia," 5–8; Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 109–10. The Baltys

speculate on the possibility of a connection with Pharnakes, the father of Pharnabazes. They ask whether the latter was the maternal grandfather of Apama, the first wife of Seleukos I. In this context, the Baltys point out that it would have been most appropriate for Seleukos to have chosen the name Apameia for this settlement.

[Oppian] *Cynegetica* 2.114 mentions a certain Archippos, a companion of Herakles, who called upon him to come to the aid of the city. The poem refers to Archippos as the "chief of the divine Pella." This has prompted the suggestion that Archippos was considered the (mythical) founder of Pella. On the other hand, the name "Archippos," i.e., "master of the cavalry," may be related to the importance of Apameia as the headquarters of the royal stud or to the office of *hipparchos* in the Seleucid army. On the **mythical past of Apameia** see [Oppian] *Cynegetica* 2.100–155 (ed. Boudreaux); and A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 153–66, esp. 158–60; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 353–82.

2. On **Pella** see also Diod. 21.20; Malalas 8.203; Stephanos s.v. "Apameia"; Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 = *GGM,* 2: 379). See also Tcherikover, *HS,* 158–59; Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110; el-Zein, "Apameia," 9–15; Billows, *Antigonos,* 299; Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 361; J. Balty in *Syrie,* 211–15. On the problem of identifying the Pella recorded in Appian *Syr.* 57 see PELLA in northern Syria.

On the similarities in the topography as well as in the mythologies regarding the founding of Pella in Macedonia and Pella in northern Syria and regarding the Macedonian and Syrian Axios rivers see A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 153–66; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 364–82.

3. On **Alexander as the possible founder of Pella** see, for example, Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110. On **Antigonos** as the possible founder see, for example, Billows, *Antigonos,* 299; J. Balty in *Syrie,* 212–14.

4. On the **founding of Apameia** see, in addition to Strabo, Appian *Syr.* 57; Stephanos (s.v. "Apameia"), who mistakenly says Seleukos named the settlement for his mother; Malalas (8.203), who, also mistakenly, says the king named the city for his daughter; Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918); Agapius of Manbij (*Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 (*PO* XI, p. 109, ed. Vasiliev); see also Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 112 and n. 52; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 48–49.

The foundation date is not definitely known. Strabo (16.2.4) says that Seleukos founded four cities: ANTIOCH near Daphne, SELEUKEIA in Pieria, Apameia, and LAODIKEIA by the Sea. The founding date for the first two can be fixed to 300 B.C. As for the latter two, most scholars have assumed—reasonably—that since Strabo mentions them together, they were all founded in 300 B.C. For Apameia see, for example, Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 112; el-Zein, "Apameia," 18; Grainger, *Seleukos,* 124; id., *Seleukid Syria,* 39, 50; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 361; A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 153.

On the other hand, Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Pella 5") has suggested that **Pella was renamed Apameia possibly by Antiochos I sometime after c. 284 B.C.** He notes the following: Diodorus (21.20) refers to the city as Pella in describing the place where, in c. 286/5 B.C., Demetrios Poliorketes was held under house arrest. This suggests, according to Honigmann, that the name change had occurred as of this date. This suggestion is apparently based on the assumption that the toponyms "Apameia" and "Pella" were mutually exclusive. However, this was not necessarily the case. I have mentioned that, according to Strabo, because Apameia was located on a hill that was a

peninsula between the Orontes and a lake, it was called Chersonese; in other words, although the official name was Apameia, people apparently also referred to the city as Chersonese. A demonstration of this can be seen in Plutarch (*Demet.* 50, 52), who twice refers to the place of Demetrios Poliorketes' house arrest as "the Syrian Chersonese." On the other hand, as I have mentioned, Diodorus refers to it as "Pella." Diodorus's use of this toponym in reference to an event datable to c. 286/5 B.C. does not necessarily mean that at this time the city had not yet been renamed Apameia. After all, it is quite possible that even after the renaming the toponym "Pella" continued in use, now to designate a quarter or suburb of the city. In this connection, we may recall that at ALEXANDREIA Spasinou Charax the suburb where the Macedonians lived was called Pella. Furthermore, in describing Apameia, Strabo (16.2.10) mentioned various towns—among them, Kasiana—that were dependencies of it. It is interesting to note, incidentally, that whereas Strabo describes Diodotos Tryphon as a native of Kasiana, Athenaeus (8.333c) only says he was from Apameia.

Finally, let us consider a modern parallel. Manhattan is the name of an island on the east coast of the United States that is also one of the five boroughs of New York City. In common usage one hears it referred to as "New York," "New York City," and "the City," as well as "Manhattan." All these designations are widely used, even if not officially sanctioned. It will not be surprising, therefore, if we find the names Apameia, Pella, and Chersonese/Syrian Chersonese being used to designate the same urban center or part of it.

On **Seleukos's marriage to Stratonike** see J. Seibert, *Verbindungen,* 48–50.

For **other literary references to Apameia** see, for example, Cicero *Ad Fam.* 12.12; *Itin. Ant.* 187.5 (ed. Cuntz); Ptolemy 5.14.14; Symeon Metaphrastes *Martyrium Mauricii Sancti* 2 (*PG* 115: 357).

5. On the **Lake of Apameia** see also Strabo 16.2.10; Pliny *NH* 2.224; and Symeon Metaphrastes *Martyrium Mauricii Sancti* 12 (*PG* 115: 368); the Arabic geographers (e.g., Abu al-Fida 40; Yakubi 111; Yakut 1.322: *Marasid* 1.97; see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 70–71, 384–85). See also Dussaud, *Topographie,* 197–98; and Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Orontes," 1162. On **Chersonese** see also [Oppian] *Cynegetica* 2.100, 127; and J. Balty in *Syrie,* 215–17.

6. On the **Tetrapolis of Seleukis** see Downey (*TAPA* 72 [1941] 85–95), who noted that in his account of the Tetrapolis Strabo was apparently "anxious to fit his account into the literary scheme which he had hit upon in describing the Seleucis" (88); see also Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 48–49.

Strabo (16.2.4) says that **Seleukis was divided into four satrapies.** The fact that Apameia was the capital of the Apamene satrapy does not, however, mean that the other cities of the Tetrapolis (Antioch, Seleukeia, and Laodikeia) were necessarily the capitals of the other satrapies. See especially the introduction, pp. 28–29; the important discussions of E. Frézouls (*MUSJ* 37 [1961] 223–34) and Jones (*CERP*², 241–43); see also Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 112–13 n. 54.

7. For the **Hellenistic city wall and the size of the Hellenistic city** see J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Apamée de Syrie (Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1965–1968),* 33; J.-C. Balty, *CRAI,* 2000, 459 and n. 1; id. in *Syrie,* 225–29; Leriche in *Hellenismos,* 378–79; id. in *Sociétés,* 77; and id. in *Archéologie,* 269. See earlier F. Mayence, *Académie royale de Belgique, Bulletin de la classe des lettres et des sciences morales et politiques* (1939) 333; Downey, *HAS,* 79 and n. 114.

8. On the **coinage** see, for example, Newell, *WSM,* pp. 155–80, nos. 1128–1201; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 15–20; Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, pp. 7–10, nos. 60–92; Houghton, *CSE,* pp. 29–30, nos. 415–39; Mørkholm, *EHC,* 113–14; el-Zein, "Apameia" 138–90; *RPC* 1: pp. 631–33; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 503; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* 1: 35, 1065–66; J.-C. Balty in *Syrie,* 229–31.

In general for reattributions from Apameia to ANTIOCH near Daphne see Waage, *Antioch* IV.2, pp. 6–10; Mørkholm's introduction to the 1977 republication of *WSM,* p. vi, and *EHC* 113–14; Houghton, *CSE,* p. 29, and *ANS MN* 25 (1980) 38–41; Le Rider, *Antioche,* 27, 33–34, 39, 80–109, and in *Recueil Denyse Bérend* 95–108. Note that Le Rider also reassigned *WSM* 1198–1201 to Susa (*Suse,* 25, nos. 37–38).

In 1966 D. H. Cox published two gold octodrachms found in a hoard at Gordion—one with the inscription *ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ* and a portrait of Antiochos I, the other with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ* and a portrait of Seleukos III. She claimed that the obverse dies were the work of the same die-cutter, though she did not attribute the coins to the same mint. The first she assigned to Apameia, the second to ANTIOCH (*ANS MN* 12 [1966] p. 52, nos. 5–4 [= Le Rider, *Antioche,* pp. 74, no. 9, and 97, no. 4]). Cf., however, the reservations of Mørkholm (*EHC,* 113 n. 2) and Le Rider (*Antioche,* 81–82).

On the other hand, Mørkholm has argued (*NC,* 1983, 57–60) that *SNG GB* 4: 5681, previously (and tentatively) attributed to Side, and *CSE* 564 ("Uncertain North"), both specimens of a posthumous issue of Antiochos Epiphanes put out by Alexander Balas in 151/0 (on which see Mørkholm, *NC,* 1983, 60–63), should be assigned to Apameia. Mørkholm also tentatively reassigned *WSM* 1028 from Antioch to Apameia (*EHC,* 114).

9. For **quasi-municipal bronzes** with the portrait of Antiochos IV on the obverse and the **ethnic** *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ* on the reverse see, for example, Babelon, *RdS,* 84–85, nos. 665–70; *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 41, no. 81; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Kings* 215; *CSE* 440. For coins with the portrait of Alexander Balas and the legend *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ* see, for example, *RdS,* 117–18, nos. 912–21; *CSE* 441; see also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 125–30; and *INC Rome,* 2: 63–67; el-Zein, "Apameia," 156–75; J.-C. Balty in *Syrie,* 230–31.

For **municipal coinage of the first century B.C. with the legend *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ*** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 190ff., nos. 1–7, 12–27; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 233ff., nos. 3–6, 9–15; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 299–302. For **coins with the inscription *ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 190ff., nos. 9–11; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 233f., nos. 7–8; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 297–98. See also Rigsby, *Asylia,* 502–4.

For coins of the first century A.D. see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 193–94, nos. 28–34. See also el-Zein, "Apameia," 175–81.

10. For the **worship of Zeus Belos at Apameia** see J. Balty, *Ant. Cl.* 50 (1981) 5–14 and *Topoi* 7 (1997) 791–98; on the *peribolos* of a temple of Zeus Belos in the center of the city see J.-C. Balty, *Ant. Cl.* 50 (1981) 13–14 and *OENEA* s.v. "Apamea."

11. At the end of the century there is also evidence for the brief use of the Aktian era. For the **eras** in use at Apameia in the first century B.C. see Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 15–20.

12. For modern references to the settlement as Apameia on the Axios see, for example, Tcherikover, *HS,* 60; and Billows, *Antigonos,* 294. On **the Orontes/Axios**

River see, for example, Honigmann and Schmidt, *RE* s.v. “Orontes”; Honigmann, “Hist. Topog.,” no. 85; Downey, *HAS,* 184; J-P. Rey-Coquais, *MUSJ* 40 (1964) 309; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 1–2; Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 158; Chuvin, *Mythologie,* 170–73; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 362. The name Arantu for the river is attested as early as the ninth century B.C. in Assyrian documents (Chuvin, *Mythologie,* 171). The earliest extant attestations in the Greek sources for “Orontes” are Polyb. 5.59.10; Diod. 26.19; Strabo 6.2.9, 16.2.7. Apparently the Greco-Macedonian settlers at Apameia gave the Macedonian name Axios to the Orontes River—or at least to the part of the river that flowed past Apameia—and this was the official designation on the coinage. Nevertheless, the Oriental name reasserted itself and was the name more commonly used by the ancient authors. But “Axios” was not forgotten. It is found on quasi-municipal coins of the city (see above, n. 9). A line in a fragmentary inscription found in a mosaic of the mortuary church at GERASA (sixth cent. A.D.) reads:—] *ΩΡΟΝΤΗΣΗ̣Δ̣Σ̣Ι̣Ο̣ΣΠΟΤΑ*[—(*Gerasa,* 486, no. 334). Welles suggested Ὠρόντης (Ὀρόντης) <Σύρ>ιος ποτα[μός. R. Mouterde suggested improving this, Ὠρόντης ἢ <Ἄξ>ιος ποτα[μός (*MUSJ* 22 [1939] 137, followed by J. and L. Robert, *BE* [1940] 190). Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.* 7.15.12, ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 1457]) still used the term “Axios.” Interestingly, it is this rather than “Orontes” that underlies the Arabic name for the river, al-Asi, which is found in the medieval Arabic geographers (e.g., Yakut 1.233; *Marasid* 1.51, 2.226; Dimashki 107, 207, 259; Abu al-Fida 49; see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 59–61, 354–60) and is still used today.

Finally, the Orontes River was also known as **Belos**; see further SELEUKEIA near Belos and CHALKIS on Belos.

For Ἀπαμεὺς τῆς Συρίας on the sarcophagus found at NIKOMEDEIA see *TAM,* 4:1 258.1.

13. For **a description of the site** see J.-C. Balty, *Guide d’Apamée;* id., *Ktema* 2 (1977) 3–7 (maps, plans, and photographs in both); id. in *Hellenismos* 217, 223; see also J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. “Apamea”; J. Lauffray in *ACM* 3: 11–12; el-Zein, “Apameia,” 1–5; Will in *Akten XIII Kong.* 263–65; F. E. Winter in *CAH*^{2} 7.1: 371–72; J. B. Ward-Perkins (*Cities of Ancient Greece and Italy: Planning in Classical Antiquity* [New York, 1974] 20) remarked: “Enough is known of Antioch . . . Damascus . . . Laodiceia . . . Apamea and Beroea . . . to show that they conformed to a very simple standard type, consisting essentially of a network of uniform city blocks, each roughly twice as broad as long and set at right angles to the main axis of an orthogonal grid of streets. Open spaces were reserved for the agora and certain public buildings . . . and the whole was loosely enclosed within a circuit of walls, the siting of which was normally quite independent of the street plan. One or more of the longitudinal (and on occasion of the transverse) streets were usually wider than the rest”; see also, R. A. Stucky in *La Ville,* 147–49; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 272.

14. For **the census of 6/7 A.D.** see *CIL* III 6687; cf. Luke 2.1 and Jos. *AJ* 18.1. See also Tcherikover, *HS,* 199–200; F. Cumont, *JRS* 24 (1934) 187–90; M. Rostovtzeff, *RH* 175 (1935) 17 and n. 1; F. M. Heichelheim, “Roman Syria,” in *ESAR,* 4: 158–61; Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1970) 117; J.-C. Balty in *Syrie,* 234.

15. For the purported **mausoleum of Alexander** at Apameia see Yakut s.v. “Shahshabu,” 3.264; *Marasid* 2.97 (in Le Strange, *Palestine,* 533); see also K. Chéhadé, *AAS* 14 (1964) 183–94 (Arabic); Balty and Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 114 and n. 62; J.-C. Balty, *Ktema* 2 (1977) 6–7.

For **Euphorion** see Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 164; B. A. van Groningen, *Euphorion* (Amsterdam, 1977) esp. 249–50.

16. For the **accession of Antiochos VI at Apameia** see A. Houghton, *RSN* 70 (1991) 119–41.

17. On the strategic importance of the **location** of Apameia see, for example, el-Zein, "Apameia," 4; Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 361.

APOLLONIA

According to Stephanos ("Apollonia 20") Apollonia was a Syrian city near Apameia. Strabo mentions (16.2.10) Apollonia—along with LARISA, KASIANA, and MEGARA—as a *περιοικίς* of APAMEIA on the Axios. He adds that these towns were tributary to Apameia.[1] We do not know the precise location of Apollonia or its founder.[2]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 23"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 55; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 199; and Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 232.

1. Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes an Apollonia in his enumeration of the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator *ἐν τῇ Συρίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτὴν ἄνω βαρβάροις*. It is not clear which Apollonia is under consideration. Benzinger ("Apollonia 25") thought this referred to APOLLONIA in Palestine. This region, however, was never really under the control of Seleukos I (see also Brodersen, *Komment.,* 153, 157). It was Antigonid before 301 B.C. and Ptolemaic after. Fraenkel (*RE* s.v. "Apollonia 27") thought Appian meant Apollonia in Assyria (followed by Walbank, *Comment.,* 1: 574). Brodersen (*Komment.,* 157) objected to this because, according to him, all the other places mentioned in this section are in northern Syria. This is not correct. A number of the places recorded in *Syr.* 57 are known only from Appian's mention of them (e.g., ASTAKOS and TEGEA). Furthermore, while their location in Syria is highly likely, it is not definitely proven. N.b. that when Appian discusses Seleukos's colonizing activity he focuses on both Syria and the Upper Satrapies.

2. R. Mouterde tentatively suggested that Apollonia might have been located 10 km as the crow flies west of Qal'at el-Mudik (APAMEIA on the Axios), at the site of the village of Blouné (*MUSJ* 28 [1949–50] 16–21).

ARETHOUSA

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Arethousa"), Arethousa was a city of Syria.[1] Appian (*Syr.* 57) mentions Arethousa as being one of the settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator and named for cities in Greece and Macedonia. It is probable, therefore, that Arethousa was named for the city north of the Chalcidice, between the Axios and Strymon rivers.[2] During the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus (46–44 B.C.) Arethousa was controlled by Sampsikeramos, a phylarch of the tribe of the Emesenoi, and his son, Iamblichos

(Strabo 16.2.10, 11).[3] Arethousa was located 22 kilometers north of Homs at the modern Rastan.[4]

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In general see E. James, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Arethusa 1"; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Arethousa 10"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 65; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 186–87; E. Merkel in *Die Araber,* 1: 139–63; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 242; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 156; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 693.

1. For **other literary references to Arethousa** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.156; Plutarch *Ant.* 37; Pliny *NH* 5.82; *Itin. Anton.* 188.2, 194.5 (ed. Cuntz); Hierokles 712.4; George of Cyprus 865; *Tab. Peut.* IX.4; Geog. Rav. 2.15 (ed. Schnetz); Zosimus 1.52.3 (ed. Paschoud); Gregory of Nazianzos *Or.* 4.88 (ed. Bernardi [= *PG* 35: 617]); Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.10 (ed. Bidez and Hansen [= *PG* 67: 244]).

2. Frézouls (in *La toponymie,* 242 and n. 78) suggests that the Syrian foundation was named for Arethousa in Macedonia. Avi-Yonah claimed (*EJ* s.v. "Arethusa") it was named for Arethousa in Sicily. Jones (*CERP*[2], 244), on the other hand, suggested that Arethousa was "probably not a colony but a native town with a superficially hellenized name." In this connection he noted the appearance of the name Arastan in the Syriac list of the Council of Nikaia (H. Gelzer et al., *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* [Leipzig, 1898] p. 103, no. 65). Thus two possibilities emerge to explain the appearance of Arastan in the Syriac list: (a) Arethousa took its name from the Macedonian town (an example of the gradual Orientalizing of the Greco-Macedonian name); (b) Arastan was the original town name (an example of the continuation in the use of the native name alongside the new name).

3. For **the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus** see LYSIAS and references cited there. On **Sampsikeramos** and the dynasty of Emesa see, for example, R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 199–295.

In the middle of his description of Arabia, Pliny (*NH* 6.159) says: "fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis." It appears that Pliny mistakenly inserted a comment about the Syrian cities in his discussion of Arabia. We do not know precisely which wars Pliny is referring to, and, hence, when this destruction took place. See further LARISA Sizara, n. 3.

4. The *Itin. Anton.* (188.2, 184.5) places Arethousa halfway between EPIPHANEIA and Emesa. For the **location** at Rastan (which recalls the ancient name) see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 110 and map XIV B.3, opposite p. 472. Ibn Jubair (258), Abu al-Fida (231), Yakut (2.778), and the *Marasid* (1.470) mention the site (quoted in Le Strange, *Palestine,* 519–20).

ARSINOE

Stephanos is our only source of information about an Arsinoe in Syria and one in Coele Syria. Under "Arsinoe 3" he mentions a *πόλις Συρίας ἐν Αὐλῶνι ἡ περίμετρος αὐτῆς στάδια ή.* Under "Arsinoe 4" he says only *τῆς Κοίλης Συρίας.* We do not definitely know (a) whether these are one and the same or two dif-

ferent towns or (b) the location(s). Stephanos is not always a reliable source of information; occasionally he is confused or wrong. Hence we cannot make any definite claims about these Arsinoes based solely on his evidence.

Tcherikover noted Stephanos's reference to the town being ἐν Αὐλῶνι and pointed to Strabo (16.2.20), who says that above Massyas was the Royal Valley *(Aulon Basilikos)* and the Damascene country. He also noted that, according to Stephanos, ἡ περίμετρος αὐτῆς (i.e., of Arsinoe) was 8,000 stadia. This is, as Tcherikover commented, quite large. Since, according to Tcherikover, we do not know of any other large city in the vicinity of Damascus, he suggested that Damascus itself was refounded by Philadelphos and named for his wife, Arsinoe.[1]

There are at least two problems with this hypothesis. First, Stephanos quite specifically says Arsinoe no. 3 was in Syria and no. 4 was in Coele Syria. If we follow Tcherikover's suggestion we would also be placing Arsinoe no. 3 in Coele Syria. This is not an insurmountable difficulty. Strabo, who was a major source for Stephanos, notes that Coele Syria was part of Syria (16.2.2 and 21).[2] The second, and greater, problem is that we do not know the precise location of the *Aulon Basilikos.* Now, Massyas is undoubtedly the modern Plain of Beqa located in the rift between the Lebanon and the Anti-Lebanon. Theophrastus (*Hist. Pl.* 9.7.1; cf. 9.6.1; 2.6.5) described this plain as "wide and beautiful" and said it was called "the Valley" (ὁ αὐλών). The Massyas extended as far south as Chalkis, which Strabo described as its acropolis (16.2.18).[3] Honigmann thought the *Aulon Basilikos* was northeast of Damascus in the region of Djeroud, whereas Dussaud suggested—with greater likelihood—that it was northwest of Damascus in the area of Zebedani.[4] If this identification is correct it would mean the *Aulon Basilikos* was a part of (or, perhaps, another name for?) "the Valley." Of course it would also nullify Tcherikover's attempt to identify Arsinoe no. 3 with Damascus. If, on the other hand, Arsinoe no. 3 was identical with the *Aulon Basilikos* it would suggest that Arsinoe no. 3 and no. 4 were one and the same; after all, it is unlikely that there were two Arsinoes in Coele Syria.[5]

On the other hand, Gideon Fuks has tentatively suggested the identification of Arsinoe no. 4 with Tel Anafa.[6]

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 74; Tcherikover, *HS,* 66–67; id., *HCJ,* 106, 442; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 396–99; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 131; G. Fuks, *SCI* 5 (1979/80) 182–85; H. I. MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 341–42.

1. For the suggested refounding of **Damascus** as Arsinoe see Tcherikover, *HS,* 66–67; id., *HCJ,* 106, 442; followed by Jones, *CERP*², 240. In support of this suggestion Tcherikover called attention to a Zenon papyrus dated to 257 B.C. (*P. Cair. Zen.* I 59079.1–2) that mentions a town called Arsinoe of Dion. Tcherikover suggested

that this Dion may be the general of Ptolemy who was expelled from Damascus by Antiochos, son of Seleukos (Polyaenus 4.15). Contra: Syme (*Anatolica,* 342) objected that Damascus does not lie in an "aulon." As for "Arsinoe of Dion," Edgar (introduction to *P. Mich. Zen.* 18) demonstrated that it was in the Egyptian Delta, near ALEXANDREIA; see also Pestman et al., *P. L. Bat.* XXI B, p. 479 and references cited there.

2. On **Coele Syria** see pp. 37–41.

3. For the **identification of Massyas with the Plain of Beqa** see, for example, Walbank, *Comment.,* 1: 577–78; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *MUSJ* 40 (1964) 289–312.

For the likely identification of CHALKIS under Libanos with Gerrha see the discussion there.

4. Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 74; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 288. In a private communication H. I. MacAdam has expressed agreement with the identification of the Zebedani Valley as the only credible candidate for the ***Aulon Basilikos.*** The latter was more or less coterminous with the tetrarchy of Abilene; see map in Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty,* 341.

5. A. H. M. Jones (*CERP*[2], 240, 450) tentatively followed Tcherikover's identification of Arsinoe no. 3 with Damascus and speculated further that Arsinoe no. 3 and no. 4 were probably one and the same.

6. In support of his tentative identification of **Tel Anafa as Arsinoe** in Coele Syria Fuks noted that the archaeological evidence from Tel Anafa indicates it was a flourishing Hellenistic center in the third and second centuries B.C. (*SCI* 5 [1979/80] 178–84). Note, however, that to date no specific evidence has been found that could support this identification.

MacAdam speculated in passing that Arsinoe was the renamed **Gerrha** (*Topoi* 3 [1993] 342).

ASTAKOS

Appian (*Syr.* 57), who is our sole source of information about Astakos, includes it in the group of settlements in Syria he says Seleukos I Nikator founded. We do not know if the founding population included settlers from Astakos in Acarnania. Nor do we know the location of the Syrian Astakos.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 80; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 156; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 696.

CHARADROS

Pliny includes Charadros in his enumeration of cities of Syria (*NH* 5.79: "Laodicea libera, Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus, Posidium. dein promunturium Syriae Antiochiae"). The *Stadiasmus* (144 = *GGM,* 1: 474) records a Charadropolis, which is probably Charadros, near Poseidion. Charadros was

on the Syrian coast, precisely where we do not know.[1] Charadros/Charadra is frequently found in Greece as a name for towns and streams.[2] It is possible that the founding population of Charadros included colonists from one of these towns. Note, on the other hand, that the Greek noun means "mountain stream, torrent, gully, ravine" (LSJ[9] s.v. "Charadra"). Hence it is quite possible that the toponym was chosen to reflect the topographic setting of the town. We do not know who was the founder.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 139; Tcherikover, *HS,* 62.

1. For **maps indicating the possible location of Charadros** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) map 3, p. 299; and Tchalenko, *Villages,* pl. 3.

2. For **towns and streams in Greece called Charadros or Charadra** see *RE* s.v. and *Dict. Geog.* s.v.

DEMETRIAS

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.3) records a Demetrias that was located in the region of the medieval Krak des Chevaliers. A bronze coin of Tiberius with a Tyche on the reverse contains the fragmentary legend *ΔΗ*[ ]*ΕΩΝ.* The most likely restoration is *ΔΗ*[*ΜΗΤΡΙ*]*ΕΩΝ.*[1] The attribution of the coin to this Demetrias is not secure. At least two other possibilities present themselves: DEMETRIAS Damascus and DEMETRIAS by the Sea. Seyrig noted that (a) under Tiberius, Damascus was no longer called DEMETRIAS, and (b) the presence of *ΕΤΟΥΣ* (rather than L) to indicate the year eliminates Demetrias by the Sea, which was in southern Phoenicia, as a possible location.[2] Hence by a process of elimination we may tentatively ascribe the coin to the Demetrias recorded in the *Tabula Peutingeriana.*

Dussaud has suggested that Demetrias might have been located southwest of Hama at Tell Kalakh.[3]

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In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," 1674; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 93; and H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 50–56.

1. For the **coin of Tiberius with the inscription *ΔΗ*[ ]*ΕΩΝ*** see *RPC* 1: 4500 and Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 56, no. B. Note the comment of the editors of *RPC* (1: p. 644): "The head is normally identified as that of Tiberius, but resembles that of Caligula at Laodicea (4444)."

Seyrig followed Mionnet (*Description,* 5: 359, no. 147) and Sestini and read the legend as *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ,* i.e., without the need for restoration. The editors of *RPC* could only read *ΔΗ*[ ]*ΕΩΝ.*

2. For the **tentative ascription of the coin of Tiberius to the northern Demetrias**

see Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 56. On coins and other documents L is normally the sign for "year" in documents drawn up in regions that were or had been under Ptolemaic control; in this case southern Phoenicia and Syria. The use of *ΕΤΟΥΣ,* Seyrig suggests, points to a provenience in the region beyond that which had been controlled by the Ptolemies, i.e., northern Phoenicia or Syria (n.b. that the editors of *RPC* 1: 4500 read only *ΕΤΟ*[ ). This argument, is of course, from silence; note that there is at least one case of the appearance of *ΕΤΟΥΣ* in the south: coins of Cleopatra from CHALKIS under Libanos (*RPC* 1: 4771–73).

3. For the **possible location** see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 93 and map XIV B3 (opposite p. 472).

DIPOLIS

Pliny is our sole source of information about Dipolis (Diospolis). He includes it in his enumeration of cities of Syria (*NH* 5.79: "Laodicea libera, Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus, Posidium. dein promunturium Syriae Antiochiae").[1] This suggests that Dipolis was on the coast of Syria. However, we do not know precisely where it was located or who was the founder.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 163; Tcherikover, *HS,* 62; and Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Diospolis 2."

1. Müller, in a note to the *Stadiasmus* 138 (= *GGM,* 1: 474), has suggested that Dipolis was named for Zeus Kasios. For Zeus Kasios see SELEUKEIA in Pieria and literature cited there.

For the suggested identification of Dipolis with the settlement at RAS IBN HANI see the latter entry.

EPIPHANEIA

According to Josephus (*AJ* 1.138) the ancient city of Hamath was renamed Epiphaneia by one of the *epigonoi* of Alexander, a probable allusion to Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[1] The Danish excavation dated the Hellenistic occupation of the citadel at Hamath "at earliest, about the middle of the second century." However, J. Lund called attention to the discovery of pottery—both imported and locally produced—and two third-century B.C. coins that indicate economic activity at the citadel of Hamath in the early Hellenistic period.[2]

There are no extant coins that can definitely be attributed to a mint at Epiphaneia in Syria.[3] The native name continued in use along with the new, Greek name.[4] Epiphaneia was located on the west bank of the Orontes River (Pliny *NH* 5.82 gives the ethnic as "Epiphanenses ad Orontem") at the site of the modern Hama.[5]

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In general see G. Williams in *Dict. Geog.* s.v. “Epiphaneia”; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. “Epiphaneia 3”; Jones, *CERP*², 228, 231; R. Janin, *Dictionnaire ecclésiastique* s.v. “Epiphanie”; M.-L. Buhl, *ABD* s.v. “Hamath”; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 717; J. Lund in *Syrie,* 253–64.

For the results of excavation at the site see *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches,* 4 vols. in 10 pts. (Copenhagen, 1938–1997); and especially G. Ploug, *Hama,* 3.1: 39–46.

1. For **the renaming of Hamath as Epiphaneia** see also Eusebius *Onomasticon* 90 and Hieronymus *Onomasticon* 23, 91 (ed. Kornemann); Theodoret *Quaestio* 22 to 2 *Kings* (*PG* 80: 620), *In Jeremiae Prophetiam* 4.15 (*PG* 81: 529) and 49.23 (*PG* 81: 733). Despite the information from the literary sources it is well to note Ploug’s hesitation (*Hama,* 3.1: 45–46) about the renaming of Hamath as Epiphaneia. In particular she pointed out that in the course of the excavation at Hamath no epigraphic or numismatic evidence (see below, n. 3) appeared that could confirm the identification of the site as “Epiphaneia.” In this connection one should also bear in mind H. Sader’s suggestion that the Iron Age name of Hama was Qarqar, not Hamath (*Berytus* 34 [1986] 129–33); cf., however, Lund, who observed that the traditional identification remained the most likely (in *Syrie,* 262).

Tcherikover (*HS,* 63) assumed that the toponym Epiphaneia indicated a foundation of Antiochos IV. However, O. Mørkholm (*Antiochus IV,* 117) has noted that Antiochos VIII also used the epithet Epiphanes (of course, so did Antiochos VI, XI, and XII).

For **other literary references to Epiphaneia** see, for example, Ptolemy 5.14.12; Stephanos s.v. “Epiphaneia”; the *Itin. Anton.* 188.3, 194.4 (ed. Cuntz); Evagrius *Hist. Eccl.* 1.19, 3.34, 5.24 (ed. Bidez and Parmentier); Hierokles 712.3.

2. For **the dating of the Hellenistic occupation** of the citadel to the middle second century B.C. see H. Ingholt, *Rapport préliminaire sur sept campagnes de fouilles à Hama en Syrie* (Copenhagen, 1940) 123; Ploug, *Hama,* 3.1: 45; J. Lund, *Transeuphratene* 6 (1993) 39; for other references see Lund in *Syrie,* 253 n. 3. For the pottery indicating **economic activity in the early Hellenistic period** see Lund in *Syrie,* 253–64; for the two third-cent. B.C. coins see below, n. 3. Lund therefore suggested that there was already a small settlement on the tell in the third cent. B.C. and that the “Graeco-Roman town” was founded c. 150 B.C. But, as he correctly pointed out, questions regarding the date of the settlement on the tell can only be decided by new excavations.

3. There are **coins** with the legend *ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ* that have been ascribed to Epiphaneia in Syria; see, for example, MacDonald, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 198, nos. 1–2; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 242, nos. 1–2; Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 232, no. 618 (*ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ*). Note, however, that Seyrig (*Syria* 20 [1939] 39 and n. 1; 27 [1950] 25–26) claimed that Epiphaneia in Syria probably never minted coins and that the coinage attributed to it should, in fact, be attributed to EPIPHANEIA in Cilicia.

For the coins discovered in the course of the excavation at Hamath see R. Thomsen in *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches, 1931–1938,* vol. 3.3, *The Graeco-Roman Objects of Clay, the Coins, and the Necropolis,* ed. A. Papanicolaou Christensen, R. Thomsen, and G. Ploug (Copenhagen, 1986) 59–69. The earliest coins are single bronzes of An-

tiochos II and Seleukos III (p. 59). Most of the Hellenistic coins date from the latter half of the second century B.C. Of the total of 545 coins discovered, not one was a municipal bronze of Epiphaneia. See also H. Ingholt (above, n. 2), 123; Ploug, *Hama,* 3.1: 45.

4. For **the continued use of the native name** see, for example, Eusebius; Hieronymus *Onomasticon* 90, 91 (ed. Klostermann). Cf., for example, APAMEIA Kelainai and ANTIGONEIA Mantineia.

5. On the **location and site** of Hamath see I. Thuesen, *Hama: Fouilles et Recherches 1931–1938,* vol. 1 (Copenhagen, 1988) 10–17 (maps, plans, and photographs); Ploug, *Hama,* 3.1: plan II, pp. 18–19; M.-L. Buhl, *ABD* s.v. "Hamath" and literature cited there.

HERAIA

Appian, who is our only source of information about Heraia, includes it in the group of settlements he ascribes to Seleukos I Nikator (*Syr.* 57). We do not know if the founding population included settlers from Heraia in the Peloponnese; nor do we know the location of the Syrian Heraia.

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In general see Bevan, *Seleucus,* 222 n. 6; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 207; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 157; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 725.

HERAKLEIA BY THE SEA

A weight found by an inhabitant of the coastal village of Bourg es-Sleyb, which is approximately 20 kilometers north of Latakiya (LAODIKEIA by the Sea) bore the inscription *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ* (*IGLS* 1252, dated to 108/7 B.C.).[1] If the weight was found in situ it would provide strong evidence for the location of Herakleia by the Sea. Can we identify Herakleia by the Sea with any Herakleia recorded in the literary sources?

In his enumeration of the cities of Syria Pliny mentions the "promunturium in quo Laodicea libera, Dipolis, Heraclea, Charadrus, Posidium. dein promunturium Syriae Antiochiae" (*NH* 5.79). Strabo (16.2.8) records—in order—Kasion, Poseidion, Herakleia, and Laodikeia (cf. 16.2.12: Posideion, Herakleion, and Gabala); Ptolemy (5.14.2–3) has Alexandreia, Myriandros, Rhosos, Seleukeia in Pieria, Poseidion, Herakleia, and Laodikeia. The *Stadiasmus* (138, 142 [= *GGM,* 1: 474]) records Herakleia between Laodikeia and Poseidion.[2] It is possible that all of these notices to Herakleia refer to the same town. If this is so, then we learn (a) the relative location of Herakleia and (b) that it was a coastal city. In addition, it is likely this Herakleia and Herakleia by the Sea were identical.[3]

We should also note that Stephanos (s.v. "Herakleia 13 and 15") records

a Herakleia "in Syria" and "in Pieria." However, it is not clear to which Herakleias these notices refer.[4]

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 726; Babelon, *RdS,* CLXXX; Tcherikover, *HS,* 62; Beer, *RE* s.v. "Herakleia 20"; L. H. Vincent, *RB* 29 (1920) 178 n. 2; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 209; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 415–16; MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 342; Grainger, *Seleukid Prospography,* 725.

1. *IGLS* 1252 = H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 69–70. Jalabert and Mouterde (note to *IGLS* 1252) mention that in 1952 an *ὄγδουν* of Herakleia was brought to the antiquities market at Beirut by a merchant from Tartous. It also had the inscription *ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ <Π>ΡΟΣ Θ[Α]ΛΑ[ΣΣ]Η.*

On **Bourg es-Sleyb** see Seyrig, *REA* 42 (1940) 340; and Dussaud, *Topographie,* 417.

2. According to the ***Stadiasmus*** the first city after Laodikeia was Herakleia. In his commentary (*GGM,* 1: 474), Müller objected that the figure of 20 stades as the distance from Laodikeia to Herakleia is too short; he suggested correcting the text to read 120 stades; Dussaud (*Topographie* 415–16) agreed in principle with Müller but preferred a slightly lower figure, i.e., 100 stades.

3. For this identification see also Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 209; Seyrig, note to *IGLS* 1252.

4. **Stephanos actually distinguishes three towns named Herakleia** (s.v.) in the region: no. 13, "in Syria"; no. 14, "in Phoenicia"; no. 15, "in Pieria." Let us attempt to identify them. It is clear that (a) Herakleia "in Phoenicia" and Herakleia "in Syria" were separate towns and that (b) Herakleia "in Phoenicia" may be identified with HERAKLEIA Arka. On the other hand, it is less clear (a) whether or not Herakleia "in Syria" and Herakleia "in Pieria" were distinct or one and the same, and (b) to which city Herakleia "in Syria" refers.

The following identifications have been proposed:

i. Herakleia "in Phoenicia" = Herakleia Arka (Tcherikover, "Palestine," 80 n. 50: "perhaps the 'Phoenician' Herakleia of Stephanos"; Honigmann, *Patristic Studies,* 123–24; see also MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 [1993] 342–43). This identification may be accepted.

ii. Herakleia "in Pieria" =
   a. Herakleia Arka (Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 232 n. 53); this identification has been superseded by Honigmann's demonstration that Herakleia "in Phoenicia" = Herakleia Arka (see above);
   b. Herakleia, the suburb of ANTIOCH near Daphne (Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 208);
   c. Herakleia by the Sea (Seyrig ad *IGLS* 1252); although the precise delimitation of Pieria is open to question, it is generally agreed that it did not extend south of the Orontes. If that is the case, then Herakleia "in Pieria" cannot be equated with Herakleia by the Sea.

iii. Herakleia "in Syria" =
   a. Herakleia in Cyrrhestice (Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 210; Tcherikover, *HS,* 56);

b. Herakleia located between Seleukeia and Laodikeia mentioned by Strabo and Pliny (Tcherikover, *HS,* 62). Furthermore, I have suggested (above) that we may identify this latter city with Herakleia by the Sea. If that is the case, we can tentatively suggest that Herakleia in Syria (in Stephanos) = Herakleia (in Strabo and Pliny) = Herakleia by the Sea (on the weight); but this is speculation.

HERAKLEIA IN PIERIA

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Herakleia 15") there was a Herakleia "in Pieria."[1] Stephanos is our sole source of information for this town. We do not know where it was located or who founded it.[2]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 62; Beer, *RE* s.v. "Herakleia 20."

1. There have been a number of **suggested identifications for Herakleia in Pieria:** (a) Frézouls (in *La toponymie,* 232 n. 53) equated it with Arka (see also Jones, *CERP*², 244); note, however, that Honigmann (*Patristic Studies,* 123–24) convincingly demonstrated that Herakleia Arka is identical with HERAKLEIA in Phoenicia; (b) Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 208) tentatively identified Herakleia in Pieria with Herakleia, the suburb of ANTIOCH near Daphne; (c) Seyrig (ad *IGLS* 1252) identified Herakleia in Pieria with HERAKLEIA by the Sea. See further the discussion in HERAKLEIA by the Sea.

2. The precise extent of **Pieria** is difficult to define. Generally, it referred both to a district in northwest Syria and to the mountain in the district. Thus, according to Strabo (16.2.8), the mountain was coterminous with Mount Amanos and Rhosos, between Issos and Seleukeia; Ptolemy (5.15.8) and Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 921 [= *GGM,* 2: 381]) appear to refer to the same general region. This suggests that Pieria was generally located north of the Orontes. On the location of Pieria see *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Pieria 2"; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Pieria 2" and "Seleukis 1"; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 434.

Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Seleukis 1") wondered whether Stephanos had simply confused this Herakleia and ANTIOCH in Pieria with other places. With Stephanos confusion is always possible. Of course it is also possible that these two cities *did* exist and that their precise location in northwest Syria is yet to be determined.

KALLIPOLIS

Among the towns that Appian (*Syr.* 57) lists in his enumeration of Seleukos I Nikator's settlements in Syria is a Kallipolis. There are no other firm attestations for this foundation.[1]

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In general see Beer, *RE* s.v. "Kallipolis 10"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 231; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 229; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 153; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 733.

1. Honigmann has suggested that this was the later Callicome in the *Itin. Ant.* 195.4 (ed. Cuntz). He noted, incidentally, that the Kallipolis in Theophanes 5.48 (*CSHB* XXXIII = *PG* 109: 296) and in George Kedrenos 574B (*CSHB* XIII) was beyond Syria, but speculated—unconvincingly—that it might be identical with the Kallipolis mentioned by Appian.

KASIANA

Strabo (16.2.10), who is our sole source of information for Kasiana, describes it as the birthplace of Diodotos Tryphon and a fortress *(phrourion)* in the territory of APAMEIA on the Axios. He also says that Kasiana, along with LARISA, MEGARA, APOLLONIA, and other towns, was a *perioikis* of APAMEIA on the Axios. He adds that these towns, which provided supplies to Tryphon, were tributary to Apameia. We do not know the exact location of Kasiana.

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In general see Beer, *RE* s.v. "Kasiana"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 247; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 199–200; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 735. Jones (*CERP*^{2}, 243) suggested that Kasiana was a native name.

LAODIKEIA BY THE SEA

Both Stephanos and Malalas record earlier names for the later Laodikeia by the Sea. Stephanos (s.v. "Laodikeia") says it was previously called Leuke Akte and before this, Ramitha. Leuke Akte probably refers to the coast at what was to become Laodikeia, or the harbor. Malalas (8.203–4 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) mentions an earlier village, Mazabda. The likelihood is, as Tcherikover has noted, that there was an earlier Phoenician settlement at the site of Laodikeia.[1] According to Malalas, the choice of the site of the Hellenistic settlement was determined in a manner that recalls what had happened at ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria: Seleukos Nikator sacrificed to Zeus and asked where he should found a city. An eagle thereupon snatched up the sacrifice; while pursuing the eagle Seleukos met a wild boar, which he killed. He then marked out the outline of the city's walls with the blood of the boar.

Laodikeia was—along with Antioch near Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, and APAMEIA on the Axios—one of the four cities of the Tetrapolis of Seleukis.[2] It was founded by Seleukos I Nikator and named for his mother.[3] Strabo (16.2.9) says the city was particularly well built, had a good harbor, and was

especially known for its wines. In fact, according to Strabo, Laodikeia provided most of the wine for ALEXANDREIA near Egypt. Furthermore, there is evidence dating from the Roman period for the export of Laodikeian wine to Red Sea ports and beyond.[4] Pausanias (3.16.8) says Seleukos brought to Laodikeia a statue of Artemis Brauronia that had previously been taken to Susa. It was still in Laodikeia during Pausanias's lifetime (mid-second century A.D.). Artemis is found on coins of Laodikeia. In addition, inscriptions from 115/6 A.D. and 116/7 A.D. record the name of two priestesses of Artemis: Sosipatra, daughter of Theogenes, and Julia Berenike, daughter of Titus. Interestingly, Julia Berenike claimed to be a descendant of Seleukos Nikator.[5] The grandfather of Sosipatra, the priestess of Artemis, was an *archizakoros* of the Great Sarapis (*IGLS* 1263). Furthermore, we also know of the existence of a *temenos* of Sarapis and Isis in a quarter *(amphodon)* of Laodikeia, and a priesthood dedicated to the gods.[6] We learn about this from a Laodikeian inscription dated to the (Macedonian) month of Audnaios, 174 B.C. (*IGLS* 1261). The priests of Sarapis and Isis mentioned in the inscription were Horos, Apollodoros, and Antiochos. The *temenos* belonged to them and to Apollodoros's sons as private property. The inscription records the *γνώμη* of the *epistates,* Asklepiades, and the *archontes* dealing with the erection of statues in the *temenos*.[7] The actual decree (ll. 21ff.) was moved by the *peliganes*. This body, incidentally, was a Macedonian institution.[8] In c. 203 B.C. Teos granted *politeia* to the *demos* of Laodikeia (as well as ANTIOCH near Daphne and SELEUKEIA in Pieria). In 162 B.C. a certain Leptines murdered Cn. Octavius (who was heading an embassy to Syria at the time) in the gymnasium at Laodikeia; this was undoubtedly Laodikeia by the Sea.[9] A fragment of Diodorus (34/5.22) mentions a rebellion, in 128 (or perhaps 125) B.C., that was led by three officers of Alexander II Zabinas (Antipater, Klonios, and Aeropos) at Laodikeia; again we do not know which Laodikeia.[10] Most probably it was this city rather than LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia (Berytos) or LAODIKEIA near Libanos. In any event, Zabinas captured the city and pardoned the rebels.

The arrival of Tigranes of Armenia as the Syrian king in 83 B.C. apparently resulted in the adoption of a new era by the Laodikeians. Prior to that they had used the Seleucid era. In 81 B.C. the Laodikeians were apparently granted autonomy by Tigranes and as a result adopted a new era. This "era of liberty" remained in use until the city began using a Caesarean era in 47 B.C.[11]

There was a royal mint at Laodikeia that issued drachms and tetradrachms from Seleukos I through Antiochos III.[12] Later, the city also issued quasi-municipal coins with the portraits of Antiochos IV and Alexander Balas. In addition to coins, weights from Hellenistic and Roman Laodikeia have been discovered.[13] From the weights, incidentally, we learn of the existence of the office of *agoranomos*.

We find a number of variants for the city name and ethnic. On the coins

we find *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ* and *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΙ*; Appian (*Syr.* 57) calls it *Λαοδίκεια ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ*; in Strabo (16.2.9) we find *Λαοδίκεια ἐπὶ τῇ θαλάττῃ*. After 47 B.C. the ethnic appears as *ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*.[14]

Like APAMEIA on the Axios the main street of Laodikeia by the Sea was on a north-south axis. The east-west streets off the main street were spaced at intervals of approximately 112 meters and were 57 meters apart (compared with 112 × 58 meters at ANTIOCH near Daphne and 107 × 54 meters at Apameia). Like SELEUKEIA in Pieria and Sidon, Laodikeia was built around its port. The city area, including the port, covered an area of approximately 250 hectares (as compared with Hellenistic Apameia, which was approximately 255 hectares). We do not know the population of Laodikeia. One point of comparison is Apameia—a larger city—where in 6/7 A.D. the population of *homines cives* was 117,000.[15]

Laodikeia was located at the site of the present Latakiya.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 62; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 1"; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 413–15 and map opposite p. 424; J. Sauvaget, *BEO* 4 (1934) 81–116; id., 6 (1936) 51–52; id., (1952) 54; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 150; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Laodicea ad Mare"; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 48–49 and passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 744–45; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 500–502.

For archaeological exploration at the site see, for example, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Laodicea ad Mare"; G. Saadé, *AAAS* 26 (1976) 9–36.

1. On the **possible settlements at the site of the later Laodikeia** see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 1," 713; and Tcherikover, *HS,* 62.

2. On the **Tetrapolis** and **Seleukis** see APAMEIA on the Axios, n. 6.

3. On the **founding of Laodikeia** see, for example, Strabo 16.2.4; App. *Syr.* 57; Stephanos s.v. "Laodikeia." Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 = *GGM,* 2: 378) refers both to Strabo and to Stephanos s.v. "Antiocheia"; the latter mistakenly claimed that Laodike was Seleukos's sister; Malalas (8.202–3 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) says Seleukos named the settlement for his daughter.

4. The extant evidence for the export of **Laodikeian wine** to Red Sea ports: the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (6, 49) mentions that a small quantity of Laodikeian wine was one of the products shipped from Red Sea ports to Adoulis, Ethiopia, and Barygaza on the northwest coast of India. A number of ostraca found at Koptos in Upper Egypt and BERENIKE Trogodytika record the shipment of Laodikeian (normally written *ladikena*) wine up the Nile and thence overland to MYOS HORMOS (e.g., *O. Petr.* I 241.6, 289.5, 290.4, first cent. A.D.; see also *O. Strassb.* 788, second cent. A.D. [?]) and Berenike (*O. Ber.* I 8.2, 17.2, 20.2, 42.3, 49.3, 79.3, 81.2, 82.2, 83.2, 87.4, 94.4, 116, frag. 2, first cent. A.D. [found at Berenike]; cf. the evidence for other wines shipped to Berenike: *O. Petr.* I 224, 240, first cent. A.D.; see also R. S. Bagnall et al. in *Berenike 1997,* 201–2.). Furthermore, R. Tomber has tentatively identified as *ladikenon* a type of "Dressel 2–4" *keramion* that was made from

clay originating along the Syrian coast. Tomber has found this jar at, among other places, Mons Claudianus, Mons Porphyrites, Quseir al-Qadim (i.e., Myos Hormos), and Berenike Trogodytika (cited by R. S. Bagnall et al. in *O. Ber.* I, pp. 17–18; see also Tomber, *Opus* 2 [1983] 214). Fraser has reasonably suggested that the export of Laodikeian wine to Alexandreia extended back to the late Hellenistic period (*Alexandria,* 1: 167).

In general see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 165–68; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 50–51; Casson, *Periplus,* 113; D. Rathbone, *Opus* 2 (1983) 81–98; R. Tomber in *Fringe,* 213–19; R. S. Bagnall et al. in *O. Ber.* I, pp. 16–21.

5. For the **numismatic evidence for Artemis Brauronia** see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 263, nos. 113–14. For the **epigraphic evidence for the worship of Artemis** in the second century A.D. see, for example, *IGLS* 1263, 1264 (= *OGIS* 263 = *IGR* 3: 1011).

6. For **Sarapis on coins** of Laodikeia see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 250, no. 25. On the term *amphodon* see D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 95–96. For *amphoda* at other cities see, for example, STRATONIKEIA in Caria, SKYTHOPOLIS, and D. Hennig, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 585–615.

7. On the ***epistates*** see AMYZON in Caria, n. 2 and literature cited there. On the ***archontes*** see SELEUKEIA in Pieria, n. 9; and Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 215.

8. On the ***peliganes*** see Hesychios, s.v. *Πελιγᾶνες οἱ ἔνδοξοι, παρὰ δὲ Σύροις οἱ βουλευταί*; and Strabo 7, frag. 2, *ὅτι κατὰ Θεσπρωτοὺς καὶ Μολοττοὺς τὰς γραίας πελίας καὶ τοὺς γέροντας πελίους, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Μακεδόσι· πελιγόνας γοῦν καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς ἐν τιμαῖς.* In addition, P. Roussel demonstrated that at 5.54.10 Polybius's reference to *τοὺς καλουμένους Ἀδειγάνας* at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris should be corrected to *πελιγᾶνας* (*Syria* 23 [1942–1943] 21–32, esp. 31–32). Both SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and Laodikeia were founded by Seleukos I Nikator, who presumably will have used Macedonians to populate the new settlements. It is thus natural to find Macedonian institutions in these cities. What is not clear is whether the *peliganes* acted as the *boule* or whether they were a group separate from the council; see further Jalabert and Mouterde's commentary on *IGLS* 1261.

9. For the grant of ***politeia*** by Teos see ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 26. For the **murder of Cn. Octavius at Laodikeia** see Cicero *Philippic* 9.2.4; App. *Syr.* 46; Polyb. 31.12.4; Pliny *NH* 34.24; Julius Obsequens 15 (ed. Rossbach); and Zonaras 9.25 (ed. Dindorf). See also Brodersen, *Komment.,* 69; Walbank, *Comment.,* 3: 478; G. Marasco, *Prometheus* 12 (1986) 226–38.

10. For the **rebellion of Antipater, Klonios, and Aeropos at Laodikeia** see Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.,* 1: 393; Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 62 and n. 17; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 166–67.

There are two separate questions that come up in regard to Diodorus 34/5.22: (a) Which Laodikeia is meant, and (b) to what conflict is Diodorus referring? As to the first question, Grainger is probably correct in identifying this Laodikeia as Laodikeia by the Sea rather than Laodikeia near Libanos or in Phoenicia (*Seleukid Syria,* 166 n. 141; see also Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 1," 713; and Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.,* 1: 393). On the other hand, Bevan's suggestion (*Seleucus,* 2: 251) that the city in question might be Laodikeia in Phoenicia is less likely (see also Niese, *GMS,* 3: 305 n. 6: Laodikeia by the Sea or Laodikeia near Libanos). As to the second question, Bouché-Leclercq connected this incident with the war in 128 B.C. between

Demetrios II and Zabinas (followed by Grainger). Bevan connected it with the war between Zabinas and Antiochos VIII Grypos in 125 B.C. (see also A. Kuhn, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Seleukiden* [Altkirch, 1891] 47). In fact, the evidence is too scrappy to give unequivocal support for either date or either city; see Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 62 n.17.

11. For the **eras in use at Laodikeia** see H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 26–32. For **Tigranes in Syria** see Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 80–82; and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 175. For coins of Laodikeia with the inscription ***ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*** see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 247f., nos. 4–7, 10–12; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 202f., nos. 1–3; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 501.

12. On the **royal coinage** see, for example, *WSM* 1202–39; *CSE* 444–45; and Houghton in *Travaux Le Rider,* 169–84; Le Rider, *Antioche,* 33, 39, 56–57; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* 1: 36–37, 357–58, 926, 1069–76. The early issues of the mint were all Alexander coins bearing the name of King Seleukos. Newell believed the period of issue lasted from the reign of Seleukos I to Seleukos III, i.e., c. 300–c. 223 B.C. As the result of the study of new hoard evidence Houghton argued that the Alexander coinage lasted only until the end of the reign of Antiochos II (246 B.C.). Houghton suggested the end of the coinage reflected the invasion of northern Syrian by Ptolemy III during the Third Syrian War and also reflected his seizure of Laodikeia during the conflict. This is certainly a possibility. As a result, according to Houghton, a considerable period of time will have passed between the last Laodikeian Alexanders and the first issues of Antiochos III bearing his name and portrait (*WSM* 1227–39).

For a tetradrachm of Demetrios II, dated to 142/1 B.C., which Mørkholm suggested might have been struck at either Laodikeia by the Sea or SELEUKEIA in Pieria see *INJ* 3 (1965/66) 11–12. For the **municipal coinage with the royal portrait on the obverse and the legend *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΙ*** on the reverse see, for example, *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 41, no. 82; *SNG* (Cop) *Seleucid Kings* 218–19; *CSE* 446 (Antiochos IV); *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 57, nos. 66–67; *CSE* 447 (Alexander Balas); *RdS,* 118, nos. 922–24 (Alexander Balas); see also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 125–30; and *INC Rome,* 2: 63–67.

13. For the **weights** see, for example, *IGLS* 1271a (*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*), 145/4 B.C.; 1271b (*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΙ*), 106/5 B.C.; 1271c (*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*), 53/2 B.C., etc. For ***agoranomoi*** see, for example, *IGLS* 1271b, d, f, h. See also H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 52–58.

14. For the **ethnic *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΙ*** on municipal coins see n. 12; for the same ethnic in a Panathenaic victor list of the mid-second century B.C. see *IG* II^2 2317.41. For the **ethnic *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*** see n. 11. For the **ethnic *ΙΟΥΛΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*** on coins and inscriptions see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 203f., nos. 4ff.; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 249ff., nos. 13ff.; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 324–29 etc.; E. Bounni et al., *Syria* 55 (1978) 298. See also *I. Knidos* 58.1–2 (*ὁ Ἰουλίεων τῶν καὶ Λαοδικέ[ων] τῶν πρὸς θαλάσσηι*), 94.1; *I. Ephesos* 614.10–2; *OGIS* 603.3–4.

15. On the **site** see Sauvaget, *BEO* 4 (1934) 81–114; id., *BEO* 6 (1936) 51–52; Lauffray in *ACM* 4: 12–13 (plan on p. 13); Downey, *HAS,* 54, 70–71; Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Laodicea ad Mare"; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 271–72. On the **city blocks** see ANTIOCH near Daphne. On the **harbor** see A. Poidebard and J. Lauffray, *Sidon*

(Beirut, 1951) 32. For photographs see H. Seyrig, *Syria* 29 (1952) pl. III, opposite p. 56. See also APAMEIA on the Axios and ANTIOCH near Daphne.

LAODIKEIA NEAR LIBANOS

We first see a reference to Laodikeia near Libanos in connection with Antiochos III's campaign in 221 B.C. (Polyb. 5.45.7). It was undoubtedly a Seleucid settlement; however, we do not know who founded it. Appian (*Syr.* 57) says that Seleukos built five Laodikeias, naming them for his mother. It is possible that Laodikeia near Libanos was one of these. Laodikeia gave its name to the surrounding district (Laodikene), in which, according to Ptolemy (5.14.16), there were two other towns, Paradeisos and Iabrouda.[1]

The only extant coins—with the abbreviated ethnic *ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΙ*—date from the early third century A.D.[2] The god Men appears on some of the reverses. The city later also had the name Skabiosa (Ptol. 5.14.16 [*Σκαβίωσα Λαοδίκεια*]; *Tab. Peut.* IX.4 ["Laudicia Scabiosa"]).[3]

It is generally accepted that Laodikeia was located at Tell Nebi Mend, the site of the ancient Kadesh.[4] The site lies between the Orontes and a stream called Muqadiyyah; this is represented on some coins (Imperial period) of Laodikeia by two water urns on either side of the Tyche of the city.[5]

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In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 2, *Λαοδίκεια σκαβίωσα*"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 64; Walbank, *Comment.,* 1: 576–77; Jones, *CERP*², 244; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 139, 161.

1. With **the Laodikene district** compare, for example, the Chalkidene region of CHALKIS on Belos ("Chalcidem cognominatam Ad Belum, unde regio Chalcidena," Pliny *NH* 5.81).

2. For **coins** of Laodikeia see, for example, Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 306–7, nos. 144–50; id., *Supplément,* 8: 213, nos. 86–88; Head, *HN*² 785; and *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 445; *SNG Braunschweig* 1400; and Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxxviii. For the **ethnic** see also Pliny *NH* 5.82: "Laodicenos, qui ad Libanum cognominantur." For the toponym see, for example, Strabo 16.2.18: *Λαοδίκεια ἡ πρὸς Λιβάνῳ.*

3. For **other references to Laodikeia** see, for example, Hierokles 717.3; George of Cyprus 986; Geog. Rav. 2.15 (ed. Schnetz): "Laoditia"; *Itin. Ant.* 198.2, 199.9 (ed. Cuntz): "Laudicia"; *PSI* IV 311.26–27: *Λαυδίκια τῆς κοιλῆς Συρία[ς* (fourth cent. A.D.[?]). For **Skabiosa** see also ALEXANDREIA by Issos.

4. For the **location** of Laodikeia see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 2, *Λαοδίκεια σκαβίωσα*"; Dussaud, *RA* (1897) 355; id., *Topographie,* 108, 114; and Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 235 n. 60 ("L'identité de Kadesh connue par des textes égyptiens et probablement mentionée par Hérodote, II, 159, avec Laodicée du Liban paraît ressortir de la convergence entre les indications topographiques des textes et les données archéologiques relatives au site de Tell Nebi Mend, encore que d'autres localisations aient été proposées pour Laodicée du Liban").

On **Kadesh** see H. Avalos, *ABD* s.v. "Kadesh-on-the-Orontes." Note that at *AJ* 13.154 Josephus says that in the course of his conflict with Jonathan the Hasmonean, Demetrios II advanced on Kadesh. Presumably Josephus was simply using the native name for the town, rather than implicitly distinguishing between Laodikeia near Libanos and Kadesh. For the continued use of the native name alongside the new Hellenistic toponym see, for example, ANTIGONEIA Mantineia and APAMEIA Kelainai.

For excavations at Kadesh see especially M. Pezard, *Qadesh* (Paris, 1931) 4–11; and references in Grainger, *Seleucid Syria,* 139 n. 13.

5. For **coins of Laodikeia with water urns on either side of the Tyche of the city** see, for example, Mionnet, *Supplément,* 8: 213, no. 87; *SNG Schweiz* II 2171; *SNG Deutschland München* 28.Heft 1046.

LARISA SIZARA

Stephanos says (s.v. "Larisai Poleis 6") that the Syrians called Larisa, Sizara. In fact, Sizara was the original name of the town and survives today in the modern Qal'at Shaizar.[1] According to Diodorus (33.4a) Larisa on the Orontes River was settled by colonists from the like-named city in Thessaly.[2] They were given the land as a reward for their bravery. The Thessalian city was known for horse breeding, and so was the Syrian town. Diodorus adds that the Larisans provided the horsemen for the first *agema* of the Seleucid cavalry. During the ascendancy of Diodotos Tryphon, Larisa, along with KASIANA, MEGARA, and APOLLONIA, was a *περιοικίς* of APAMEIA on the Axios and was tributary to it (Strabo 16.2.10). At some point, however, there was a war between Larisa and Apameia.[3] Precise details about the war, including the date, are lacking; most likely, however, it took place during the struggle between Demetrios II and Tryphon, that is, c. 142 B.C. Although we know very little about the war, the fact that it took place suggests, as Grainger has noted, that at the time Larisa was a town of some means. Larisa minted autonomous bronze coins.[4] Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes Larisa among the settlements he ascribes to Seleukos I Nikator. It is not clear, however, whether Seleukos or one of his descendants (Antiochos I?) actually founded the settlement.[5]

Larisa is often mentioned as a station on Roman itineraries. According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.5) it was 13 miles from Apameia and 14 miles from EPIPHANEIA.[6] Qal'at Shaizar, the site of Larisa, occupies a strategic site on the west bank of the Orontes.[7]

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In general see Moritz, *RE* s.v. "Larissa 12"; Bevan, *Seleucus,* 215; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "*Σίζαρα (Λάρισα)*"; Launey, *Recherches,* 348; Jones, *CERP*[2], 243; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 242; Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army,* 28–29; Brodersen, *Komment.,*

157; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 39–40, 42; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 745; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 383 n. 67; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 499–500.

1. For ***Σίνζαρα*** *(sic)* see, for example, *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* (*SEG* 20: 324.16).

2. For **other literary references to Larisa** see, for example, Strabo 9.5.19; Pliny *NH* 5.82 (it is not clear, however, whether Pliny is referring to this Larisa or to another like-named town in southern Syria, q.v.); Zosimus 1.52.3 (ed. Paschoud); and Ptolemy (5.14.12), who places it in Kasiotis.

A head of a young king with a dedication to Artemis that is dated palaeographically to the second century B.C. (or later) apparently came from Shaizar (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 [1965] 28–31).

3. For **the war between Apameia and Larisa** (Posidonius in Athen. 4.176b–c = *FGrH* 87 F2 = L. Edelstein and I. G. Kidd, *Posidonius,* vol. 1, *The Fragments*² [Cambridge, 1989] p. 78, frag. 54) see G. F. Unger, *Philologus* 55 (1896) 92f.; M. el-Zein, "Apameia," 93ff.; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 130–31, 160–61; and Kidd, *Posidonius,* vol. 2, *The Commentary* (Cambridge, 1988) 285. Jones's suggestion (*CERP*², 254) that the war took place in the 80s is not convincing.

In the middle of his description of Arabia Pliny (*NH* 6.159) says: "fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis." It appears that Pliny mistakenly inserted a comment about the Syrian cities in his discussion of Arabia (H. Kiepert quoted by Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 770; cf. *NH* 5.108, where Pliny mistakenly inserted a list of Phrygian localities into his enumeration of Carian cities; see L. Robert, *VAM*², 151–60; and EUMENEIA in Caria). We do not know precisely which wars Pliny is referring to and, hence, when this destruction took place.

4. For **civic coinage of Larisa** with the legend *ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ* dated to the first century B.C. see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 264, no. 1; *SNG Braunschweig* 1386; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 500. The possibility that there had been a royal mint at Larisa was dismissed long ago by Imhoof-Blumer, *NZ* 27 (1895) 1–22; see also, W. Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxviii–lxix.

5. On the **founder** see Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 39–40; Grainger dismisses both Antigonos Monophthalmos and Seleukos Nikator as possible founders and suggests Alexander founded Larisa. He correctly notes that Antigonos's enemy, Kassandros, controlled Thessaly during his reign. Grainger's arguments against Seleukos I as the founder—after 301 Thessaly was controlled by "one or other of his enemies"—are less convincing. As Grainger himself admits, the possibility of Seleukos recruiting in Thessaly does exist (40 n. 48). As for Alexander, Grainger correctly notes that Thessalians played a prominent role in a number of his battles (Arr. *Anab.* 2.9.1, 3.11.10; Plut. *Alex.* 24). But there is no extant evidence indicating Alexander actually settled any of them in Syria. In any event, Grainger does concede that Antigonos or even Seleukos could have inherited them (40 n. 51). But this is moving into the realm of speculation. We know (a) there was a colony of Thessalians who settled at Larisa, and (b) Appian—who admittedly is not always reliable in his attributions—said Seleukos founded it. Probability, therefore, suggests Seleukos was the founder. More than that we cannot say.

6. See also *Itin. Ant.* 187.6, 195.8 (ed. Cuntz); Geog. Rav 2.15 (ed. Schnetz); and *CIG* 4477.

7. On the **location** of Larisa see Bevan, *Seleucus,* 215; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 199–200 and map VIII B.1, opposite p. 232.

LYSIAS

According to Strabo (16.2.10) Lysias was one of a number of strongholds (εὐερκῆ χωρία) in the region near APAMEIA on the Axios.[1] In 63 B.C. Pompey the Great destroyed it and killed Silas, who was *tyrannos* of the city (Jos. *AJ* 14.40). During the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus (46–44 B.C.) Lysias was controlled by a phylarch.[2] Lysias was located on the north side of the Lake of Apameia (Strabo 16.2.10) at the site of the modern Bourzey.[3]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 278; id., *RE* s.v. "Lysias 5"; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 141, 152; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 180, 192; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 747.

1. Ptolemy (5.15.16) calls the place Lydia. E. Meyer (*Ursprung,* 2: 273 and n. 1) confused this Lysias with LYSIAS in southern Syria (Strabo 16.2.40—which Meyer cites along with Josephus—refers to Lysias in southern Syria; see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 278).

2. For **the revolt of Q. Caecilius Bassus** see, for example, M. el-Zein, "Apameia," 117–23; Schürer, *History*², 1: 248; R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 202, 208. For other strongholds controlled by phylarchs during the revolt see ARETHOUSA, HELIOPOLIS, and CHALCIS.

3. For the **location** of Lysias at Bourzey see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 152 ("Aboulféda et Dimashqi rapportent que Bourzey était séparée d'Apamée par un lac, constitué au moyen d'une digue. Les gens de l'endroit se livraient à la pêche. . . . La description que ces auteurs arabes donnent du site de Bourzey s'accorde en tous points avec celle de Strabon concernant la forteresse de Lysias") and map XIV A/B.2. For the comments of Yakut (1.565), the *Marasid* (1.143), Abu al-Fida (261), and Dimashki (251) on Bourzey see the translated passages in Le Strange, *Palestine,* 421.

MEGARA

Strabo (16.2.10) says that, along with KASIANA, LARISA, APOLLONIA, and other, unnamed towns, Megara was a dependency of APAMEIA on the Axios and was tributary to it.[1] He also says that it provided supplies to Diodotos Tryphon during his rebellion. The toponym, of course, recalls Megara in Greece, and it is possible that the name was chosen because the founding population included colonists from there. The name may perhaps have survived in the village of Magaratapicha near Apameia, that is attested in an inscription of the Imperial period found at Rome.[2] Alternatively Megara may represent the Grecizing of the local name Ma'ara, which is commonly found in northern Syria.[3] We do not know precisely where Syrian Megara was located or who founded it.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 305; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63.

1. See also *FHG* V ("Lexici Geographici Fragmenta") p. lxvii, l. 28 (= F. Lenormant, *Philologus* 25 [1867] 147–51): *Μέγαρα, Συρίας Ἀπαμηνῆς.*

2. For **Magarataricha near Apameia** see *ΚΩΜΗΣ ΜΑΓΑΡΑΤΑΡΙΧΩΝ ΩΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΜΕΩΝ* (*CIL* V 8732), which Dussaud read as *κώμης Μαγαραταρίχων* (*ὅ*)*ρων Ἀπαμέων* (*Topographie,* 204 n. 5).

3. For **Megara and Ma'ara** see, for example, Dussaud, *Topographie,* 200, 203–5 and the index, p. 604; followed by Jones, *CERP*², 243; and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 42; see also Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 226. Dussaud (*Topographie,* 204–5 and map X, B.3) noted that the toponym Magarataricha consisted of two parts, Magara and Tricha. He suggested that the first represented Ma'arat and the second corresponded to Riha, a town southwest of Aleppo, or to the village of Rouweiha, southeast of Riha. Dussaud commented: "On peut songer à retrouver cette localité dans la Megara que Strabon mentionne aux alentours d'Apamée, si ce n'est pas simplement Ma'arrat en-No'man."

NIKOPOLIS

Stephanos (s.v. "Issos") says Nikopolis was a *πόλις . . . ἐν ᾗ Ἀλέξανδρος Δαρεῖον ἐνίκησεν, ἣ ἐκλήθη διὰ τοῦτο Νικόπολις ἀπ' αὐτô.* The equating of Issos and Nikopolis is not correct. Both Strabo (14.5.19) and Ptolemy (5.7.4,7) mention Issos *and* Nikopolis.[1] Bronze coins of the third century A.D. with the legend *ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ* are probably from this city.[2] Two—weak—pieces of evidence raise the remote possibility that Alexander may have been the founder: Stephanos's statement and a statue base found at Islâhiye and dated palaeographically to the Imperial period ("second century?") of "Alexander son of Philip."[3] Nikopolis was located in northern Syria near the Cilician frontier at the modern Islâhiye.[4]

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In general see W. Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxix; R. Kiepert, *FOA,* map VIII, p. 19b; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 329; id., *RE* s.v. "Nikopolis 7"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 59; Jones, *CERP*², 244, 452; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 35–36; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 514–15.

1. Although Strabo and Ptolemy—as well as Malalas (12.297 [*CSHB* XXVIII])—locate Nikopolis in Cilicia, an inscription from c. 21 A.D. (*CIL* III Suppl. 1, 6703) indicates that at the time it was in the province of Syria. For other references to Nikopolis see, for example, Hierokles (713.7) and George of Cyprus (880) both of whom group the city under Euphratesia. See also the *Stadiasmus* (154: [*Νικό*]*πολιν*; = *GGM,* 1: 477); *Tab. Peut.* IX.5; *Itin. Ant.* 190.6 (ed. Cuntz); *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 16 (*SEG* 20: 324).

2. For **coins** with the legend *ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ* see, for example, Head, *HN*² 782; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 265, nos. 1–3; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 384 (*ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΤ*[. . . . ; "attribution uncertain"); Mionnet *Supplément,* 8: 182–83, no. 271; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 515. Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Nikopolis 7," 535) dismissed Tcherikover's hesitation about the attribution.

For two seals with the legend *ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ* (one full, one abbreviated; one dated to 25/4 B.C.) see H. Seyrig, *MUSJ* 23 (1940) 94–95.

3. For the statue honoring **Alexander son of Philip** see *IGLS* 163. Grainger remarked that the statue base is "not evidence for anything except the existence of a statue of a man called Alexander" (*Seleukid Syria,* 36 n. 30). Jones claimed that the statue base could not "refer to Alexander the Great; he would at least be given the title of king" (*CERP*², 452). He claimed that Seleukos I Nikator founded Nikopolis and suggested this city was the Nikopolis *ἐν Ἀρμενίᾳ τῇ ἀγχοτάτω μάλιστα Καππαδοκίας* mentioned by Appian as a foundation of Seleukos I (*Syr.* 57). However, Appian was apparently incorrect in attributing this Nikopolis to Seleukos. Tcherikover (*HS,* 84; see also Sturm, *RE* s.v. "Nikopolis 8"; and Brodersen, *Komment.,* 162) noted that this city was almost certainly the Nikopolis founded by Pompey. See further NIKOPOLIS in Armenia.

In any event, one should not dismiss the evidence of *IGLS* 163 out of hand. The fact that the statue base referred to "Alexander son of Philip" recalls the famous dedication that accompanied the spoils sent back to Athens after the victory at the Granikos River: "Alexander son of Philip and the Greeks, except the Lakedaimonians, from the Barbarians living in Asia" (Arr. *Anab.* 1.16.7; Plut. *Alex.* 16). The date of the statue, c. second cent. A.D., should also be noted: under the empire there were widespread claims by cities throughout the Middle East of having been founded by Alexander; see, for example, the discussion in OTROUS, n. 3, and GERASA. The statue base, therefore, is certainly evidence that in the Imperial period Nikopolis may have *claimed* to be a foundation of Alexander. Whether in fact it really was we do not know. However, in the absence of any other evidence we should reject the possibility of Alexander having founded Nikopolis. N.b. that neither Tarn *(Alexander the Great),* Berve *(Alexanderreich),* nor Fraser (*Cities*) mentions Nikopolis among Alexander's foundations.

4. For the **location** see Mouterde and Poidebard, *Chalcis,* 19 and map 1; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," 1608, 1675; see also Dussaud, *Topographie,* map XII (opposite p. 452); and Chapot, *Frontière,* 345. Note, incidentally, that Strabo (14.5.19) records the following cities as being on the Bay of Issos: Rhosos, Myriandros, ALEXANDREIA, Nikopolis, Mopsuestia, and Pylai. At first glance, one might expect that Strabo was indicating that Nikopolis was on the coast. Note, however, that Mopsuestia (SELEUKEIA on the Pyramos) was, in fact, located inland.

PELLA

There are two traditions regarding the founder of Pella in northern Syria. In his discussion of APAMEIA on the Axios, Strabo (16.2.10) says it was founded by Seleukos. He adds that it was called Chersonese because of the peninsula where the city stood, which was formed by the Orontes and by a large, nearby lake. He says it was also called "Pella at one time by the first Macedonians, because the majority of the Macedonians who made the expedition took up their abode there, and because Pella, the native city of Philip and Alexander, had become, as it were, the metropolis of the Macedonians" (trans. H. L. Jones). The question is, to whom does "the first Macedonians"

refer? Some scholars have suggested Antigonos Monophthalmos; others believe the reference is to Alexander.[1] The fact that Pella was an earlier name for Apameia is confirmed by a number of late sources. Thus [Oppian] (*Cynegetica* 2.100 and 127, ed. Boudreaux) refers to it both as Pella and as Chersonese. And Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 [= *GGM,* 2: 379]) says that Apameia was once called Pharnake.[2] He says it was also called Chersonese and that the Macedonians called it Pella because of Pella, the fatherland of Philip. Stephanos (s.v. "Apameia") says that Apameia was named for Apama, the mother of Seleukos. He adds that it was also called both Chersonese and Pella. On the other hand, there is no extant source that explicitly says Antigonos or Alexander founded Pella.

In contrast, Appian (*Syr.* 57) records both Pella and Apameia among the settlements Seleukos I Nikator established in Syria and the "barbarous areas above it." The attribution of both these foundations to Seleukos is also seen in a number of later chronographic lists.[3] There are two questions regarding the Pella mentioned by Appian: (a) Is it the same settlement that was later refounded as Apameia, and if it is, (b) was it founded by Seleukos?

The fact that both settlements are listed may simply be, as Schürer has suggested, the result of a mistake.[4] On the other hand, their separate appearance in these lists certainly raises the possibility that there was another Pella—otherwise unknown—in Asia. In addition to Pella in northern Syria we know of at least two other quarters or settlements of that name in Asia.

i. According to Pliny (*NH* 6.138–39) Alexander the Great founded an ALEXANDREIA (the later Spasinou Charax) at the confluence of the Tigris and Eulaios rivers. He also ordered that a quarter *(pagus),* called Pella after his birthplace, be assigned to the Macedonians. Clearly this Pella was not the one Appian had in mind, because (a) Pliny specifically says that Alexander (rather than Seleukos) founded it, and (b) this settlement was in Mesopotamia (rather than Syria).
ii. Stephanos (s.v. "Dion") mentions that Dion was a *πόλις . . . Κοίλης Συρίας, κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ Πέλλα*. The words *καὶ Πέλλα* are probably a gloss indicating that both Pella and Dion were founded by the Macedonian king (see further PELLA/Berenike in Transjordan). Assuming the information is correct, this Pella would still not be the one referred to by Appian for two reasons: (a) Stephanos identifies Alexander as the founder, and (b) Seleukos I Nikator never actually controlled southern Syria.

In short, unless there is a still unknown Pella, yet to be found somewhere "in Syria" or the "barbarous areas above it," it would appear that the Pella mentioned by Appian should be identified with Apameia. As for the founder, we must balance the general observation of Strabo—which has been used in support of an attribution to Alexander or Antigonos—against the specific

attribution to Seleukos made by Appian, Eusebius, Hieronymus, Synkellos, the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724,* and Malalas.[5] That Seleukos might have been considered the founder of *both* Pella and Apameia is not without parallel in the Hellenistic world. I have already mentioned Alexandreia and its suburb, Pella, in southern Mesopotamia; essentially Alexander would have been considered the founder of both the settlement of Alexandreia and the quarter called Pella within it. In a similar fashion, it is conceivable that Seleukos would have been considered to be the founder of both the settlement of Apameia and the quarter called Pella.

Finally, according to Plutarch (*Demet.* 50, 2) Demetrios Poliorketes spent the last years of his life under Seleucid "house arrest" in the "Syrian Chersonese"; Diodorus (21.20) simply says "Pella."

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In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Pella 5"; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 19; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110 n. 45; Schürer, *History*², 2: 146 and n. 324; el-Zein, "Apameia," 9–14; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 153; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 762–63; and APAMEIA on the Axios.

1. For **Antigonos Monophthalmos as the founder of Pella (Apameia)** see, for example, Beloch, *GG*², 4.1: 253; Tcherikover, *HS,* 158–59; el-Zein, "Apameia," 10; Billows, *Antigonos,* 295, 299. For **Alexander** see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 667; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 110–11 (founded after the battle of Issos).

2. On **[Oppian]** see, for example, A. S. Hollis, *ZPE* 102 (1994) 155–66; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 354–82.

3. For **Apameia in Syria and Pella in lists of settlements attributed to Seleukos I** see, for example, App. *Syr.* 57; Eusebius *Chron.* p. 199 (ed. Karst); Hieronymus *Chron.* p. 127 (ed. Helm²); Synkellos 520 (ed. Mosshammer); the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 724* (E. W. Brooks, ed., and J.-B. Chabot, trans., in *CSCO Scriptores Syri Versio Series III, Tomus IV, Chronica Minora* [Leipzig, 1903] p. 83); Malalas 8.203 (*CSHB* XXVIII; see below, n. 5).

4. Schürer, *History*², 2: 146 n. 324: "The lists in Appian and Eusebius mention Pella along with Apamea as though they were different cities, but this mistake came about because the change of name was regarded as a second foundation and treated accordingly in the lists of city-foundations."

5. Malalas (8.203) says that Seleukos refounded the village of Pharnake and named it Apameia for his daughter and that he (then) changed its name to Pella because the Tyche of Apameia had this name, since Seleukos was from Pella. N.b., however, that Malalas, who was writing in the sixth century A.D., is not always reliable in the information he gives about the Diadochoi. It is important to note the following: (a) according to Malalas, the sequence of the renaming was the opposite of what Strabo reported: i.e., the settlement was first called Apameia and then Pella; (b) Apama was the name of Seleukos's first wife; a daughter of that name is otherwise unknown (though a granddaughter—the wife of Magas of Cyrene—is known); (c) the birthplace of Seleukos is problematic: it is not clear whether it was Pella or, more

probably, Europos (see Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator,* 1: 1–2). In short, other than the association of Pella and Apameia, we should treat the information provided by Malalas with great caution. Nevertheless, it is worth noticing that Malalas specifically says Seleukos founded Pella.

PERINTHOS

Appian, who is our only source of information about Perinthos, includes it in his enumeration of settlements founded by Seleukos I Nikator (*Syr.* 57). It is possible that the founding population included settlers from Perinthos on the Propontis. We do not know the location of Syrian Perinthos.

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In general see Bevan, *Seleucus,* 222 n. 6; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 364; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Perinthos 2"; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 152; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 764.

RAS IBN HANI

Ras Ibn Hani, on the Syrian coast 8 kilometers north of Latakiya, was occupied almost continuously from the late Bronze Age until Byzantine times. In the course of excavating the site archaeologists discovered the remains of a Hellenistic settlement. The name of the settlement and the founding date are not known; furthermore, the settlement is not mentioned in any extant literary source.[1] On the other hand, the site has yielded at least 512 Hellenistic coins. Among these were approximately 170 Ptolemaic coins datable to the reigns of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Ptolemy III and Berenike; the latter were probably issued at the time of Ptolemy III's expedition to Syria.[2] In addition, an inscription found at the site and dated palaeographically to the second half of the third century B.C. records a list of Ptolemaic mercenaries.[3] Stamped Rhodian amphora handles (third/second century B.C.) discovered at the site provide evidence for trade with the Aegean basin.[4] Finally, the architecture of the remains shows definite Egyptian influence.[5]

The composite evidence has reasonably prompted the suggestion that a settlement at Ras Ibn Hani was established by the Ptolemies in the middle of the third century B.C. in the wake of the Third Syrian War. It will be recalled that as a result of that war the Egyptians came into possession of SELEUKEIA in Pieria. It was presumably to guard Seleukeia from LAODIKEIA by the Sea (which remained under Seleucid control) that Ptolemy III founded a settlement at Ras Ibn Hani. The settlement, however, was apparently short-lived; archaeological evidence indicates it went into decline af-

ter the second half of the third century, undoubtedly as a result of the departure of the Ptolemies from the region.[6] The site was briefly reinhabited in the late Hellenistic period.[7]

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In general see P. Leriche in *Recueil Saidah,* 271–79, *Hellenismos,* 374–78, *Sociétés,* 65–70, and *Akten XIII Kong.,* 355–57; J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce, *Ras Ibn Hani: Archéologie et histoire* (Damascus, 1987); J. Gaucher in *Fortification,* 372–76; Burns, *Monuments,* 202; A. Bounni and J. Lagarce, *OEANE* s.v. “Ras ibn Hani”; *CFAS,* 91–97.

For the results of the excavation see A. Bounni, *Syria* 53 (1976) 233–79; *CRAI,* 1979, 277–94; *AAAS* (1976) and following [Arabic]; J. Lagarce and E. Lagarce, *CRAI,* 1978, 45–65; id., *CRAI,* 1980, 10–34; Lagarce and Bounni, *CFAS,* 95–97 (with bibliography to date on p. 97).

1. For the **location** see, for example, Bounni et al., *Syria* 53 (1976) 265 (map).

P. Leriche has suggested (in *Akten XIII Kong.,* 358) that the settlement at Ras Ibn Hani might have been the DIPOLIS that is mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 5.79) among the coastal towns of Syria. In support of Leriche’s suggestion is the fact that the name form—a theophoric toponym ending in *-polis*—recalls the Ptolemaic practice found in Egypt; see further pp. 52–58.

2. For the **coins** found at Ras Ibn Hani see A. Bounni et al., *Syria* 53 (1976) 254–55; id., *Syria* 55 (1978) 298–99; C. Augé, *RN,* 2000, 59–69.

For a hoard of fifty-eight Ptolemaic “pentadrachms” and one Seleucid bronze found at Hüseyinli (between Antakya and the Mediterranean) that was probably buried between 264/3 and 258/7 B.C. see A. Davesne and V. Yenisoganci, *RN,* 1992, 23–36.

3. For the **inscription recording the names of mercenaries** see J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *AAAS* 26 (1976) 51–60; id., *Syria* 55 (1978) 313–25 (= *SEG* 27: 973bis); J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1979) 611. The list, which contains personal names and ethnics, indicates the mercenaries were from Thrace, Asia Minor, Cyprus, and Cyrene. In one case, however, a demotic rather than an ethnic was apparently used: *Φ̣ι̣λ̣ωτέ̣ρ̣ειος* (l. 5). This would have been derived from the name of the sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The demotic, Philotereios, is attested at PTOLEMAIS (*OGIS* 48) and the *chora* of the Thebaid (*SB* I 4637.15 [= *P. Grenfell* I 12]; *P. Amherst* 36.4). Rey-Coquais observed that the demotic—rather than the ethnic—was normally used in Egypt and in overseas Ptolemaic possessions (whereas the ethnic was used in foreign territories); thus the presence of the demotic Philotereios in the list at Ras Ibn Hani would indicate this was a Ptolemaic possession at the time. Nevertheless, one should recall that there were at least three Ptolemaic settlements named for Ptolemy’s sister: PHILOTERA in Lycia, PHILOTERA on the Red Sea, and PHILOTERIA on the Sea of Galilee. M. Wörrle (*Chiron* 9 [1979] 103 n. 127) has suggested that this particular mercenary may have come from the settlement in southern Syria. Note, however, that Philotera in Lycia is attested only in a fragmentary and partly restored inscription that was published by Wörrle (p. 83: *ἐν Φιλωτέ[ραι—]*). I believe it is also possible that the name of the town here recorded was Philoteria rather than Philotera. If so, it raises the possibility that the mercenary was from the Lycian city. This finds some support in that

there was a strong representation of mercenaries from Asia Minor—six or seven out of twenty-seven—among the persons attested in the surviving portion of the list.

4. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see Bounni et al., *Syria* 53 (1976) 253–54.

5. For the **Egyptian influence on the architecture** see, for example, Leriche in *Hellenismos,* 273.

6. Two possible dates present themselves for the occasion of **the decline of Ras Ibn Hani:** 219 B.C., when Antiochos III recovered SELEUKEIA in Pieria, or 200 B.C., when, as a result of his victory at Panion, Antiochos took control of Phoenicia and southern Syria. The numismatic evidence bearing on this question reflects the Ptolemaic departure and the Seleucid return but does not allow us to provide a more precise date: no coins of Ptolemy IV or V have been discovered at Ras Ibn Hani. Of the approximately 260 Seleucid coins found at the site, there are 6 of Seleukos III and 140 of Antiochos III; see further Augé, *RN,* 2002, 64–67.

7. For the **fortifications and remains of the city wall** see, for example, Leriche in *Fortification,* 44–45, and in *Archéologie,* 273–74.

SELEUKEIA IN PIERIA

According to Malalas (8.199 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), after defeating Antigonos Monophthalmos at Ipsos Seleukos Nikator wanted to build cities. Malalas says that on 23 Xanthikos 300 B.C. Seleukos sacrificed to Zeus Kasios on Mount Kasios (which, Strabo says [16.2.5], was near the site of Seleukeia) and asked where he should found a city. An eagle carried off some of the sacrificial meat and, dropping it by the sea at Palaiopolis, showed Seleukos where to found Seleukeia. Strabo remarks (16.2.8) that Seleukeia was previously called Hydatos Potamoi and described it as a "noteworthy bulwark" that was too strong to be taken by force; he also mentions (16.2.4) that it was one of the four cities of the Tetrapolis of Seleukis.[1] According to Appian, when Seleukos was about to build Seleukeia "a portent of thunder preceded the foundation . . . for which reason he consecrated thunder as a divinity of the place and accordingly the inhabitants worship thunder and sing its praises to this day" (*Syr.* 58, trans. White).

Diodorus said (20.47.6) that the founding population of Seleukeia included former Antigoneians. This assertion is contradicted by Strabo (16.2.4), Libanius (11.92), and Malalas (8.198–99), who indicate that the Antigoneians went to ANTIOCH near Daphne. This has led some scholars to believe Diodorus was wrong and that the text at 20.47.6 should be emended. Nevertheless, it is possible that the founding population of Seleukeia included people from ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes.[2] There has been much discussion as to whether Seleukos originally intended Seleukeia or ANTIOCH near Daphne to be the "capital" of his empire. The composite evidence points to the greater importance of Seleukeia in Pieria at the very beginning of the third century B.C. but does not allow a definitive answer as to its precise status vis-à-vis Antioch or when the latter overtook it.[3]

Under the Seleucids we have evidence for a *boule* and *demos,* an *epistates,* priests, *archontes,* a *grammateus,* commanders, soldiers, and a garrison. There were demes in the city, and the population was organized into tribes.[4]

In 246, during the Third Syrian (Laodikeian) War, Seleukeia fell to the Ptolemies; it remained under Egyptian rule until 219 B.C., when Antiochos III besieged and captured it. The Ptolemies maintained a garrison there (Polyb. 5.58.10) and appointed *epistatai* who were in charge of the city (Polyb. 5.60.1). The Egyptian occupation of Seleukeia is attested by the discovery of coins of the first three Ptolemies in two hoards.[5] After Antiochos brought Seleukeia under his control he brought back Seleukeian exiles and restored their citizenship and property. He also placed garrisons in the port and in the *akra* (Polyb. 5.61.1–2).[6] In 219, according to Polybius (5.61.1), the free population of Seleukeia was 6,000.[7] In c. 203 B.C. Teos granted *politeia* to the *demos* of Seleukeia (as well as LAODIKEIA by the Sea and ANTIOCH near Daphne). In 186 B.C. Seleukos IV wrote to *τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι πόλει* at Seleukeia (*RC* 45.2). In 109 B.C. Antiochos VIII (IX?) wrote to [*τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι βο*]*υλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι* (*RC* 72.2). Holleaux has noted that the use of the formula *τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι πόλει*—rather than the more common *τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι* indicates that the magistrates played a major role in the city government.[8] From the numismatic evidence we learn that the city had the title *ΙΕΡΑ* by c. 145 B.C. and the additional title *ΑΣΥΛΟΣ* by 138 B.C. In 109 B.C. Antiochos VIII (IX?) described Seleukeia as *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος* (*RC* 71.4, 72.1–2) and declared it free (*RC* 71.13). After 109 B.C. *asylos* is not found on the tetradrachms and bronzes. Thereafter, the legend on the coinage was normally *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* or *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*.[9]

The coinage of Seleukeia has an interesting history.[10] Newell claimed that Seleukos "appears to have moved the mint of Antigonea (together with its appliances and personnel) *directly to Seleucia*" (italics his). The same mint issued both silver coins (i.e., royal issues with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ* and bronze coins (i.e., municipal coinage with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ*). Apparently coins continued to be issued until early in the reign of Antiochos I Soter.[11] The mint apparently closed soon after that. In any event, we have no evidence for mint activity at Seleukeia from that time until the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes. The latter may have minted some tetradrachms at Seleukeia. During his reign and again under Alexander I Balas and Antiochos VII Sidetes, Seleukeia was one of a number of cities that minted quasi-municipal bronzes with the portrait of the king on the obverse. After Alexander Balas, coinage from Seleukeia is sporadic. At present it is attested under Demetrios II, Antiochos VII Sidetes, Alexander II Zabinas, and possibly Antiochos VIII and Demetrios III.[12] The discovery of bronze coins of Seleukeia at DOURA EUROPOS, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and Susa undoubtedly reflects the presence of Seleukeian merchants at these towns.[13] In addition to coins, weights from Seleukeia have survived.[14]

A fragmentary inscription, dated to the reign of Seleukos IV, records annual priesthoods at Seleukeia.[15] Among others, there were priests of Zeus Olympios and Zeus Koryphaios, of Apollo of Daphne, of Apollo, and of the deceased Seleucid kings, as well as a priest of Seleukos IV. For the latter there was also a "scepter bearer" and "thunder bearers." The worship of Zeus Keraunios and Zeus Kasios was particularly important at Seleukeia.[16]

At 5.59.3–11 Polybius describes the topography of Seleukeia. Among other things he notes that the city was fortified by very expensive walls and that it was adorned with splendidly constructed buildings.[17] He also notes that the business quarter and a strongly fortified suburb were in the lower city toward the sea. Seleukeia had an important harbor (*FGrH* 160, the Gurob Papyrus) and was, of course, the port city for ANTIOCH near Daphne. Seleukeia was located on the coast, north of the Orontes River.[18]

* * * *

In general see V. Chapot, "Séleucie"; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (Pieria)," 1184–1200; Tcherikover, *HS,* 59–60; Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 199–253; Downey, *HAS,* 56–61; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 290–307; E. Marinoni, *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 (1972) 579–616; A. Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 501–19; P. Chuvin in *GHPO,* 100–103; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 775–76; McNicoll, *Fortifications,* 81–85; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 485–88.

For the results of excavation at Seleukeia see R. Stillwell in *Antioch,* 3: 2–5, 7–8; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Seleucia Pieria."

1. In connection with events of 313/2 B.C. Diodorus (19.79.6) mentions a town in upper Syria named Potamoi Karon. Billows (*Antigonos,* 299) has suggested it was (a) possibly a settlement of Carian veterans founded by Antigonos Monophthalmos and was (b) identical with **Hydatos Potamoi.**

On the **Tetrapolis** see, for example, Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 298–301.

2. For the possibility that **some Antigoneians may have gone to Seleukeia** see the discussion in ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes. In addition, Wooley has suggested (*JHS* 58 [1938] 26–28) that Seleukos removed the population of al-Mina to the newly founded Seleukeia (see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 137).

3. Downey, following Honigmann, called attention to a number of factors that (he claimed) indicate **Seleukos intended Seleukeia—rather than Antioch—to be the "capital" of his empire** and that it remained so until his death: (a) like other Diadochoi—for example, Lysimachos and Kassandros, who named their capitals for themselves—Seleukos named the city for himself; (b) Malalas specifies (8.199) that this was Seleukos's first foundation after the victory at Ipsos, and one may reasonably expect the honor was reserved for his new capital; (c) the evidence of the coins shows that Seleukos moved the mint from Antigoneia to Seleukeia, not to Antioch; (d) the mint at Seleukeia issued more coins and more varieties of coins than the mint at Antioch during the reign of Seleukos; (e) when Seleukos died he was buried in the Nikatoreion in Seleukeia (App. *Syr.* 63; on the Nikatoreion see Brodersen, *Appian,* 185; Habicht, *Gott.*[2], 140f. and n. 12; and cf., for example, the Lysimacheion

at LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, the PYRRHEION in Illyria and other examples cited there); (f) Polybius (5.58.4) quotes Apollophanes, a native of Seleukeia, who described the city in 219 B.C. as ἀρχηγέτιν οὖσαν καὶ σχεδὸν ὡς εἰπεῖν ἑστίαν ὑπάρχουσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δυναστείας; and (g) Diodorus's claim (20.47.6) that Seleukos transferred the population of ANTIGONEIA to Seleukeia. As for the location of Antioch, Seyrig pointed out that it provided easy access to Cilicia, a consideration that became important for the Seleucids only after the acquisition of Cilicia from Demetrios Poliorketes in c. 294 B.C. (Downey, *HAS,* 56–59; and Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia [Pieria]," 1185–87; see also H. Seyrig, *Syria* 47 [1970] 290–311; K. Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 [1980] 233–38; E. Will in *Akten XIII Kong.,* 259; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 122; ANTIOCH near Daphne and ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes).

E. Marinoni questioned many of these various assertions and argued that **Seleukos always intended Antioch to be his capital** (*Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 [1972] 579–616; for an extended discussion of Marinoni's claim see G. Le Rider, *RBN* 145 [1999] 115–39, esp. 117–21; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 478; Will, *Histoire politique*², 264). Among other things Marinoni (a) noted the claim of Strabo, Libanius, and Malalas regarding the founding population of Antioch, (b) observed that Apollophanes' description of Seleukeia as the *archegetis* and *hestia* of the Seleucid dynasty was presented in a religious rather than a political context, and (c) argued that the Nikatoreion was simply the *heroon* of the city founder and does not indicate any special political status for the city. As for the coinage (d), Marinoni noted that (1) the mint at Antioch produced more bronzes than the Seleukeia mint; furthermore, the Antiochene bronzes were practically all in the name of the king, whereas those of Seleukeia were in the name of the Seleukeians; (2) the mint at Antioch produced gold coins, as one might expect of a mint in the capital city; (3) coin types found at Antioch (e.g., winged head of Medusa/bull, butting; see, for example, *WSM* 924–28) are also found at other mints throughout the Seleucid empire (reflecting the attempt of the Seleucid authorities to create a uniform coinage throughout the empire); (4) the anchor in front of Athena on Antiochene bronzes (*WSM* 911) may be compared to the anchor near Athena on tetradrachms of SELEUKEIA on the Tigris (*ESM* 29ff.). Marinoni suggested that artisans from the latter city—which was the old Seleucid capital—were transferred to Antioch, the new capital. In short, Marinoni proposed that Seleukos had decided to build two cities, Seleukeia and Antioch. He also suggested that the king gave priority to the construction of the former because of the need for its harbor. Thus Seleukeia was in a position to host a mint before Antioch could. In this connection, incidentally, one thinks of the situation in Ptolemaic Egypt, where the Ptolemies apparently first established a mint at Memphis before moving it to ALEXANDREIA.

Le Rider offered an extensive assessment of the numismatic evidence bearing on the question (*RBN* 145 [1999] 115–39, esp. 131–32; and *Antioche,* 27–30). Le Rider suggested that Seleukos I may originally have considered giving primacy to Seleukeia but that in the course of his reign Antioch emerged as the more important city. Among other things, he suggested that Seleukos may have transferred the mint of ANTIGONEIA to Seleukeia. He also claimed that Seleukeia was the site of the first mint in Syria but that Antioch soon overtook it. In a comparison of the early monetary history of Seleukeia and Antioch Le Rider noted that (a) most of the bronzes minted at Seleukeia were municipal rather than royal (in contrast, at Antioch there

is very little evidence for the minting of civic coinage, and even that is doubtful); (b) the bronze coin types at Seleukeia remained the same to the end of the reign of Seleukos I, while coin types found at Antioch (e.g., winged head of Medusa/bull butting; see, for example, *WSM* 924–28) are also found at other mints throughout the Seleucid empire; (c) the output of precious metal coinage under Seleukos was greater at Antioch than at Seleukeia, perhaps reflecting the greater importance of the Antiochene mint (note, though, that the latter mint also produced more bronzes). Nevertheless, he did note that by comparison with the mint at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, the output of the mint at Antioch under Seleukos I was relatively small.

It is interesting to note, incidentally, that in s.v. "Seleuceia [2] in Pieria" in the second edition of the *OCD* the authors (A. H. M. Jones and H. Seyrig) state that Seleukeia "was founded . . . by Seleucus I to be his capital, a function that was, however, soon transferred to Antioch." This claim does not appear in the third edition (the entry was revised by S. Sherwin-White). On the "capital city" in the Seleucid kingdom see V. Ehrenberg, *The Greek State* (Oxford, 1960) 145; C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11 (1962) 273 and n. 8; Marinoni, *Rendiconti Istituto Lombardo* 106 (1972) 579ff.; and Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 122 and n. 10.

4. For **an *epistates, archontes,*** a *grammateus,* a deme (Olympios), and a tribe (Laodikis) see Welles, *RC* 45 (= *IGLS* 1183); in general see Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 199–253 (text and commentary). For the priests, *archontes,* commanders, soldiers, and garrison see the Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160; and Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 281–315). For the *demos* see *IG* II^2 814; for the *boule* and *demos* as well as *archontes* see *RC* 72.2.

5. For the **Ptolemaic occupation of Seleukeia** see, for example, the Gurob Papyrus (*FGrH* 160) and Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 501–19. For **coins of Ptolemy I, II, and III discovered in hoards at or near Seleukeia** see, for example, *Antioch* IV.2 961–80 and *IGCH* 1526, 1571; see also Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.,* 182–83; and H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1958, 179. Niese's claim (*GMS,* 2: 166–68) that Seleukeia temporarily returned to Seleucid control in c. 234 B.C. is unconvincing (contra: Beloch, *GG*^{2}, 4.2: 330 n. 1; see also Bouché-Leclercq, *Hist. Sél.,* 1: 110). Niese based his argument on Agatharchides (in Josephus *CAp* 1.207), who says that when Seleukos II came to Antioch Stratonike fled to Seleukeia. In fact, this does not prove the city had reverted to Seleucid control. It is quite conceivable that Ptolemy, who did not like "les brouillons" (so Bouché-Leclercq), ordered that Stratonike be sent back to Seleukos. Furthermore Polybius (5.58.10) says that Seleukeia was occupied by the Egyptians from the time Ptolemy III Euergetes captured the city until Antiochos III recaptured it.

6. For **Antiochos's siege of Seleukeia** see McNicoll, *Fortifications,* 85. With **Antiochos's restoration of the Seleukeian exiles** compare his repopulating of AMYZON in 203–201 B.C., his refounding of LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, his rehabilitation of SARDIS, and his treatment of Jerusalem in 200 B.C., when he repopulated the city after it had been devastated by war (Jos. *AJ* 12.138–44; and E. Bickerman, *REJ* 100 [1935] 4–35).

7. The **figure of 6,000 for the free population of Seleukeia** is low and has prompted some scholars to suggest the figure may represent only "free citizens or men of military age" (Walbank, *Comment.,* on Polyb. 5.61.1) or "erwachsene Männer" (Beloch, *GG*^{2}, 4.1: 255 n. 2; Beloch then suggests the total population was approximately 30,000). If 6,000 is understood to represent adult males, then 17,500 (6,000 × 2.9) would be a reasonable figure.

8. For the grant of **politeia by Teos** see ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 26. On **the formula *τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι πόλει*** see Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 213–20. To the examples he collects on pp. 213–15 add C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 (1989) 319–20 (= *SEG* 39: 1426.1).

9. For the appearance of **the titles *ΙΕΡΑ* and *ΑΣΥΛΟΣ*** on the coinage of Seleukeia see Welles's commentary on *RC* 71 (p. 292 and n. 3), quoting a letter from E. T. Newell, who referred to (a) a coin in his collection with the legend *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ*, which he dated either to the first reign of Demetrios II (146–144 B.C.) or to the last year of Alexander I (146 B.C.) (for other examples see *Antioch* IV.2 726; H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1968, 8, no. 265; H. C. Lindgren and F. L. Kovacs, *Ancient Bronze Coins* [San Mateo, 1985] no. 2121; G. Le Rider, *BCH* 110 [1986] 406–7, nos. 78–79) and (b) a coin with the inscription *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ* and dated to *ΔΟΡ*, i.e., 139/8 B.C. (G. MacDonald, *ZfN* 29 [1912] p. 99, no. 27). Newell suggested that the coinage with *ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ* was issued in 146–144 B.C., when Seleukeia was declared "sacred," and that the city was not declared "inviolable" as well until 139/8 B.C.; in positing this sequence he was followed by H. Seyrig (*Syrian Coins* 13 n. 21 and 21 n. 49) and Waage (*Antioch* IV.2, pp. 69–70). Le Rider recognized the possibility that there could have been a hiatus between the time it received the title "sacred" and the title "inviolable," but he also raised the possibility that the title *asylos* could sometimes have been omitted from the coins. Rigsby also suggested that the omission of *asylos* reflected a lack of space on the coins and that the city was declared "sacred and inviolable" in the period between 147/6 and 139/8 B.C. (*Asylia,* 485–88).

For the legend ***ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*** on the coinage see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 398; and *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 270ff., nos. 15–23, 25–28; *Antioch* IV.2 729–40 (first cent. B.C.); *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 401; and *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 270ff., nos. 31–32 (Imperial times); for ***ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*** see, for example, *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 399; and *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 271, no. 24 (first cent. B.C.).

In general see Rigsby, *Asylia,* 485–88.

10. For **the coinage of Seleukeia** see especially Newell, *WSM* 890–906; Houghton, *CSE* 401–14; V. K. Golenko, *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993) 137–38; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* 1: nos. 29–34, 355–56; G. Le Rider, *RBN* 145 (1999) 121–23; and id., *Antioche,* 27–30. For Zeus on coins of Seleukeia (*WSM* 890–93) see, for example, L. Lacroix, *BCH* 73 (1949) 165.

11. For **coins of Seleukos I and Antiochos I from Seleukeia** see, for example, Newell, *WSM* 890–906 (note, however, that Le Rider [*Antioche,* 39; and *RBN* 145 (1999) 122 n. 18] has suggested that nos. 905–6 might be assigned to ANTIOCH); *Meydancıkkale,* 132–33, nos. 2740–44 (Seleukos I); *CSE* 401–3 (Seleukos I); *SNG Spaer* 33–35 (Seleukos I), 219–20 (Antiochos I); Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* 1: nos. 29–34 (Seleukos I), 355–56 (Antiochos I = *WSM* 905–6). For coins of later Seleucid kings see, for example, *CSE* 403–6 (Antiochos IV), 407–14 (Alexander Balas, Demetrius II, Alexander Zabinas, Demetrios III); *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 42, nos. 83–85 (Antiochos IV).

Under Seleukos I the **ethnic** is found as *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ* (e.g., *WSM* 894, 896–99, 901–2; *Antioch* IV.2 13–17; see also Radley, *JHS* 9 (1974) 59 and n. 52). In the second and first centuries B.C. the ethnic is found as *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ* (e.g., *BMC Gala-*

tia, etc., 269, nos. 1–6; *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Cities* 388–91), *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ* (e.g., *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 51, no. 75; *RdS* 647–50; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 269f., nos. 7–14; *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Cities* 392–93; *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Seleucid Kings* 216–17; *Antioch* IV.2 119–23, 722–25; *SNG Braunschweig* 1388; *RC* 45.1–2 and 71.4), and *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ* with the title *ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* (see above, n. 9). *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΑ ΑΠΟ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ* (Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44.6 [1896] p. 8, no. 16; and Kraeling, *AJA* 68 [1964] 178) is also attested.

Under the empire we usually find *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ/ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΥΣ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ* (e.g., *Antioch* IV.2 746–49; *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Cities* 404–5; *IG* XIV.934; also spelled *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΙΕΡΙΑΣ*: *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Cities* 403; *Antioch* IV.2 750–51; cf. *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑΣ ΠΕΙΕΡΙΑΣ* (*CIG* 3497.18), *ΣΕ[ΛΕΥΚ]ΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΕ[ΡΙΑΣ]* (*CIG* 4423) and variants thereof; also *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ* with the title *ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* (above, n. 9).

In the early first century B.C. *Σελεύκεια [ἡ π]ρὸς τῶι Ἰσσικῶ[ι κ]όλπωι* (*I. Strat.* 508.75–76) was included among the cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria. On the question of whether this city should be identified with Seleukeia in Pieria see SELEUKEIA on the Bay of Issos.

In 1 Maccabees 11.8 we find *Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας*; Appian (*Syr.* 57) identified it as “Seleukeia by the Sea” (*Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐπὶ τῆι Θαλάσσῃ*). In Strabo we encounter both *Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐν Πιερίᾳ* (14.5.20; 16.2.4) and *Σελεύκεια ἡ Πιερία* (7.5.8), in Cicero (*Ad Att.* 11.20.1) and Pliny (*NH* 5.67, 79; 6.206), “Seleucia Pieria” (also P. M. Meyer, *Juristische Papyri* [Berlin, 1920] p. 126, no. 37.17 [166 A.D.]). On the various forms of the ethnic and toponym for Seleukeia see Chapot, “Séleucie,” 157 n. 2; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. “Seleukeia (Pieria),” 1187; Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 212–13.

12. For **the quasi-municipal bronzes with the portrait of Antiochos IV and, later, of Alexander I Balas and Antiochos VII Sidetes on the obverse and the ethnic of Seleukeia on the reverse** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 51, no. 75; *RdS* 647–50; *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 57, nos. 68–69; *Antioch* IV.2 119–23; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Seleucid Kings* 216–17; Houghton, *CSE* 405–6, 408[?]; and MacDonald, *ZfN* 29 (1912) 99, no. 27 (Antiochos VII); see also Babelon, *RdS,* p. CV; Bickerman, *IS,* 231ff.; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 124–30; and *INC Rome,* 2: 63–67. Mørkholm notes that “it has been commonly held that the introduction of the new municipal coins by Antiochus IV was the first sign of a disintegration and weakening of royal authority which offered the cities an opportunity to become more and more independent. But things only seem so to us because we know of the following development, the continuous fights between the various claimants to the throne, which brought about the ruin of the Seleucid kingdom.” Rather than a sign of weakness, Mørkholm suggests the new municipal coinage reflects Antiochos's desire to “make the cities active partners in the work for the inner regeneration of his kingdom” (67). K. J. Rigsby agreed with Mørkholm that the appearance of this coinage reflected “royal policy, not collapse” (*TAPA* 110 [1980] 243).

During the reign of Alexander Balas a series of **bronze coins appear with the legend *ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ***, “of the brother peoples,” replacing the civic ethnic (see, for example, A. Dieudonné, *RN,* 1927, 5–6; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 151–52, nos. 1–11; *Antioch* IV.2 720–21; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 394–97; *SNG GB* 4: 5922–24; *SNG Braunschweig* 1387). Strabo (16.2.4) mentions that the four cities of the Tetrapolis—Seleukeia, ANTIOCH near Daphne, APAMEIA on the Axios, and LAODIKEIA by the

Sea—were called sisters on account of their concord. This prompted Babelon (*RdS,* CVII) and Wroth (*BMC Galatia, etc.,* 151) to conclude that the coins were minted by these four cities (see also A. Dieudonné, *RN,* 1927, 5–6; Bickerman, *IS,* 234). However, in 1949 Bellinger ("End of the Seleucids," 60 and n. 6) called attention to Seyrig's remark that the coins were common at ANTIOCH near Daphne and at Seleukeia but were never found at APAMEIA on the Axios or LAODIKEIA by the Sea. It followed, therefore, that the coins could not have been struck at all four cities and, hence, that these were coins of Seleukeia and ANTIOCH near Daphne. Furthermore, it was suggested that their appearance marked the establishment of a short-lived league between the two cities that indicated a significant weakening of the central Seleucid authority; see, for example, Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 60 and n. 6, 62 n. 17; Downey, *HAS,* 121.

Rigsby (*TAPA* 110 [1980] 242–48) has challenged this interpretation. Rigsby points out that all the issues (except one that is undated) are dated to three successive years—149/48, 148/47, 147/46 B.C. He also notes that in 151/50, 150/49, and 149/48 B.C. ANTIOCH near Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, APAMEIA, LAODIKEIA, and KYRRHOS in northern Syria all issued quasi-municipal bronze coins bearing on the obverse the king's portrait and on the reverse a local type and the city name replacing that of the monarch (see above). Then from 147/46 B.C. Rigsby notes that we have one municipal issue—from Seleukeia—with the same reverses as on the 149–147 coins but with Zeus rather than the king portrayed on the obverse. Rigsby suggests that "the brother peoples coins fall rigorously between these two groups of municipal issues under Alexander: the municipal issues cease when the brother coins begin, and these stop in the year the municipal coins of Seleuceia begin again. I suggest that these usages were mutually exclusive: the brother peoples coins succeeded the earlier municipal bronze in 149/8, to be then succeeded by the sole mint at Seleuceia in 147/6" (244). Rigsby notes that the bronze coinages as a whole are coterminous with the reign of Alexander Balas and concludes that "the brother peoples cannot represent a new and independent status extorted by two powerful peoples allied now against a feeble king. To the contrary, they would appear to show one stage in the king's restricting of a particular privilege, that of municipal coinage" (244). The issue Mørkholm and Rigsby raise is whether the appearance of the quasi-municipal coinage and the "brother peoples" coinage reflects weakness or strength on the part of the central Seleucid administration. They both opt for the latter view. Note, however, that even Rigsby is forced to admit that "from the 120's B.C. a growing number of cities won such autonomy that allowed them their own coinages in silver and bronze" (243). If this is so, then surely the same may have been true in the 160s and the 140s.

For a **tetradrachm, possibly of Antiochos IV,** see Houghton, *CSE* 404. According to Mørkholm, a **tetradrachm of Demetrios II,** dated to 142/1 B.C., might have been struck at either Seleukeia or LAODIKEIA by the Sea (*INJ* 3 [1965/66] 11–12).

For **silver and bronze coinage of the independent Seleukeia** (i.e., post-109 B.C.) see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 270–71, nos. 16–28.

13. For the presence of **Seleukeian bronzes at DOURA EUROPOS, SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and Susa** see Le Rider, *RBN* 145 (1999) 122–23.

14. For **weights from Seleukeia** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *BMB* 8 (1946–1948) 45–52; *IGLS* 1213; *Fleischman Collection,* nos. 94–97; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 453–54, 1431–32.

15. For the **priesthoods at Seleukeia** see *OGIS* 245 (= *IGLS* 1184); and Bickerman, *IS,* 245.

16. On the worship of **Zeus Keraunios** see, for example, Chapot, "Séleucie," 222–23; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (Pieria)," 1195–96; Drexler, *Lex. Myth.* s.v. "Keranios"; Adler, *RE* s.v. "Keraunios"; A. B. Cook, *Zeus,* 2: 806–9, esp. 809 and notes. Cook noted (809) that (a) the thunderbolt that preceded the foundation was considered to be a "Zeus-sign" (*Diosemia*), (b) Seleukos ordered the thunderbolt be treated as a god, and (c) the Seleukeians venerated it with worship and hymns (App. *Syr.* 58). The object of veneration was probably, as Cook suggested, a bolt of lightning made out of gold, probably similar to those carried in the great procession of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Athen. 5.202e; and Rice, *Procession,* 120). In support of this hypothesis Cook noted that the lists of priests at Seleukeia included "thunderbolt-bearers" (*OGIS* 245.47). Furthermore, silver and bronze coinage after 108 B.C. often have as their reverse type, a thunderbolt with a fillet on a cushioned stool; for coins of Seleukeia see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 213ff., nos. 16–19, 21–26, 29, 31–32, 44–45; Anson, *Num. Gr.* IV pp. 55f., nos. 568–76, 578; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 270ff., nos. 16–27, 31–32, etc.; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 398–401, 407–9; for coins of Demetrios III with the same reverse type struck at Seleukeia see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 114, nos. 2–4; *RdS* 1571–73; Anson, *Num. Gr.* IV 55, no. 567; *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 101, no. 7; *SNG GB* 4: 5822; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Seleucid Kings* 419; *CSE* 414. That this was the thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios is confirmed by Hesychios (s.v. "Keraunios") and by bronze coins of Seleukeia with the same reverse type and the legend *ΖΕΥΣ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΙΟΣ* (e.g., *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 275, no. 46; *SNG GB* 4: 5967; *Antioch* IV.2 754). Anson, *Num. Gr.* IV 56, no. 587, follows Wroth's description of *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 276, no. 56: "large thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios resting on roof of shrine [within which, sacred stone of Zeus Kasios?]." See also V. Chapot, *BCH* 26 (1902) 168–69, no. 8, a decree of the early empire honoring a *νεωκόρον τοῦ Νεικηφόρου Κεραυν*[*ίο*]*υ*. Cf. the worship of Zeus Keraunios at ANTIOCH near Daphne.

For **Zeus Kasios** see, in addition to Chapot, "Séleucie," and Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (Pieria)": Drexler, *Lex. Myth.* s.v. "Kasios"; Adler, *RE* s.v. "Kasios"; A. Salac, *BCH* 46 (1922) 176–80; Cook, *Zeus,* 2: 981–83; Downey, *HAS,* 67 n. 57. The inhabitants of ANTIOCH near Daphne worshipped Triptolemos on Mount Kasios (Strabo 16.2.5). In 113 A.D. Trajan dedicated some of the spoils of his Dacian campaign to Zeus Kasios (the *Suda* s.v. "Kasion Oros"; and *Anth. Pal.* 6.332). Under the empire the bronze coinage often has as a reverse type a shrine with a pyramidal roof resting on four pillars and enclosing a sacred stone. On the roof is an eagle and beneath the shrine, on coins minted under Trajan and Antoninus Pius, is the legend *ΖΕΥΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ*; see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 216f., nos. 33–41; Anson, *Num. Gr.* V 53, no. 354; *Antioch* IV.2 749; *SNG GB* 4: 5966; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 403–5; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 274f., nos. 36–45, 47, and p. 272, no. 29 (without name of emperor). Under Commodus and the Severi we usually find the same coin type without the legend; thus, for example, Anson, *Num. Gr.* V 53, nos. 355–57; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 217, no. 43; *Antioch* IV.2 757–59; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 410–12; but cf. *Antioch* IV.2 766.

17. On the **fortifications** at Seleukeia see McNicoll, *Fortifications,* 85–89.

18. On the **harbor at Seleukeia** see, for example, Appian (*Syr.* 4), who records how in 196/5 B.C., after his fleet had been damaged by a storm, Antiochos III put in at Seleukeia (see also Livy 33.41); see also *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* 28 (ed.

Rougé); and Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 303–6; A. Poidebard and J. Lauffray, *Sidon* (Beirut, 1951) 32.

Regarding the location and site, Strabo says (16.2.7) that Seleukeia was on the coast, 40 stades north of the mouth of the Orontes; Pliny (*NH* 5.79) says it was on the cape of Antiocheian Syria. See further Dussaud, *Topographie,* 419–22, 429–31, and map IX (opposite p. 424); Chapot, "Séleucie," 149–50 and passim; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia (Pieria)," 1197–1200; R. Stillwell in *Antioch,* 3: 1–6 (and photographs); Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 302–6 and map 4 (p. 304); Jähne, *Klio* 56 (1974) 508–10; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 69–71 and map 6(D) on p. 243.

SELEUKEIA NEAR BELOS

Among the cities in the interior of Syria Pliny (*NH* 5.82) mentions Seleukeia near Belos ("Seleucia . . . ad Belum").[1] Unfortunately he provides no further information. Thus we do not know when it was founded or by whom. The toponym suggests Seleukos I Nikator or his son Antiochos I may have been the founder; but this is speculation. Although the precise site is also not known, the most likely suggestion points to the region of APAMEIA.[2]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 57; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 3"; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 155f.; Tchalenko, *Villages,* VII–IX; Canivet, *Monachisme,* 192 and n. 156; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative,* 68–71; J.-C. Balty in *Recueil Saidah,* 287–98; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 138 and n. 6; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 774; R. M. Bradfield, *Seleuco-bêlos* (Burford, 2002).

1. For **other literary references** see, for example, Ptolemy 5.14.12 (*Σελεύκεια πρὸς Βήλῳ*). Subsequent authors refer to the city as *Σελευκόβηλος*. Thus Stephanos s.v. *Σελευκόβηλος, πόλις Συρίας, πλησίον . . . λέγεται καὶ Σελευκεὺς πρὸς τῷ Βήλῳ* (on this passage see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 156 and nn. 1, 2); George of Cyprus 869; Hierokles 712.9; Socrates *Hist. Eccl.* 3.25 (208) (= *PG* 67: 453); Theodoret (*Philotheos Hist.* 3.20, ed. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen [= *PG* 82: 1337]) called it a *polis* of Syria; Theophanes (*Chron.* 348.20, ed. De Boor) referred to it as a village in the *Ἀπαμέων χώρα*. For two other probable references to Seleukeia near Belos see the *Res Gestae Divi Saporis* 15 (*SEG* 20: 324, *ἄλλη Σελεύκια*, on which see E. Honigmann and A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les Res Gestae Divi Saporis* [Brussels, 1953] 158) and the *Suda* (ed. Adler) s.v. "Metrioi" (*Σελεύκεια τῆς Συρίας*).

2. The topographic feature(s) designated by the term **Belos** is(are) a problem. Both Seleukeia and CHALKIS in Chalkidike were located near Belos. The term, however, could refer to a mountain or to various rivers in northern and southern Syria. In CHALKIS on Belos, n. 4, I have given a brief review of the major opinions on this question.

Regarding the **location** of Seleukeia near Belos, Ptolemy (5.14.12) placed it 1/2 degree west of Apameia; Theophanes (*Chron.* 348.20, ed. de Boor) said it was in the territory of Apameia. The text of Stephanos s.v. "Seleukobelos" is corrupt. Modern

scholars have suggested Seleukeia was located at, for example, (a) Djisr esh-Shogur (e.g., Dussaud, *Topographie,* 155–57; M. Dunand, *De l'Amanus au Sinai* [Beirut, 1953] 108–9 [photograph]) or (b) Kafr al Bara (e.g., J. Richard, *Syria* 25 [1946–1948] 104 n. 2), both north of Apameia; (c) Ma'az (Bradfield, *Seleuco-bêlos,* 26–29), northeast of Apameia; (d) Suqelbiye (e.g., Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 3," 1202f.; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative,* 69) or (e) Seluqiye (e.g., Jones, *CERP*^{2}, 452 n. 24; later accepted by Honigmann and Maricq, *Mem. Acad. roy. Belg.* 47.4 (1953) 158; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 138), both south of Apameia. See also maps VIII and X in Dussaud, *Topographie.*

For most of these scholars the term "Belos" had referred to a mountain range in Syria (see, for example, Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Belos 2"; Tchalenko, *Villages,* VIII–IX). In this connection, Benzinger cited Pliny *NH* 5.81–82; Ptol. 5.14.12; Stephanos s.v. "Seleukobelos." The ancient authors do refer to the towns—i.e., Seleukeia and Chalkis—that were "near Belos." Note, however, that none of them specifically describes Belos as a mountain.

In fact, the question whether Belos referred to a mountain or a river is an old one. Müller noted both possibilities in 1901 in his commentary to Ptolemy 5.14.12 ("Seleukeia near Belos"); in 1921 Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 3") raised the same question. In 1927 Dussaud made the suggestion that Belos in the toponym Seleukeia near Belos referred to the Orontes. In 1979 and again in 1982 J. Balty and J.-C. Balty pointed to a scholion of Tzetzes to an epigram: *Μέμνων ἀποκομισθεὶς οἴκαδε ἐτάφη παρὰ Βήλαιον ποταμὸν Συρίας καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται αὐτῷ τάδε: Μέμνων Τιθωνοῦ τε καὶ Ἠοῦς ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι ἐν Συρίῃ Βήλου παρ ποταμοῦ προχοαῖς* (T. Bergk, *Poetae lyrici graeci* [Leipzig, 1915] 2: 55, p. 353; on this see also P. J. Riis, *Sukas I* [Copenhagen, 1970] 141). The information from the epigram and the gloss demonstrates that the Orontes was also known as Belos. Thus the Baltys correctly claimed that in the toponym Seleukeia near Belos, Belos refers to the Orontes River (Balty and Balty, in *Géographie administrative,* 68–72; id., *Recueil Saidah,* 288–89; see also APAMEIA and CHALKIS on Belos).

Jones suggested (*CERP*^{2}, 245) that because the Greek name has survived, Seleukobelos was probably a new foundation (rather than the refounding of an older, native village). This may be, but the reasoning is circular: in fact, we do not definitely know its modern name because we have not yet firmly identified the modern location.

SELEUKEIA ON THE BAY OF ISSOS

Two bronze coins with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΙΣΣΙΚΩ ΚΟΛΠΩΙ* provide evidence for Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos. The coins have been dated to the second century B.C.[1] Franke, who published the coins, claimed there is no other reference to this settlement. Ziegler suggested that Seleukos I Nikator refounded Rhosos as Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos.[2] Among other things, Ziegler noted that (a) Rhosos was the only port for ANTIOCH before the completion of the port of SELEUKEIA in Pieria; (b) it was the place where Nikator met Stratonike (Plut. *Demet.* 32; Malalas 8.198 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), before proceeding to Antioch; (c) up to now, there has been no known coinage of Rhosos dating to the second century B.C.; the

Seleukeia coins would thus fill a gap; (d) the eagle countermark found on the coin of Seleukeia is also found on a later coin of Rhosos (reign of Claudius). Rhosos was located at the site of the modern Arsuz—Uluçinar.[3]

In fact, there is also an epigraphic attestation dating to the first century B.C. for Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos: a fragment of an inscription recording the names of some of the cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria mentions *Σελεύκεια [ἡ π]ρὸς τῶι Ἰσσικῶ[ι κ]όλπωι* (*I. Strat.* 508.75–76 = *OGIS* 441 = Rigsby, *Asylia,* 210C). The list of cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple actually survives on three fragments; Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos is recorded on the third fragment. This fragment lists eleven cities: in the left column we find one Phrygian city (APAMEIA on the Maeander) followed by six Lycian cities (Patara, Xanthos, Pinara, Tlos, Limyra, Myra). In the right column we find Alabanda in Caria, a Demetrias, Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos, and Kelenderis in Cilicia. The identification of both Demetrias and Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos mentioned in the inscription is problematic.[4]

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1. For the two **coins** see P. R. Franke in *Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens,* ed. G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck (Vienna, 1993) 183, 367, no. 5; E. Levante in *Internationales Kolloquium zur kaiserzeitlichen Münzprägung Kleinasiens,* ed. J. Nollé et al. (Milan, 1997) 44; R. Ziegler, *EA* 33 (2001) 95–103.

2. For **Rhosos** see, for example, Rigsby, *Asylia,* 472–73. For the identification of **Rhosos as the renamed Seleukeia** see Levante in *Internationales Kolloquium,* 44; and Ziegler, *EA* 33 (2001) 100–101. For the **founder** see Ziegler, 101–2.

Note that earlier Tcherikover had suggested that ANTIOCH in Pieria was the refounded Rhosos.

3. For **Rhosos and its coinage** see E. Levante, *NC* 145 (1985) 237–43.

4. On **DEMETRIAS** see Foucart, who originally published the third fragment of the list of *I. Strat.* 508 in 1890 and assumed that the Demetrias listed between Alabanda and Seleukeia was the Thessalian city (*BCH* 14 [1890] 363–64). Presumably it was (in part) for this reason that Foucart did not believe there was any geographic order to this list.

Earlier (in 1811) Mionnet ascribed to "Demetrias in Phoenicia" (not otherwise identified) coins with the legend *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ* that he had previously attributed to Demetrias in Thessaly (*Description,* 2: 11, nos. 81–84; 5: 359). He also noted that Sestini had suggested that they belonged to Coele Syria, because of their similarity to coins of Aretas that were struck at Damascus (*Supplément,* 8: 207 n. *a*; see also J. Eckhel, *Doctrina,* 2: 136–38). The claim that Damascus had (briefly) been renamed Demetrias was followed by, among others, W. Wroth (*BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxxvi), G. MacDonald (*Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 115), B. V. Head (*HN*², 784–85), and A. H. M. Jones (*CERP*², 254); see also DEMETRIAS Damascus. In his commentary to *I. Strat.* 508.74, Sahin therefore suggested that the Demetrias mentioned there referred to Damascus. However, since Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos and Kelenderis were

coastal cities, we should consider the possibility that the Demetrias mentioned in the inscription was also a coastal city. The logical candidate for this suggestion would be DEMETRIAS by the Sea in Phoenicia; see further that entry. If Demetrias by the Sea is identical with the Demetrias recorded in the list appended to the Stratonikeia inscription, it would suggest there was a geographic progression for the cities in the surviving part of the third fragment of the list of *I. Strat.* 508: from the interior of Asia Minor to the coast of Phoenicia and Syria and then back again to the Cilician coast; in general for geographical grouping in the various surviving lists of cities see L. Robert, *BCH* 108 (1984) 526 and n. 159.

SELEUKEIA ON THE BAY OF ISSOS. Prior to the publication of the coins with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΙΣΣΙΚΩ ΚΟΛΠΩΙ* it had generally been assumed that the Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos recorded in the Stratonikeia inscription was identical with Seleukeia in Pieria (for this identification see, for example, Dittenberger's comment on *OGIS* 441.216–17; Sahin on *I. Strat.* 508.75–76). Presumably this was because it was more likely that Seleukeia in Pieria rather than a small town—such as (the refounded) Rhosos—would have been included among the cities recognizing the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at Stratonikeia. Note, however, that the fragmentary *I. Strat.* 508 provides evidence only for the *existence* of Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos, not for its identification. There are arguments both for and against the identification of Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos with Seleukeia in Pieria.

For. At first glance it might appear that Seleukeia in Pieria was located too far south to be considered on the Bay of Issos. Note, however, that "Bay of Issos" could be used in both a narrow and a wider sense by ancient geographers. In fact, Strabo appears to use it both ways. For example, at 14.5.19 he says that the cities of Rhosos, Myriandros, ALEXANDREIA, NIKOPOLIS, and Pylai were located on the Bay of Issos. On the other hand, at 2.5.24 he gives it a much wider breadth and says that the island of Cyprus was located in the Issican and the Pamphylian bays. And Pomponius Mela (1.68–70) says that "Asia forms a tremendous gulf with the unbent extension of its littoral. . . . On the gulf is the remainder of Syria, to which the name of Antiochia applies and on its shores are the cities of Seleucia, Hypatos, Berytos, Laodicea and Rhosos, as well as the rivers that go between these cities, the Lycos, the Hypatos, and the Orontes; then comes Mt. Amanus and, right after it, Myriandros and the Cilicians. In the gulf's deepest recess, however, is the site of a great historical turning point long ago" (trans. Romer). Clearly in these two instances "Bay of Issos" designated a much larger area than "the gulf's deepest recess" ("in recessu intimo") where Rhosos, Myriandros, etc., were located; see also Romer (*Pomponius Mela's Description,* 54 n. 54), who called attention to the present-day distinction between the larger Gulf of Iskenderun and the smaller Bay of Iskenderun. This, therefore, would allow for the possibility that Seleukeia in Pieria was also known as Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos.

Against. Strabo twice (16.2.7) observed that Seleukeia in Pieria was located near the sea. Dittenberger understood this to be a reference to the Bay of Issos. Note that 1 Maccabees 11.8 referred to it as *Σελευκείας τῆς παραθαλασσίας* and that Appian (*Syr.* 57) also identified it as "Seleukeia by the Sea." These references, however, are found in literary sources; i.e., they are not necessarily the *official* name of the city. In fact, I am not aware of "Seleukeia on/by the Sea" in any extant official context (i.e., on coins or in inscribed decrees or letters of the city).

One could cite examples of the official use of shorter or longer versions of a city name by that particular city (e.g., Seleukeia, Seleukeia in Pieria, Seleukeia Pieria). Often the longer version provided some geographic indication to help identify the city and differentiate it from other like-named cites. Thus, for example, Antioch near Daphne, Antioch on the Kydnos, Antioch on the Pyramos, Antioch on the Saros, etc.; see further Le Rider, *Suse,* 410–11. On the other hand, it is difficult to find evidence for a city striking coins with geographic indications that changed. This would be the case if we accepted the proposition that the Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos coinage was from Seleukeia in Pieria.

On balance, therefore, it would not appear likely that Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos was the renamed Seleukeia in Pieria.

TEGEA

Among the cities in Syria that Appian (*Syr.* 57) says Seleukos I Nikator founded was Tegea. Appian, who is our sole source of information for this Tegea, includes it among the settlements he says were named for cities in Greece. It is possible, therefore, that the population included settlers from Tegea in the Peloponnese or that the location reminded the settlers of that city. We do not know where Syrian Tegea was located.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 447; Tcherikover, *HS,* 63; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 239; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 156 and n. 4; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 787.

II

CHALCIDICE

CHALKIS ON BELOS

Appian (*Syr.* 57) included Chalkis among the settlements he ascribed to Seleukos I.[1] The reference is undoubtedly to Chalkis in Chalcidice rather than CHALKIS under Libanos; the latter was located in a region that was never under the effective control of Seleukos I.[2] In any event, in little-noticed enumerations of cities founded by Seleukos I Nikator, both Agapius of Manbij, the bishop of HIERAPOLIS Bambyke in the tenth century (*Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 [PO XI, p. 109, ed. A. Vasiliev]), and the anonymous author of the Syriac *Chronicle to the Year 1234 A.D.* (p. 107, trans. Chabot, in *CSCO Scriptores Syri* III.14, *Versio* [84]) mentioned Qinnesrin—the native name for Chalkis in Chalcidice—as being among Seleukos's foundations.[3] To distinguish the city in Chalcidice from CHALKIS under Libanos it was called "on Belos" ("Chalcidem cognominatam ad Belum," Pliny *NH* 5.81).[4] Pliny adds that the region of Chalcidice, the "most fertile of Syria," took its name from the city.[5] The toponym recalls Chalkis in Europe. There were, however, a number of cities with that name: for example, in Euboea and Aetolia. In addition, of course, there was the Chalcidic peninsula in Macedonia. That a number of the settlements in northern Syria were apparently named for Macedonian towns suggests that Chalkis on Belos was probably a settlement founded at the site of a native town called Qinnesrin and named for the Chalcidic peninsula.[6] In 145 B.C. Diodotos Tryphon, with the help of the Arab chief Iamblichos, captured Chalkis and used it as his base of operations against Demetrios II. Diodorus (33.4a) noted that it was large enough to support and protect an army based there and described it as being on the Arabian frontier. The extant evidence falls silent after this until the first century A.D. when Pliny mentions it.[7] It is not clear whether coinage from the early second century A.D. that is inscribed *ΦΛ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ* should be attributed to this city or to CHALKIS under Libanos.[8]

According to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* ("Calcida," IX.5) and the *Itineraria Antoniniana* ("Calcida," 194.1, 195.1, 5, ed. Cuntz) Chalkis was located on the east-west road from ANTIOCH to BEROIA and the north-south road from APAMEIA to KYRRHOS. Chalkis was 31 kilometers southwest of BEROIA (Aleppo); it was near the Qoueiq River at the modern Qinnesrin.[9]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Chalkis 14"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 136; P. Monceaux and L. Brossé, *Syria* 6 (1925) 339–50; Tcherikover, *HS,* 56–57; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 476 and n. 4; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 91–92; Mouterde and Poidebard, *Chalcis,* 1–23; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 239–42; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative,* 68–71; J.-C. Balty in *Recueil Saidah,* 287–98; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 156; F. W. Deichmann, *Rom, Ravenna, Konstantinopel, Naher Osten* (Wiesbaden, 1982) 699–

711; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 40f., 51ff., 159ff.; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 707; R. Gogräfe, *OEANE* s.v. "Qinnishrin."

1. For **other literary references to Chalkis** see, for example, Ammianus 24.1.9 ("ad Syriacam civitatem Chalcida"); Stephanos s.v. "Chalkis 4" (on which see below, n. 3 and CHALKIS under Libanos); Hieronymus *Vita Malachi* 3 (*PL* 23: 56); Hierokles 711.8; George of Cyprus 862; Geog. Rav. 2.15 ("Chacida," ed. Schnetz); Procop. *Pers.* 1.18, 2.12, *De Aed.* 2.11; *Suda* s.v. Ἰάμβλιχος ἕτερος; Theodoret, *Eccl. Hist.* 5.1020 (*PG* 82: 1204); Niceph. Callist., *Eccl. Hist.* 12.231 (*PG* 146: 761); *TB Rosh Hashannah* 26a ("Ken Nishraya"; [on which see A. Neubauer, *Géographie,* 305ff.]); and Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 136.

2. For **the suggestion that at *Syr.* 57 Appian meant Chalkis in Chalcidice** rather than under Libanos see Beloch, *GG*², 4.2: 325 n. 2 (followed, for example, by Brodersen, *Komment.,* 156) against Niese, *GMS,* 2: 125 (Niese believed he meant Chalkis under Libanos). On the question of the frontier between Seleucid and Ptolemaic territory in the third century B.C. see Newell, *WSM* 212; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 14–17; and Tcherikover, "Palestine," 32–36.

Droysen's attempt (*Hist.,* 2: 732) to locate Chalkis on Belos in the area west of the Orontes River was refuted by Tcherikover (*HS,* 56).

In the middle of his description of Arabia Pliny (*NH* 6.159) says: "fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis." It appears that Pliny mistakenly inserted a comment about the Syrian cities in his discussion of Arabia. We do not know precisely which Chalkis Pliny was referring to; that it is grouped with ARETHOUSA AND LARISA suggests the reference is to Chalkis under Libanos. See further, LARISA, n. 3.

3. As far as I can see, neither Benzinger, Honigmann, Tcherikover, nor Brodersen made reference to **Agapius's list of settlements.** Recently, Grainger (*Seleukid Syria,* 40–42) suggested that both KYRRHOS and Chalkis were probably founded before 301 B.C., i.e., before Seleukos came into control of the region. N.b., however, that he did not refer to Agapius.

Admittedly Agapius is not always completely accurate (see HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, n. 1); nevertheless (a) the fact that he refers to the city by its native name and (b) the inclusion of a Chalkis in Appian's list supports the likelihood that in this instance his information is accurate.

Stephanos (s.v. "Chalkis 4") describes Chalkis as a city in Syria that was founded by Monikos the Arab. Relying on this, Grainger elsewhere (*Seleukid Prosopography,* 707) suggested that Chalkis on Belos might have been founded by Monikos the Arab. However, it is not clear whether Stephanos was referring to this city or to CHALKIS under Libanos. In support of the identification with Chalkis under Libanos we may note (a) the possible identification of Monikos with Mennaios, the ruler of the Iturean principality (Strabo 16.2.10)—which included Chalkis—in the early first century B.C. and (b) Agapius's ascription of Qinnesrin to Seleukos Nikator.

4. The term "**Belos**" is problematic; it refers to a mountain (or mountain chain) as well as to various rivers; in general, see J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative,* 68–71, J.-C. Balty in *Recueil Saidah,* 287–98, esp. 287–92 (and map on p. 288 with indications of the various rivers, sites, and mountains in Syria and Palestine named for Ba'al).

Mountain. Benzinger (*RE* s.v. "Belos 2") thought it referred to Mount Nosaïri in

northwestern Syria (on which see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 138f.); Tchalenko (*Villages,* VII–IX, and *Syria* 50 [1973] 115f.) speculated it was the name for the mountain chain that extended from APAMEIA to KYRRHOS and from ANTIOCH to Chalkis (see also, for example, J.-P. Rey-Coquais, comment. on *IGLS* 4049, p. 79 n. 3; P. Canivet, *Monachisme,* 192; G. Tate et al., *Syria* 57 [1980] 4, map on p. 5); Mouterde and Poidebard (*Chalcis,* 4 n. 2; cf. 7 n. 3) thought it meant "l'arête orientale du Gebel Zâwiyé jusqu'à Nébi'Is."

River. There are at least four (possibly five) different rivers in Syria and Palestine that apparently bore the name "Belos" in antiquity: (a) the Belos River north of Mount Carmel near PTOLEMAIS Ake, the modern Na'man River (see, for example, Pliny *NH* 5.75, 36.190; Tacitus *Hist.* 5.7; Josephus *BJ* 2.189; Stephanos s.v. "Ake"; see also Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Belos 1"; J.-C. Balty in *Recueil Saidah,* 289–90 and n. 15); (b) the Rubin River, which separates the territories of Jamnia and Joppe in Palestine (see C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 5 [1903] 328–29); (c) the Orontes River (see SELEUKEIA near Belos, n. 2); (d) the Badas (Baldas), the present Sinn River (see P. J. Riis, *Sukas* [Copenhagen, 1970] 1: 140–41); (e) the Qoueiq River (see J.-C. Balty in *Recueil Saidah,* 291–92). Thus, according to J.-C. Balty, the "Belos" in the name "Chalkis on Belos" (so Pliny *NH* 5.81) refers not to a mountain but rather to a river.

5. On **Chalcidice** see Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 40f. For the likely suggestion that **Chalcidice was one of the satrapies of Seleukis** see KYRRHOS, n. 1, and APAMEIA on the Axios, n. 6.

6. Grainger (*Seleukid Syria,* 40, 77, following R. J. Forbes, *Metallurgy in Antiquity* [Leiden, 1950] 300) thought that the toponym might reflect the existence of copper mines in the area around Chalkis. Note, however, J. D. Muhly, *Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences* 43 (1973) 208–14, who questions whether copper was mined in the region.

7. Grainger pointed out (*Seleukid Syria,* 161–62) that **coins of 92 A.D.** indicate the adoption of a new era in that year (*Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 140–41, nos. 2, 6; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 147, no. 6; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 66). He suggested that the adoption of the era "celebrated the removal of an Arab dynasty established in 145." This is all quite speculative, as Grainger himself noted. Note, furthermore, that the attribution of these coins to Chalkis on Belos is not secure; see below, n. 8.

8. Coinage inscribed ***ΦΛ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ*** with an era beginning in 92 A.D. (when the town would also have received the title "Flavia") has usually been assigned to Chalkis on Belos; see, for example, Head, *HN*², 778; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 140–41, nos. 1–7; Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* liv–lv, 147–48, nos. 1–9; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 65–66; *SNG Schweiz* II 187–88; and followed, for example, by A. H. M. Jones (*JRS* 21 [1931] 267 and n. 10, "attributed on technical grounds to Chalcis ad Belum"). However, Wroth also considered the possibility that some of the coins could be assigned to CHALKIS under Libanos. Schürer (*History*², 1: 573 and n. 68) likewise expressed reservations about the attribution to Chalkis on Belos. Sartre (*Alexandre,* 515 and n. 231), in fact, opted for Chalkis under Libanos.

9. For the **location and site** see, for example, L. Brossé, *Syria* 6 (1925) 343–50 (plan on p. 345; for suggested modifications of the plan see J. Lauffray in Mouterde and Poidebard, *Chalcis,* 8–9 and plan 1); Mouterde and Poidebard, *Chalcis,* 7–9 and pls. II–V; J. Balty and J.-C. Balty in *Géographie administrative,* 70; Burns, *Monuments,* 199.

MARONEIA

Ptolemy (5.15.8) records a Maroneia in Chalcidice. Presumably this is the same city as that mentioned by Appian (*Syr.* 57) as being among the foundations of Seleukos I Nikator. Also presumably the settlement was named for the homonymous Thracian city. Grainger has speculated that it is "just possible to imagine" that Maroneia was founded by refugees from the Romans after the battle of Magnesia in 190 B.C.; in support of his contention he notes that settlers from Euboea and Aetolia came to Syria around this same time (Libanius *Or.* 11.119).[1] Certainly this is possible; but in the absence of confirmatory evidence we must consider this suggestion speculative. According to Hieronymus (*Vita Malalchi* 2 [*PL* 23: 55]) Maroneia was 30 miles east of ANTIOCH near Daphne. We do not know the exact location.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 297; id., *RE* s.v. "*Μαρωνιάς*"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 57; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 242 and n. 79; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 152; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 43; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 750.

1. Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 43 n. 63.

III

CYRRHESTICE AND COMMAGENE

AINOS

Stephanos (s.v. "Ainos 4") records an Ainos *κατὰ Θάψακον καὶ τὸν Εὐφράτην*. Ainos was the name of a number of places in Greece, including one in Thrace, Ozolian Locris, and Thessaly. It is impossible to say if the Syrian Ainos was named for any of these towns. We may note in passing that Syrian LARISA was settled by Thessalians. It is possible, therefore, that this toponym was meant to recall one of those places. On the other hand, *ain* in Arabic means "spring or source"; in that case, the toponym may simply result from the Hellenization of a native word.[1]

Regarding the location, Tcherikover noted that Stephanos does not indicate whether the city was located in Syria or in Mesopotamia. I might add that although we do not know the exact location of Thapsakos, it is clear that it was located on the west bank of the Euphrates.[2] For that reason, I tentatively place Ainos in Syria.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 86; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 19a; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 43; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 677.

1. On the **toponym** see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 19a; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 43; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 677.

2. On the problem of the **location** of Thapsakos see AMPHIPOLIS, n. 3; M. Gawlikowski, *Iraq* 58 (1996) 123–33 and literature cited there.

AMPHIPOLIS

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Amphipolis") Amphipolis was a *polis* of Syria on the Euphrates River that was founded by Seleukos Nikator. He adds that the Syrians called it Tourmeda. Appian (*Syr.* 57) likewise includes Amphipolis in his list of settlements founded by Seleukos. The name, of course, recalls the Macedonian town.

Pliny, in a passage that is possibly corrupt (*NH* 5.87), says that Amphipolis was the former Thapsakos: "At in Syria oppida Europum, Thapsacum quondam, nunc Amphipolis."[1] Ptolemy, incidentally, twice refers to Thapsakos (5.14.5 and 18); he does not mention Amphipolis. The ethnic, according to Stephanos, was *Ἀμφιπολίτης*.

Although we do not know the exact site of Amphipolis, two possible locations have been suggested: (a) on the west bank of the Euphrates on/adjacent to the former Thapsakos, (b) on the east bank of the Euphrates opposite Thapsakos.[2] In either case it is important to bear in mind that the exact location of Thapsakos has not yet been precisely determined.[3]

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 34 and *RE* s.v. "Thapsakos"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 57; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 461f.; Jones, *CERP*², 216, 442 n. 3; Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 243 and n. 85; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 155f.; M. Gawlikowski, *Iraq* 58 (1996) 123–33; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 681.

1. Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 34) suggested that there was a gap before "quondam" in **the text of Pliny;** Jones (*CERP*², 442 n. 3) thought Pliny's words "ungrammatical and nonsensical."

2. In the attempt to reconcile the information given by Pliny and Stephanos a number of **possible reconstructions** have been offered:

i. Thapsakos on the west bank of the Euphrates was renamed Amphipolis.
   a. Amphipolis essentially included both Tourmeda and Thapsakos (Tcherikover, *HS,* 57).
   b. Amphipolis might be identified with JEBEL KHALID (Gawlikowski, *Iraq* 58 [1996] 128). Stephanos's description of Amphipolis as being on the Euphrates and Pliny's (corrupt?) indication that it was not far from EUROPOS (= Jerablus?) certainly makes this identification possible.

ii. "Thapsakos" is derived from the Semitic root indicating a "passage, ford" (see, for example, Dussaud, *Topographie,* 455; Syme, *Anatolica,* 99). In the text of Pliny, therefore, "thapsacus" should be read as a common noun rather than a placename; hence Amphipolis was on the east bank of the Euphrates, opposite Thapsakos. An immediate objection to this will be that both Pliny and Stephanos specifically say Amphipolis was in Syria. However, Jones pointed out (*CERP*², 442 n. 3) that both EDESSA and ANTHEMOUSIAS, which were beyond the Euphrates in Mesopotamia, were included in Syria; on "Syria" also including areas beyond the Euphrates, see SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma, n. 7. In any event, irrespective of whether "Thapsacus/thapsacus" in Pliny is a common noun or a toponym, there is a connection in Pliny, as Jones noted, between Europos and Amphipolis.
   a. The native name for Amphipolis, Tourmeda, corresponds to the present Zourma or Sourmagha on the east bank opposite Jerablus (Europos) (Fischer in Müller's edition of Ptolemy, ad 5.14.13).
   b. Amphipolis on the east bank was later renamed NIKATORIS (Dussaud, *Topographie,* 461; see also Jones, *CERP*², 216, 442 n. 3).

In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Thapsakos 1"; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 455.

3. On the question of the **location of Thapsakos** see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Thapsakos," 1278f.; W. J. Farrell, *JHS* 81 (1961) 153–55 (Carchemish); R. D. Barnett, *JHS* 83 (1963) 3 n. 8 (Samûma [Meskenê]); Gawlikowski, *Iraq* 58 (1996) 123–33 (two cities named Thapsakos: a lower one below the bend of the Euphrates and one upstream, which was renamed SELEUKEIA/ ZEUGMA); Syme, *Anatolica,* 97–99.

ANTIOCH NEAR THE TAUROS

The only extant information about Antioch near the Tauros are two late literary references. Under "Antiocheia 9" Stephanos says *ἐπὶ τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐν Κομμαγηνῇ.* In his enumeration of the cities of Commagene Ptolemy (5.14.8)

mentions Areka, Ἀντιόχεια πρὸς Ταύρῳ ὄρει, Singa, Germanikeia, and Katamana.[1] We do not know the location or whether the founder was a Seleucid or a member of the royal family of Commagene.[2]

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In general see Long, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Antiocheia 8"; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 2"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 52; Treidler, *KP* s.v. "Antiocheia 3"; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 687.

1. In the first edition of the *Historia Numorum* Head referred to a **coin** (p. 653) from the mid-second century A.D. with the legend *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ Ε ΤΑΥ* on the reverse, which he ascribed to Antioch near the Tauros. The notice was not included in the second edition.

2. I know of no evidence to support the **location** of Antioch at Aïntab (thus Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 2"), approximately 110 km northeast of Aleppo. Similarly, Miller's attempt (*Itineraria Romana,* 763) to equate this Antioch with Germanikeia is untenable; see, for example, Treidler, *RE* Suppl. IX, s.v. "Germanicia."

Wagner (*Seleukeia,* 61) and D. French (*AMS* 3 [1991] 18) ascribed the foundation to Antiochos IV of Commagene.

ANTIOCH ON THE EUPHRATES

Pliny, who is our only literary source for Antioch on the Euphrates, says (*NH* 5.86): "Cingilla Commagenen finit, Imeneorum civitas incipit. Oppida adluuntur Epiphania et Antiochia, quae ad Euphraten voca(n)tur, item Zeugma LXXII p. a Samosatis." It would appear from Pliny that Antioch was located on the upper Euphrates, not far from ZEUGMA. We know neither its precise location[1] nor whether it was founded by a Seleucid or a king of Commagene.[2] Coinage with the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ* survives from the mid-second century A.D.[3]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Antiocheia 8"; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Imeneorum civitas"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 52; Jones, *CERP*², 262; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 686.

1. **Location.** Jones (*CERP*², 232; followed by Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 68 n. 208, 110 and n. 55; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 138 and n. 3) suggested that Antioch was located at the site of Ourima ("the position of the two corresponds and it is simplest to assume that Urima was the native name of Antioch"; see map I at the end of Wagner, *Seleukeia*). Note, however, that Ptolemy (5.14.10), who lived in the mid-second century A.D.—i.e., around the same time that coinage with the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ* was being minted (see below, n. 3)—included Ourima among the cities on the Euphrates. On Ourima see, for example, Hierokles 713.10; George of Cyprus 884. See also Chapot, *Frontière,* 273, 5; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 477; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 449–50; Spuler, *RE* s.v. "Urima" and additional references cited there;

Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 168–69. Wagner has suggested that Horun Höyük, which was c. 5 km upstream from SELEUKEIA Zeugma on the west bank of the Euphrates, was the site of Antioch/Ourima (*Seleukeia* 110, followed by G. Algaze, *Anatolica* 20 [1994] 21). In any event, Horun Höyük has been submerged by the Birecik Dam reservoir.

2. According to Strabo (11.14.15) Antiochos the Great brought Commagene under Seleucid rule but effectively lost control of it after the battle of Magnesia. It is possible, therefore, that he was the **founder** of Antioch. On the other hand, Grainger has suggested (*Seleukid Syria,* 138) that both Antioch and EPIPHANEIA might have been founded by the Seleucid Antiochos IV Epiphanes. Another possibility would be one of the rulers of Commagene, perhaps Antiochos I Theos.

3. For **the coinage and the ethnic** see, for example, Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 111, no. 4; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 124–25, nos. 1–4; and *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 113, no. 1.

ARSAMEIA ON THE EUPHRATES

The identification of the village of Gerger near the west bank of the Euphrates with Arsameia is based on a long inscription of Antiochos I of Commagene found there that refers to Arsameia (*ἐν Ἀρσαμείαι [ἐν] θε[ᾶ]ς Ἀργ[α]νδηνῆς περιβόλωι,* col. III.13–14).[1] Furthermore, the partial restoration—based on the similar inscription found at ARSAMEIA on the Nymphaios—in col. I.7–9 (*[Ἀρ]σάμειαν τα[ύτην πρὸς Εὐφράτηι ποταμῶι πρόγονος] ἐμὸς Ἀρσάμη[ς ἔκτισεν]*) suggests that Arsames also founded this settlement.[2] The inscription also refers to a royal necropolis (col. III.13–14). The existence of an earlier sanctuary of the goddess Argandene at the site prompted Dörner to suggest that an older settlement preceded the founding of Arsameia.[3]

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In general see Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen,* 353–67; Tcherikover, *HS,* 51–52; F. K. Dörner, *KP* s.v. “Arsameia”; Waldmann, *Kultreformen,* 123–41; F. K. Dörner in *Nemrud Dağı,* 267–70; O. Bounegru, *LGRC* s.v. “Arsameia 2.”

1. For the **inscription found at Gerger** see Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen,* 360–64 (= *IGLS* 47 = Waldmann, *Kultreformen,* 124–30). For the **location** of Arsameia see, for example, Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen,* 353–55 and map 2.

2. See Dörner and Goell, *Arsameia,* 40, col. I.13–16 (= Waldmann, *Kultreformen,* 83). For the **question of the identification of King Arsames** see ARSAMEIA on the Nymphaios.

3. For the **possibility that there was an earlier settlement at the site** see Dörner in *Nemrud Dağı,* 270.

ARSAMEIA ON THE NYMPHAIOS

Arsameia on the Nymphaios was discovered by F. K. Dörner in 1951. The identification of the site was made on the basis of a monumental inscription that Antiochos I of Commagene put up at Eski Kale near Eski Kâhta.

In the inscription Antiochos mentions the *hierotheseion* for his father, Mithridates Kallinikos, *ἐν Ἀρσαμείαι τῆι πρὸς Νυμφαίωι ποταμῶι . . . ἐν Ἀρσαμείας προαστίωι* (col. I.7–8, 29–30).[1] According to the inscription, the founder of Arsameia was Arsames, who also fortified the city. This Arsames is identified as Antiochos's ancestor (*Νυμφαῖον . . . πρόγονος ἐμὸς Ἀρσάμης ἔκτισεν,* col. I.14–16); most probably he is also to be identified with the Armenian ruler of the same name who lived in the mid-third century B.C. and played a mediating role in the hostilities between Seleukos II and Antiochos Hierax (Polyaenus 4.17).[2] Furthermore, he is probably the same person who founded ARSAMEIA on the Euphrates. It is likely that a native settlement preceded Arsames' foundation. In the inscription Antiochos also claimed (col. II.47–50) that he had added to the fortifications and enhanced the city.

The site of Arsameia was located c. 59 kilometers southeast of Malatya near the village of Eski Kâhta on the Nymphaios River (the modern Kâhta Çay).[3]

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In general see Akurgal, *Turkey,* 346–47; F. K. Dörner, *KP* s.v. "Arsameia"; W. L. MacDonald, *PECS* s.v. "Arsameia"; Waldmann, *Kultreformen,* 80–122; Schottky, *Media,* 106; Dörner in *Nemrud Dağı,* 267–70; O. Bounegru, *LGRC* s.v. "Arsameia 1"; W. Hoepfner in *Gottkönige,* 57–74.

For the results of the excavations at Arsameia see F. K. Dörner and T. Goell, *Arsameia am Nymphaios* (Berlin, 1963); and W. Hoepfner, *Arsameia am Nymphaios,* vol. 2 (Tübingen, 1983).

1. For the **inscription of Antiochos I** see Dörner and Goell, *Arsameia,* 40–58 (= Waldmann, *Kultreformen,* 82–89 = *Lancia*[2] no. 15). For the ***hierotheseion*** see also J. Wagner, *IM* 33 (1983) 177–222.

2. On **Arsames** see, for example, Schottky, *Media,* 100–106; Dörner in *Nemrud Dağı,* 267–70, 368.

At Nemrud Dağı an Arsames was represented on North Socle 11 and mentioned in the accompanying inscription (Puchstein, *Reisen,* p. 285 [= *OGIS* 394 = *IGLS* 5 = *Nemrud Dağı,* 267–68]). Dörner reasonably suggested (*Nemrud Dağı,* 269, 368) that this Arsames was the same person who founded both Arsameia on the Nymphaios and Arsameia on the Euphrates. On the name of Arsames' father see SAMOSATA.

In addition, a bronze coin with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΣΑΜΟΥ* (*RdS,* 211, no. 2 and p. CXCIII; Sear, *Coins*[2], 2: 689, no. 7309) may be attributed to this king.

3. For the **location** of Arsameia on the Nymphaios see Dörner, *Arsameia,* 8–11 (maps on pp. 9, 11). For the likelihood that a native settlement preceded Arsames' foundation see *Arsameia,* 73.

BEROIA

The toponym Beroia recalls the town in Macedonia and suggests that the foundation in Syria was named for it and possibly settled by colonists from

there.[1] Appian (*Syr.* 57) and various later authors said that Seleukos I Nikator founded Beroia.[2] Aside from the mention of the founder, all of our other extant information about Beroia relates to events in the second and first centuries B.C. In 163 the high priest of Jerusalem, Menelaus, was imprisoned and executed there (2 Macc. 13.4). It would appear that in the first part of the first century B.C. Beroia was the center of a small principality in northeast Syria. Herakleon, the minister of Antiochos VIII Grypos, came from Beroia (Posidonius in Athen. 4.153b–c).[3] According to Justin (*Prol.* 39) Herakleon then briefly occupied the throne. In 88 B.C. Beroia was ruled by a certain Straton (Jos. *AJ* 13.384–85). It was here that Demetrios III was besieged and captured by the combined forces of Straton, Philip, Aziz (an Arab chieftain), and Mithridates (the Parthian governor). Finally, Strabo (16.2.7), who describes Beroia as a *polichnion,* says that, along with HERAKLEIA and Bambyke (HIERAPOLIS), it was once controlled by Dionysios son of Herakleon. Presumably Dionysios was the son of Grypos's minister. If so, this would date his control of the principality to after the demise of Straton.

Coinage of the Imperial period (Trajan to Antoninus Pius) bears the ethnic *ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙΩΝ*.[4]

Beroia was located on the road from APAMEIA and CHALKIS eastward to HIERAPOLIS and northward to KYRRHOS, at the site of the modern Aleppo.[5]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Beroia 5"; and Streck, *RE* Suppl. I, addition to "Beroia 5"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 107; Tcherikover, *HS,* 56; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 473; Sauvaget, *Alep,* 33–53; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 151; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 132, 173–74 and passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 702.

1. On **Beroia in Macedonia** see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 141–48. Edson's claim (*HSCP* 45 [1934] 213–46) that Antigonos Monophthalmos was born there has not met with general acceptance; cf. Lévêque, *Pyrrhos* (Paris, 1957) 156–57; and Billows, *Antigonos,* 18 n. 8.

2. For **Seleukos Nikator as the founder** see also Eusebius (*Chron.* 199, ed. Karst); George Synkellos 520 (ed. Mosshammer); George Kedrenos 166D (*CSHB* XIII); and Dionysius of Tell Mahre (*Incerti auctoris Chronicum anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum,* ed. J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* 121 = III *Scriptores Syri* I, *Versio,* p. 37). Cf. Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 52; Grainger dismissed Seleukos as a possible founder of Beroia; n.b., however, that Grainger did not refer to any of the later evidence.

3. On **Herakleon of Beroia** see sources cited above and Otto, *RE* s.v. "Herakleon 3"; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 92; Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 72 and n. 60; Kidd, *Posidonius,* 327 on F75; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 173.

4. For the **coinage of the Imperial period with the ethnic *ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙΩΝ*** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 132–33, nos. 1–10; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 130–31, nos. 1–18; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 36–42; *SNG Schweiz* II 1856–58.

A number of spellings are attested for the **toponym and ethnic:** for example, Beroia (Jos. *AJ* 12.385, 13.384; Strabo 16.2.7; *CIG* 4472.22; 2 Macc. 13.4; Hierokles 711.7; *Nova Tactica* 1390 in George of Cyprus, ed. H. Gelzer); Berroia (App. *Syr.* 57; George of Cyprus 861, ed. H. Gelzer; Theodoret *Eccl. Hist.* 1.748 [*PG* 82: 909]); Beroa (*Itin. Ant.* 193.4, 194.11, ed. Cuntz; Hieronymus *Vita Malachi* 4 [*PL* 23: 57]); Beroia and Beroe (Stephanos s.v. "Beroia"; Stephanos also says the ethnic was *Βεροεύς*); Berya (*Tab. Peut.* IX.5); Beria (Geog. Rav. 2.15, ed. Schnetz); Beroeenses (Pliny *NH* 5.82); *Βεροιαῖος* (Athen. 4.153b); the Müller edition of Ptolemy (5.14.10) has Beroia; the Nobbe edition (5.15.13) has Berroia; see also Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Beroia 5"; and Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," s.v. "Beroia, Berroia, Beroe, Beroeia."

5. On the **location** of Beroia see Sauvaget, *Alep,* 1–13 (photographs and plans in *Album*); Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 79f. On Aleppo see, for example, Burns, *Monuments,* 32ff.; and Seyrig, *Syria* 47 (1970) 293–96; Seyrig noted that Aleppo went into decline as a commercial center with the growth of ANTIOCH near Daphne and reemerged as the latter declined at the time of the Arab invasions.

CHAONIA

Among the cities of Commagene Ptolemy (5.14.8) mentions Chaonia. It is undoubtedly the same town as (a) Channunia, which the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X.1) recorded between KYRRHOS and DOLICHE on the road from ANTIOCH near Daphne to SAMOSATA, and (b) Hanunea, which the *Itineraria Antonini* 194.8 (ed. Cuntz) also recorded between Kyrrhos and Doliche. The name, of course, recalls Chaonia in Epirus and raises the possibility that the original inhabitants were from there. We do not know the founder or the precise location.

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.vv. "Channunia" and "Chaonia 2"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 52; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 707.

DOLICHE

There are no literary attestations for Doliche in Commagene earlier than the second century A.D.[1] The earliest attested coins date from the same period.[2] In northern Thessaly there was a town of this name.[3] This raises the possibility that the toponym of the town in Commagene recalled the Thessalian one and that settlers from the latter made up (part of) the original colonial population.[4] But this is speculation. The discovery of Rhodian amphora handles provides evidence for trade with the Aegean basin in the third and second centuries B.C.[5] A fragmentary copy of (the beginning of) an inscription of Antiochos I of Commagene establishing various cults was found just south of Dülük.[6]

Under the empire the town was the center of an important cult of Zeus Dolichenos.[7] The ancient toponym survives in the modern town of Dülük, which is located 10 kilometers north of Gaziantep. The ancient town was east of Dülük at Keber Tepe.[8]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Doliche 4"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 164; Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 173–202; J. Wagner, *BJ* 182 (1982) 133–66; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 712.

1. For **literary attestations for Doliche** see, for example, Ptolemy 5.14.8 (Doliche); *Itin. Anton.* 184.4, 189.1, 194.7 (Dolica), 191.1 (Dolicha); *Tab. Peut.* X.1 (Dolica); Libanius *Ep.* 1380 (Doliche); Stephanos s.v. "Doliche"; Hierokles 713.3 (Doliche); Theodoret *Eccl. Hist.* 5.1020 (Doliche [*PG* 82: 1204]); and other references in Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 164.

2. For **coins** of Doliche see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 114, nos. 1–4; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 125, nos. 1–4; *SNG Schweiz* II 1837 (ethnic, *ΔΟΛΙΧΑΙΩΝ*).

3. For **Doliche in Perrhaibia in northern Thessaly** see, for example, Livy 42.53.6, 44.2.8; Ptolemy 3.12.39; A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson, *ABSA* 17 (1910–1911) 193–204; Hammond, *Macedonia,* 1: 117–18; Lauffer, *Stätten* s.v. "Doliche."

4. For the likelihood that the **toponym Doliche** was derived from the Macedonian town see Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 243 and n. 84. Contra: Grainger (*Seleukid Cities,* 42 and n. 58), who suggested that Doliche resulted from the Grecizing of the local name, Dülük.

5. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see Wagner, *BJ* 182 (1982) 155–59.

6. For the fragmentary beginning of the inscription of **Antiochos I of Commagene** see Wagner, *BJ* 182 (1982) 161–62, no. 4 (= *SEG* 32: 1385). Cf. parallels in inscriptions that have been found at SAMOSATA (*OGIS* 404) and SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/ZEUGMA (see n. 11).

7. The literature on **the worship of Zeus/Jupiter Dolichenos** is quite extensive; see, for example, Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 188–202; P. Merlat, *Répertoire des inscriptions et monuments figurés du culte de Iuppiter Dolichenus* (Paris and Rennes, 1951): id., *Jupiter Dolichenus: Essai d'interprétation et de synthèse* (Paris, 1960); H. Schwabl, *RE* s.v. "Zeus Dolichaios"; M. Hörig, *ANRW* 2:17.4 (1984) 2136–79; M. Hörig and E. Schwertheim, *Corpus Cultus Jovis Dolicheni* (Leiden, 1987); E. Schwertheim, *AMS* 3 (1991) 29–40; G. M. Bellelli and U. Bianchi, eds., *Orientalia Sacra Urbis Romae Dolichena et Heliopolitana* (Rome, 1997); R. Ergeç and J. Wagner in *Gottkönige,* 85–92.

8. For the **location** of Doliche see Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 176–77; for photographs of Dülük see J. Wagner, *BJ* 182 (1982) 139.

DOURA EUROPOS

Isidore of Charax (1 = *FGrH* 781), writing at the end of the first century B.C., described *Δοῦρα* [as a] *Νικάνορος πόλις, κτίσμα Μακεδόνων,* [and said that] *ὑπὸ δὲ Ἑλλήνων Εὐρωπὸς καλεῖται.*

Europos was the name of two towns in Macedonia and another on the Epirote/Thessalian frontier. Presumably, the Syrian settlement was named for one of the Macedonian towns.[1] Isidore's notice indicates that at the time the Greeks referred to Doura as Europos. The former was undoubtedly the native name; and this suggests that Europos was founded on the site of or near a native village. Strong indication that the area of the *strategeion* was inhabited in the second or the beginning of the first millennium was provided by the discovery there in 1987 of Assyrian or neo-Assyrian sherds.[2] Furthermore, a fragment of a cuneiform tablet dating to c. 1900 B.C. that was found at Doura appears to refer to the same place.[3] Whether or not the reference is to this particular Doura (the toponym is quite common in the area) is not clear.[4]

Down to 180 A.D. the ethnic attested for the settlement was *Εὐρωπαῖος*; the official name was apparently *Εὐρωπὸς ἡ ἐν τῇ Παραποταμίᾳ*, though *Εὐρωπὸς ἡ πρὸς Ἀραβίαι* and *Εὐρωπὸς* were also used. Soon after 200 the ethnic *Δουρηνός / Δουρηνή* began to be used.[5] Interestingly, the *Ravenna Geographer* 2.13 (ed. Schnetz) referred only to "Dura Nicanoris." Nikanor was probably the same official of Seleukos I Nikator who founded ANTIOCH in Mygdonia and/or EDESSA.[6] Rostovtzeff has suggested that this would probably have been before 294 or 292 B.C., when Antiochos I was given control of the eastern satrapies. The only extant historical notice of Europos in the literary evidence is found in Polybius (5.48.16), who mentions that Molon captured it in the course of his rebellion against Antiochos III (222–220 B.C.).[7]

That Seleukos I Nikator was the founder of Europos is demonstrated by one of the three bas-reliefs found in the ruins of the temple of the Gaddé. In the bas-relief the figure crowning the Gad or Fortune of Doura (represented as Zeus Olympios) is identified in the accompanying Palmyrene inscription as Seleukos Nikator.[8] Evidence for the Seleucid dynastic cult in the Hellenistic period (and its survival into Roman times) at Doura can be seen in a parchment (*P. Dura* 25) recording the sale of a slave in 180 A.D.[9] The parchment was dated by eponymous priests of Zeus, Apollo, the *Progonoi,* and "King Seleukos Nikator."

Furthermore, a statue base with the inscription *Σέλε[υκος] Νικάτ̣[ωρ]* (dated epigraphically to the time of Antiochos III) has also been found.[10] Finally, an inscription found in the temple of Artemis and dated to 2 A.D. records a dedication by Abidnerglos to Artemis and Apollo, *archegoi. Archegos,* of course, is an epithet of Apollo, the patron deity of the Seleucid dynasty.[11]

A deed of sale on parchment dated to the second century B.C. (*P. Dura* 15) gives clear evidence for the existence of *kleroi* at the settlement. This document also demonstrates, incidentally, the Macedonian character of the foundation: among the names mentioned in the deed are Philip son of Amynander *Europaios,* Aristonax son of Ariston *Europaios,* Antigonos, Konon, and Heliodoros.[12] Documents from the Seleucid and Roman period indicate that

the *kleroi* in the vicinity of Europos provided their owners with healthy crops of cereals, fruits, and grapes.[13] During the period of Seleucid hegemony—and continuing under Parthian and Roman rule—the Seleucid era and Macedonian months were used for dating purposes.[14]

Although most of the coins discovered at Europos are Roman, some Seleucid coins have also been found.[15] Bellinger and Newell suggested that bronzes were struck there from c. 280–268 B.C. during the reign of Antiochos I Soter.[16] In any event, the coinage needs of Europos were satisfied by the royal mints at SELEUKEIA on the Tigris and, especially, ANTIOCH near Daphne.

Europos remained under Seleucid control until c. 113 B.C., when it passed to Parthian hegemony and subsequently to Roman rule.[17] From the Parthian and Roman periods we know of the existence of, among others, a shrine of Atargatis (early first century A.D.) and Zeus Dolichenus (early third century A.D.).[18] Our information about the civic organization dates from the Parthian and Roman periods. An inscription dated to the last half of the first century B.C. mentions a *στρατηγὸς πόλεως γενεάρχης*.[19] In the first and second centuries A.D. the chief magistrate was the *στρατηγὸς καὶ ἐπιστάτης τῆς πόλεως*. Under the Parthians this office was practically a hereditary one, held by the same Macedonian family. From the Roman period we also have evidence for a *bouleutes.* And an undated graffito mentions an *agoranomos*.[20]

It has been estimated that the total population of Europos was approximately 5,000–6,000.[21] Europos was located near the modern village of as-Salihiyeh, 92 kilometers southeast of Dayr az-Zawr.[22] It was on the main caravan route from Syria to BABYLON and SELEUKEIA, on the west bank of the Euphrates, on a plateau that overlooked the river; as such it controlled communication between upper and lower Mesopotamia.[23]

Excavation at Doura Europos has revealed evidence for, among other things, fortification walls and gates, a Hippodamian grid plan, a *chreophylakeion,* a citadel palace, a *strategeion,* a temple of Zeus Megistos, and one of Artemis. In discussing the history of Hellenistic Doura Europos it is important to distinguish the results of the excavations undertaken by the Yale University–Académie des Inscriptions (1928–1936) and the Franco-Syrian expedition (1986–).

The Yale excavators suggested that when Doura Europos was founded it was laid out on an orthogonal plan and provided with fortifications. Furthermore, they suggested that various structures could be dated to the early phase of the settlement. Rostovtzeff observed that "Europos of the early Seleucids was not a mere stronghold or military village, but a combination of strong fortress and regularly planned, well constructed city. . . . [It] was protected by its founders with imposing fortifications . . . within the citadel a large palace was built in early Hellenistic times. . . . Inside the walls the spacious city was laid out on what was known as the Hippodamian plan."[24] Pierre Leriche, the codirector of the Franco-Syrian expedition, agreed with the Yale

excavators about the contemporaneity of the grid plan, the fortifications, and the associated buildings. However, he downdated the implementation of the grid plan and the construction of various structures, including the city wall and gates, the *chreophylakeion,* and the *strategeion,* to the second century B.C. He also suggested that the original settlement at Doura was a small garrison on the citadel hill and adjacent areas and that the major growth period of the settlement and its elevation to a *polis* did not take place until the second century B.C.[25] Furthermore, Susan Downey questioned the Hellenistic date of the temples of Zeus Megistos and Artemis. Let us briefly consider some of these structures.

The Citadel Palace was located—as the name indicates—on the citadel; this was probably the site of the original settlement. The palace probably belonged to the Seleucid governmental representative at Doura.[26] It was apparently rebuilt in the first half of the second century B.C. Only a part of this second building has been preserved (the northern part fell into the Euphrates River valley, probably as a result of the erosive force of the Euphrates and the earthquake of 160 A.D.),[27] and, hence, the reconstruction is not completely secure. It appears, however, that the palace was divided into two sections. The first (surviving) part consisted of relatively small rooms built around at least two and probably three sides of a peristyle colonnaded court with a cistern in the middle. Nine Doric columns can be restored for this court. The second section was probably an open court. Downey characterized the palace as one that combined "Greek forms . . . with Babylonian architectural features."

The Yale team suggested that the fortification walls were originally built shortly after the founding of the settlement and subsequently were improved but, in fact, were never completed.[28] The Franco-Syrian team excavated the main ("Palmyrene") gate and a secondary gate c. 70 meters south of it and also cut a trench through the main street of Doura Europos. As a result they were able to demonstrate that the street dated to the second century B.C. and was contemporary with the construction of the stone fortification walls and the two gates.[29]

Brown and the Yale excavators argued that the agora was laid out at the time of the founding of the settlement. In the agora they discovered buildings of a Greek character, which they dated, on the basis of ceramic evidence, to the third century B.C.[30] In the same area they also discovered evidence for a *chreophylakeion,* that is, a civic repository.[31] Since the cubicles of the *chreophylakeion* are dated and the approximate number of documents in each cubicle can be calculated, it can be demonstrated that the earliest year represented was 129/8 B.C. As a result, Brown argued that the building that housed the cubicles was built toward the end of the second century B.C. over the remains of earlier shops and that earlier documents were stored elsewhere. On the other hand, Leriche argued that the building housing the

chreophylakeion belonged to the first phase of construction in the agora and that this did not take place until the second half of the second century B.C. This and other considerations prompted him to suggest that Doura Europos did not become a *polis* divided into lots until the latter part of the second century B.C., when it underwent a major program of urban development. In short, it would have been at this time that the settlement was laid out on a grid plan and provided with a city wall. In any event this development program remained incomplete, apparently halted by the arrival of the Parthians.[32]

The Redoubt Palace was probably the official home of the *strategos;* hence it is also called the *strategeion.*[33] It was smaller than the Citadel Palace. It was located on the acropolis. The *strategeion* was square with an inner courtyard for which there was no peristyle. Thus it resembles private houses found in Babylon and Doura and was based on local rather than Greek types. The similarity of the masonry to the second phase of the Citadel Palace suggests the two were contemporary. Next to the *strategeion* was the temple of Zeus Megistos.

According to Brown, who excavated the temple of Zeus Megistos, the earliest phase of the temple had both Greek and Oriental elements.[34] Thus it had an almost square plan with the rear part occupied by three *naoi;* a Doric propylon, whose form and proportions corresponded to the eastern Hellenistic Doric order, provided access to the court. This hybrid character prompted Brown to date the temple to the first part of the second century B.C. Possible support for a date during the reign of Antiochos IV Epiphanes might be found in a dedication of 169 A.D. found at Doura to Zeus Megistos. Welles speculated that if the epithet Megistos ("Greatest") was the equivalent of Hypsistos ("Highest") or Ouranios ("Heavenly), this might point to Epiphanes as the builder. Brown, incidentally, considered the *strategeion* and the adjacent temple of Zeus Megistos to be "the acropolis of the Macedonian colony" and the citadel, the military center of the colony.[35] Susan Downey originally accepted Brown's early dating and interpretation of the temple of Zeus Megistos; however, her own excavations at the site led her to raise serious doubts about Brown's conclusions. In fact, she demonstrated that the temple of Zeus Megistos was not the first temple at the site and therefore raised doubts about a Hellenistic date for it.[36] This, in turn, prompted Downey to question the Hellenistic phases of the temple of Artemis.

Brown associated the original precinct of Artemis with the early Greek settlers and dated the initial phase of the temple to the first years of the colony.[37] He summarized his conclusions regarding the early history of the area of the temple of Artemis as follows:

> Second or Third century B.C. *[sic]*—original open precinct of Artemis with Doric colonnade and great altar near the center.

> Shortly before 40–32 B.C.—destruction of original precinct by fire. Construction of twin altars of column drums.
>
> 40–32 B.C.—Construction of present sanctuary, precinct wall. . . . Twin altars standing free before sanctuary.[38]

I have already mentioned an inscription found in the temple and dated to 2 A.D. that records a dedication by Abidnerglos to Artemis and Apollo, *archegoi;*[39] this prompted Brown to suggest that twin altars would have been erected to Artemis and Apollo, *Archegoi.* In 1988 Downey cleaned one of the walls that Brown used in his reconstruction of the earliest phase of the temple of Artemis. She noted that the wall was constructed of small, irregular chunks of gypsum, which were unlike the regular, well-cut stone blocks of other monumental structures at Hellenistic Doura Europos. As a result, she concluded that the wall probably did not serve as the foundation for a temple precinct, and thus pointed out that we do not have any evidence for a temple of Artemis at Hellenistic Doura Europos. In fact, Downey remarked soberly that there is no unequivocal evidence at Hellenistic Doura Europos for temples, a theater, a gymnasium, a *boule,* or an *ekklesia.*[40]

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In general see E. Meyer, *RE* s.v. "Europos 5"; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Oropos 4"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 87–88; W. Kroll, *RE* Suppl. 5, s.v. "Dura"; Watzinger, *RE* Suppl. 7, s.v. "Dura"; M. I. Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* 10 (1938) 99–106; id., *Art,* 1–99; id., *SEHHW,* 482ff. and notes; C. B. Welles in *Studies Johnson,* 251; Walbank, *Comment.,* 1: 579f.; C. B. Welles et al., "Dura Inscriptions"; Perkins, *Art,* 1–16 and passim; C. Hopkins, *The Discovery of Dura-Europos* (New Haven, 1949) 251–65; Downey, *Architecture,* 76–86; F. Millar in *Das Partherreich,* 473–92; H. O. Thompson, *ABD* s.v. "Dura-Europos"; A. J. S. Spawforth et al., *OCD*[3] s.v. "Europus"; Hoepfner and Schwander, *Haus*[2], 257–92; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 719; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 515–17; P. Leriche in *Syrie,* 171–91.

There have been three campaigns of excavation at Doura Europos: (a) the Académie des Inscriptions expedition; see F. Cumont, *Doura;* (b) the Yale University/Académie des Inscriptions excavation; see P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff et al., *Dura Rep.*; M. I. Rostovtzeff et al., *Dura;* C. Hopkins, *PECS* s.v. "Dura Europos"; note that some of the records of the Hellenistic finds from the 1935–1936 and 1936–1937 campaigns disappeared in the 1940s (see further S. B. Matheson in *DEE* 3: 138–39); S. Downey in *DEE* 3: 141–51; (c) the Franco-Syrian expedition; see P. Leriche and A. Mahmoud in *CFAS,* 121–26; P. Leriche et al., *DEE* 1–4; L. M. White, *OEANE* s.v. "Dura-Europos"; Leriche and Mahmoud, *CRAI,* 1994, 395–422; S. Downey in *Romanization and the City,* ed. E. Fentress (Portsmouth, 2000) 155–72.

For the history of the excavation see C. Hopkins, *Discovery of Dura-Europos,* 1–250 (bibliography to date on pp. 295–301); S. B. Matheson in *Studies Brown,* 201–15; various articles in *DEE* 1–4.

1. For the **towns with the name Europos in Macedonia and Epirus/Thessaly** see, for example, OROPOS and literature cited there.

2. For the **Assyrian or neo-Assyrian sherds found in the area of the *strategeion*** see Leriche and Mahmoud in *DEE* 2: 278–79. Prior to this discovery Welles (*Studies Johnson,* 261 n. 72), among others, called attention to the fact that no remains earlier than the third century B.C. had been found. As a result there was some discussion as to whether or not Europos was built on or near a native foundation. Rostovtzeff vacillated; at one point he claimed (*Kondakov Institute* 10 [1938] 100) that Europos "was not superimposed on an already existing town but [was] an original foundation of the Hellenistic monarchs" (E. Will [in *DEE* 2: 315] described Doura-Europos as "une création *ex nihilo*"; followed by H. O. Thompson, *ABD* s.v. "Dura-Europos"), but elsewhere he remarked (102 and n. 4; see also *Art,* 10): "It is therefore certain that the site of the later Europos was occupied in the pre-Hellenistic times by a native *ὀχύρωμα* [fortress)]." As proof "beyond doubt" that there was "an oriental settlement *in the region* [italics mine] of Macedonian Europos" he called attention to the clay tablet found there.

In any event, one should bear in mind that only one third of the town has been excavated. (This may explain, incidentally, why excavators have not [yet] found evidence for, among other things, a theater or gymnasium. However, Rostovtzeff did note [*Kondakov Institute* 10 (1938) 106 n. 11] the discovery of the remains of a palaestra.)

For a settlement on the Euphrates apparently founded on a virgin site see JEBEL KHALID.

3. For the **cuneiform tablet** see F. J. Stevens, *Revue d'assyriologie* 34 (1937) 183–90; see also Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* 10 (1938) 102 n. 4; id., *Art,* 136–37; and Welles, *Studies Johnson,* 261 n. 72.

4. On the name **Dura, Dur, Duru, etc.,** which was common in Mesopotamia, see, for example, Jastrow, *Dictionary* s.v. *arwd*; Ebeling, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie,* s.v. "Duru"; E. Herzfeld, *Geschichte der Stadt Samarra* (Hamburg, 1948) 37 n. 3; H. Treidler, *KP* s.v. "Dura"; Oppenheimer, *BabJ,* 117–19; H. O. Thompson, *ABD* s.v. "Dura-Europos."

Stephanos (s.v. "Doura"), citing book 5 of Polybius, mentions a Doura, which he describes as a city in Mesopotamia. In fact, Polybius (5.48.16) distinguishes between Europos in Parapotamia and Doura in Mesopotamia. The former is Doura Europos; the latter is a town on the east bank of the Tigris (Polybius 5.52.2; Amm. Marc. 25.6.9). See Walbank, *Comment.,* 1: 579–80.

5. For the **ethnic** *Εὐρωπαῖος* see, for example, *P. Dura* 15, 17, 18, 19, 24, 25; see also, under Caracalla, *Dura Rep.,* 3: 51–52, no. D149: *Αὐρηλ(ιανῶν) Ἀντωνινιανῶν Εὐρωπαίων ἡ βουλή*; and *Dura Rep.* 5:223–24, no. 559: *[Senatus Aureliorum] An[tonini-anorum] Ẹurop̣ạ[eorum].* For *Δουρηνός* or *Δουρηνή* see, for example, *P. Dura* 27, 29, 32, 38. For the **toponym** *Εὐρωπὸς ἡ ἐν τῆι Παραποταμίαι* see *P. Dura* 18 and 19 (87 and 88/9 A.D.); for *Εὐρωπὸς ἡ πρὸς Ἀραβίαι* see *P. Dura* 22 and 25 (133/4 and 180 A.D.); for *Εὐρωπός* see, for example, *P. Dura* 20 and 23 (121 and 134 A.D.). Interestingly, in the mid-third century A.D. there may have been a reversion to the old name; thus the heavily restored *P. Dura* 32.4–5 (254 A.D.), a divorce document, was drawn up *ἐν Κολωνείᾳ Εὐρω̣π̣[αίων Σελεύκου] Νεικ̣ά̣τ̣ο̣ρ̣ο̣ς̣[τ]ῇ ἱερᾷ [καὶ] ἀ̣[σύ]λ̣ῳ καὶ α̣[ὐ]τ̣ονόμ[ῳ̣.* (The grant of inviolability and autonomy mentioned in the document was undoubtedly post-Hellenistic; see Rigsby, *Asylia,* 516–17 and notes.) In general see Welles in *P. Dura,* pp. 5–65; J.-B. Yon in *Syrie,* 203–5.

Stephanos (s.v. "Europos") mentions Europos in Syria and gives the ethnic as *Εὐρωπαῖος*. See also OROPOS.

6. Pliny (*NH* 6.117) says that **Nikanor** founded "Arabian Antioch" ("item in Arabum gente qui Orroei vocantur et Mardani Antiochiam quae a praefecto Mesopotamiae Nicanore condita Arabis vocatur"). Neither the identification of Arabian Antioch nor of Nikanor is completely secure. The possibilities for the settlement include EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe, ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, or a third, undiscovered city; see further ANTIOCH in Mygdonia.

Four possibilities emerge in the attempt to identify the Nikanor mentioned by Isidore: (a) Nikanor I was the general of Antigonos I Monophthalmos, satrap of Cappadocia (Arrian *Met' Alex.* 1.37; Diod. 18.39.6; App. *Mith.* 8), and, later, general over Media and the upper satrapies (Diod. 19.92.1–5, 100.3; and Billows, *Antigonos,* 409–10); (b) Nikanor II was an officer of Demetrios I Poliorketes whom we encounter after the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. (Polyaenus 4.7.4; Billows, *Antigonos,* 410); (c) Nikanor III was the founder of Doura Europos (Isidore of Charax 1); he is undoubtedly identical with the nephew of Seleukos who, Malalas says (8.198 [*CSHB* XXVIII]), was given control of Asia by the king (neither Tcherikover [*HS,* 87–88], Berve [*Alexanderreich,* 274ff.], nor Tarn [*GBI*², 7 n. 3] refer to Malalas; in defense of Malalas see M. Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* 10 [1938] 102 n. 5); the evidence identifying Seleukos Nikator as the founder of Europos (see below, nn. 8–10) provides the strongest support for Nikanor III as the Seleucid official who actually founded the settlement (Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* 10 [1938] 103–4; id., *SEHHW,* 476); Rostovtzeff also suggested that Nikanor III probably founded Europos before 294 or 292, when Antiochos I was put in charge of the eastern satrapies; (d) "Nikanor" was simply an error for "Nikator," i.e., for Seleukos; this is unlikely (Rostovtzeff, *Kondakov Institute* 10 [1938] 102).

Contra: for example, Tcherikover, *HS,* 88; and Tarn, *GBI*², 7 n. 3; Tcherikover and Tarn identified the founder of Europos as Nikanor I; i.e., they believed it was founded under the aegis of Antigonos Monophthalmos. See also Grainger, *Seleukos,* 96–98; Grainger was bothered by the "multiplication of Nikanors." He also noted that whereas Appian (*Syr.* 55) says Nikanor I (Appian calls him Nikator) was killed in battle by Seleukos in 311 B.C., Diodorus (19.92.5, 100.3) says only that he fled from the battle. Therefore Grainger suggested alternative reconstructions based on the assumption that Nikanor I was not killed in 311 B.C. but, in fact, lived on and went to work for Seleukos (see also Carsana, *Dirigenze,* 101–2). In the reconstruction he suggested that Europos could have been founded by Nikanor either when he was employed by Antigonos or later (assuming that Appian erred, and Nikanor survived the battle), when he was working for Seleukos. This is speculative, as Grainger notes.

In general on Nikanor see Bengtson, *Strategie,* 1: 184 and n. 3; Carsana, *Dirigenze,* 101–2 and literature cited there; Leriche in *Syrie,* 174–75.

7. For **Molon** at Europos see also Schmitt, *Antiochos,* 131 and n. 5. Bellinger (*Dura: The Coins,* 199 n. 16) suggested that the failure of the excavators to find coins of Molon at Doura Europos indicates that the rebels never captured the town. Walbank (*Comment.,* 1: 579) correctly questioned this argument from silence.

8. For **Seleukos Nikator in the bas-relief from the temple of the Gaddé** see Brown, *Dura Rep.,* 7–8: 260; Downey, *Dura Sculpture,* 16, 209; C. C. Torrey, *Dura Rep.,* 7–8: 278, no. 907. See also Rostovtzeff, *CRAI,* 1935, 298; id., *Kondakov Institute* 10 (1938)

103; id., *Mélanges Syriens,* 284; id., *Art,* 78; Perkins, *Art,* 82; Millar in *Das Partherreich,* 483. For Seleukos Nikator in the Palmyrene inscription see du Mesnil du Buisson, *Inventaire des inscriptions palmyréniennes de Doura-Europos* (Paris, 1939) no. 29. On Palmyra and Doura Europos see J.-B. Yon in *Syrie,* 206–8.

9. ***P. Dura*** 25 = *Dura Perg.* 23 in Welles, *Münchener Beiträge* 19 (1934) 382–89 = *Dura Rep.,* 6: 429, no. 6. For the **Seleucid dynastic cult** at Doura see Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 (1935) 56–59; id., *Kondakov Institute* 10 (1938) 103.

10. For the **statue base with the inscription *Σέλε[υκος] Νικάτ̣[ωρ]*** see Rowell and Bellinger, *Dura Rep.,* 3: 54, no. D151. Noting that the *τ* cannot be read clearly, Rowell and Bellinger raised the possibility that this was a dedication of Nikanor to Seleukos. This, of course, would place the inscription as early as the end of the fourth century B.C. On the other hand, if we read *Νικάτωρ,* the date of the inscription would undoubtedly be later. On balance, the editors tentatively suggested that the inscription could be dated epigraphically to the time of Antiochos III and, therefore, that the statue base was probably erected in the time of one of the successors of Seleukos.

Rostovtzeff also suggested (*JHS* 55 [1935] 58) that the temple of Zeus Theos (Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 7–8: 180–217) might also originally have been a Macedonian shrine. However, Brown observed that it was built over modest private houses (*Dura Rep.,* 7–8: 180); this renders unlikely the notion that the temple was a Macedonian shrine. In fact, Downey suggested that it was probably built beginning in the early second century A.D. (*Architecture,* 112). In this connection she called attention to a number of inscriptions (*Dura Rep.,* 7–8: 212–14, nos. 886–88): (a) an inscription on the lintel of the gate leading in from the street is dated 114 A.D.; it probably marks the completion of the "public" part of the temple complex; (b) an altar that was reused in a late counterwall is also dated to 113/4 A.D.; (c) finally, an inscription shows that the chapel unit on the north was dedicated in 120/1 A.D.; Brown suggested that the temple complex was complete by that time; the inscription, incidentally, records a dedication by Seleukos son of Theomnestos son of Antiochos, a "Europaios." For the temple of Zeus Theos see also Millar in *Das Partherreich,* 482.

11. For the **dedication to Artemis and Apollo** see H. T. Rowell and A. R. Bellinger in *Dura Rep.,* 3: 63–64, no. 161. Rowell and Bellinger observed that the fact Apollo and Artemis were honored as *archegoi* long after Seleucid rule at Doura had ended demonstrates the continued vigor of the original Macedonian tradition. For ***archegos*** as an epithet of Apollo in Seleucid inscriptions see, for example, *OGIS* 212.13, 219.26; 237.5 (*archegetes*); for Apollo as the founder of the Seleucid dynasty see Justin 15.4.3; for the importance of Apollo to the Seleucids see R. A. Radley, *JHS* 94 (1974) 57–58.

12. On **personal names** found at Europos see, for example, the commentary on *P. Dura* 15 and pp. 58–65; P. Arnaud in *DEE* 4: 131–43. For the ***kleroi*** at Europos see also, for example, Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 487–89; Welles's commentary to *P. Dura* 12 and earlier literature cited there. We may learn something about the *kleroi* from *P. Dura* 12, the fragment of a law of inheritance *ab intestato.* Although the parchment dates to the third century A.D., the text was probably drawn from a *lex coloniae* and, hence, may reflect circumstances relevant to the early days of the settlement. It indicates that in the absence of certain prescribed heirs, the property (*οὐσία*) will belong to the crown. If, as is possible, the reference is to the *kleroi* of the settlers, we would have an indication of the tenure conditions attached to their allotments.

For *kleroi* at other settlements see, for example, SELEUKEIA near the Eulaios and ANTIOCH near Daphne.

13. For the **agricultural vitality of the region of Europos** see, for example, *P. Dura* 15 (mixed farming, especially fruit trees), 25 (vineyards), 26 (vineyards, fruit trees, irrigation works).

14. For the use of **the Seleucid era** see, for example, *P. Dura* 15 (second century B.C.), 34 (116 B.C.); for **Macedonian months** see, for example, Dios in *P. Dura* 18, 34; Apellaios, *P. Dura* 24, 129; Audinaios, *P. Dura* 19, 137 (Eudyneos); Peritios, *P. Dura* 21, 25; Dystros, *P. Dura* 19; Xanthikos, *P. Dura* 32; Artemisios, *P. Dura* 31, 45; Daisios, *P. Dura* 20; Panemos, *P. Dura* 15, 18; Loios, *P. Dura* 24; Gorpiaios, *P. Dura* 24; Hyperberetaios, *P. Dura* 23, 29, 30. In general see Index E.1–2 in *P. Dura;* Welles, *Eos* 48.3 (1956) 467–74.

15. For **Seleucid coins discovered at Europos** see, for example, A. R. Bellinger, *Dura: The Coins,* nos. 8–111; C. Augé in *DEE* 1: 83–84, no. 3, 2: 283–84, 4: 219–22, nos. 1–5.

16. Bellinger and Newell distinguished **three series of coins that they suggested were minted at Europos during the reign of Antiochos I** in the period c. 280–268 B.C.: the first is of a very inferior style on poor-quality bronze. It has no monogram, though most of the specimens have been countermarked. As the countermarks—a lyre and a horse's head—are attested only at Europos, this suggests there was a royal official present there who was responsible for validating the coinage. Coins of the second series are of better quality; they bear a monogram and have no countermark, a clear indication that they were issued with the authority of the central government. The quality of the third series is superior to that of the second; it also bears a monogram and lacks a countermark. See further A. R. Bellinger, *Berytus* 9 (1948–49) 51–67; and id., *Dura: The Coins,* nos. 16–21, also pp. 195–200; E. T. Newell, *WSM,* 79–82, nos. 878–83, 402–6, nos. 1–7; Augé in *Archéologie,* 156; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* 1: 363–68. Contra: Rigsby, *Asylia,* 515 ("Dura . . . never struck a coin").

It is interesting to note that bronzes were apparently minted at EDESSA only under Antiochos I. Bellinger suggested that difficulties in the west connected with his accession may have forced the king to allow various mints to coin money.

17. The precise **date of the Parthian conquest of Europos** is not yet known. A fragmentary contract (*P. Dura* 34) provides the latest secure date—116 B.C.—for Seleucid occupation. Furthermore, Bellinger noted (*Dura: The Coins,* 200; *Berytus* 9 [1948–49] 66) that the Parthian countermark is not found on any coins later than the first reign of Antiochos VIII in Antioch (which ended in 113 B.C.). See also Welles, *Eos* (1956) 468–69; Hopkins, *Discovery of Dura-Europos,* 256.

18. For the worship of **Atargatis** see, for example, M. Pillet in *Dura Rep.,* 3: 9–13; Rowell in *Dura Rep.,* 3: 35–36; R. N. Frye et al., "Dura Inscriptions," 128–37, nos. 1–4; Downey, *Dura Sculpture,* 172–80; Drijvers, *Edessa,* 107–11; Millar in *Das Partherreich,* 481; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 50–56. For a representation of Atargatis see Perkins, *Art,* 94–96. On the date of the temple of Atargatis see Cumont, *Doura,* 427, no. 85 (an inscription found in the *naos* recording the erection of something [unspecified] in 31/2 A.D.) and 429–41, no. 90, probably no. 91, nos. 92–94, 97, 99–101, 106–8, 110–11, 113–14, 116–18 (most of the steps in the *salle aux gradins,* which served as the *pronaos,* were dedicated in 61/2 A.D.); Downey, *Architecture,* 102–3. For the **Dolicheneum** and inscriptions found there see Gilliam in *Dura Rep.,* 9. 3:97–134.

In general for religious life at Doura Europos see, for example, Welles in *Festschrift Altheim,* 2: 56–57, 65; Downey, *Dura Sculpture.*

19. For the ***strategos* and *genearches*** see *Doura,* 409, no. 52; Rostovtzeff, *Berytus* 2 (1935) 147; and Bengtson, *Strategie,* 2: 304–6.

20. On the ***strategos* and *epistates*** see Johnson, *Dura Studies,* 17–34; Rostovtzeff, *CAH* 11: 116; id., *SEHHW,* 856; Bellinger and Welles, *YCS* 5 (1935) 133 n. 50; Bengtson, *Strategie,* 2: 297–307. For the ***bouleutes*** see, for example, *P. Dura* 27 (c. 225–240 A.D.), 32 (254 A.D.), 38 (third century A.D.). See also P. Leriche and E. el Ajji, *CRAI,* 1999, 1309–46 (re *strategos, epistates,* and *bouleuterion*). For the ***agoranomos*** see Hopkins, *Dura Rep.,* 5: 21, no. 388.

21. For the **population** of Europos see, for example, Hoepfner and Schwander, *Haus*², 258; E. Will in *DEE* 2: 317–21.

22. For the **location and site** see P. Leriche et al., *DEE* 1: 5–25; B. Geye in, *DEE* 2: 285–95. For maps, plans, and photographs see the various excavation publications and Hoepfner and Schwander, *Haus*², 258–92.

23. On the **routes to and from Europos** see, for example, Leriche in P. Brulé and J. Oulhen, eds., *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne: Hommages à Yvon Garlan* (Rennes, 1997) 198–201.

24. Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 483–85; see also Rostovtzeff, *Art,* 11; Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 9.1: 22; Hopkins, *Discovery of Dura-Europos,* 253.

25. See, for example, P. Leriche in *Archives,* 157–69, esp. 166–67; and id. in *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne,* 191–210.

26. For the **Citadel Palace** see, for example, M. Pillet in *Dura Rep.,* 2: 13–15; C. Hopkins in *Dura Rep.,* 2: 20–22, 53–57; Rostovtzeff, *YCS* 5 (1925) 216–18; id., *Art,* 46–47; Perkins, *Art,* 14–15; S. B. Downey, *Mesopotamia* 20 (1985) 112–16; id. in *DEE* 1: 27–37, *DEE* 3: 141–51; Allara in *DEE* 1: 45; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces,* 119–23. The dating of the second Citadel Palace to the later Hellenistic period is based on the following: it was built with cut stone using a foot of c. .35 m, which is characteristic of Hellenistic buildings at Doura (e.g., the fortifications and the buildings of the agora). Since it overlies an earlier structure, it must belong to a second phase of Seleucid construction. Note, however, that, according to Downey, this second phase is placed by Perkins (*Art,* 15) in the second quarter of the second century B.C. on “rather circumstantial grounds” (Downey in *DEE* 1: 27; id., *Mesopotamia* 20 [1985] 113–14); cf. Rostovtzeff (*YCS* 5 [1935] 217; *Art,* 46), who suggested it was Parthian. The division of the palace into two sections, with a residential section on one side of a large space, recalls the palatial and domestic architecture at AI KHANOUM; see further Downey in *DEE* 1: 33–37.

27. For the **collapse of the northern part of the Citadel Palace** see B. Geyer in *DEE* 2: 294.

28. For the dating of the **fortifications** see, for example, Cumont, *Doura,* XVIII, 22–24, and the results and conclusions of the Yale project: A. von Gerkan in *Dura Rep.,* 7: 20 (who, however, does not indicate a date within the Hellenistic period); Rostovtzeff, *CRAI,* 1937, 197–99; *Art,* 11; see also Perkins, *Art,* 11; Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 9.1:19; see also S. Matheson in *Studies Brown,* 208; Downey in *DEE* 3: 128. For the results and conclusions of the Franco-Syrian excavators see, for example, P. Leriche in *DEE* 1: 61–82; id., *Mesopotamia* 22 (1987) 57–65; id. in *DEE* 3: 22, 26; id. in *Hellenismos,* 379–82; id. in *Archives,* 165–66; and id. in *Syrie,* 176–77; Leriche and

O. Callot in *Fortification,* 289–98; J.-C. Bessac in *DEE* 2: 297–313; and below, n. 29. See also F. E. Winter, *Greek Fortifications,* 118–19 and passim; McNicoll, *Fortifications,* 89–94.

On the similarity of the fortification system to that found at JEBEL KHALID see P. J. Connor and G. W. Clarke, *MedArch* 9/10 (1996/97) 166–67.

29. For the **"Palmyrene" gate** see P. Leriche, *CRAI,* 1994, 408–10; id., *AAAS* 42 (1996) 245–52; id. in *Arabia Antiqua,* 119–21; M. Gelin et al. in *DEE* 4: 21–46; for the **secondary gate** see J. A. Massih in *DEE* 4: 47–54; for the **main street** see P. Leriche et al. in *DEE* 4: 81–94.

30. For the **agora** see Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 9.1: 1–27; Perkins, *Art,* 13; Downey, *Architecture,* 83; Hoepfner and Schwander, *Haus*², 269; Leriche and al-Mahmoud, *CRAI,* 1994, 403.

For **Hellenistic houses** at Europos see Hoepfner and Schwander, *Haus*², 274–92; Allara in *DEE* 1: 43–45. For houses of the Roman period see Allara, *Mesopotamia* 22 (1987) 67–76.

31. For the ***chreophylakeion*** see Hopkins in *Dura Rep.,* 5: 81–85; Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 9.1: 30, 169–76; Welles, *P. Dura,* pp. 4–5, 13–14, 84–95; E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, 1972) 130–33; Leriche in *Archives,* 157–69; Downey in *Romanization and the City,* 158.

The *chreophylakeion* is mentioned in a number of documents; e.g., *P. Dura* 12 (225–250 A.D.), 25 (180 A.D.); see also the restoration in *P. Dura* 15 (second century B.C.).

32. For the **developmental sequence of the settlement at Hellenistic Doura Europos** see, for example, P. Leriche, *CRAI,* 1994, 396–407; id. in *Esclavage, guerre, économie en Grèce ancienne,* 191–210; and id. in *Syrie,* 176–81; Sartre, *Alexandre,* 136. For **Doura Europos under Parthian and Roman rule** see, for example, P. Leriche, *CRAI,* 1994, 407–20; F. Millar in *Das Partherreich,* 473–92; C. B. Welles in *Studies Johnson,* 251–74; Pollard, *Syria,* 44–58.

33. For the **Redoubt Palace or *strategeion*** see, for example, Cumont, *Doura,* 19–21; M. Pillet in *Dura Rep.,* 1: 23–24, 4: 21–27; Rostovtzeff, *CRAI,* 1937, 199–200; id., *Art,* 35–36; Perkins, *Art,* 14–15; Allara in *DEE* 1: 46–47; Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces,* 116–21; Hoepfner and Schwander, *Haus*², 272–74; Leriche and Mahmoud in *DEE* 2: 277–82; Leriche, *CRAI,* 1994, 403; Downey in *Romanization and the City,* 158; M. Gelin in *DEE* 4: 61–76.

In a private communication Susan Downey writes: "I am not completely convinced by the interpretation of the palace of the strategos (aka Redoubt Palace) . . . as related primarily to Babylonian houses and the local Dura house type. Of course, a good deal of the problem is that there are essentially no houses at Dura that are likely to date to the Hellenistic period, other than the two palaces. There must be some fragments of foundations under later houses, and, as Anny Allara points out in her article 'Les maisons de Doura-Europos: Questions de Typologie' in *Syria* 63 (1986) 39–41, a few partially explored houses that have not been published may be Hellenistic. If, as they assume, a complete peristyle court in the interior of the building is an essential characteristic of Hellenistic palaces in Greece, then they are probably correct. There is a large court to the south of the strategeion, which is not shown on the rather schematic reconstructions, and I would consider this a peristyle. As far as I know, the excavators never published a plan of the Strategeion. . . . The plan that

is published in *DEE* IV, p. 56, fig. 1 is schematic and based essentially on the Yale plans."

34. For the **temple of Zeus Megistos,** which Brown excavated, see Downey, *Architecture,* 79–86; id., *Mesopotamia* 20 (1985) 116–29 (Downey had access to Brown's unpublished manuscript). Downey (*Architecture,* 83) noted that the dating of the first phase of the temple was mainly based on "two types of evidence, neither conclusive. First the sherds in the small section of undisturbed fill suggest a Hellenistic date, before the middle of the second century B.C. Second, the use of ashlar masonry, in simple fractions of a foot of ca. 0.352 meters, also suggests Hellenistic work. . . . The style of the Doric order is also consistent with a Hellenistic date. Further precision within this period depends on the analysis of the architectural forms and the cult of the original temple." In 1992 Downey began the study and reexcavation of the temple; for the results of her work see *Mesopotamia* 28 (1993) 170–93, 30 (1995) 241–50, *DEE* 4: 107–16, and *Romanization and the City,* 158–60; P. Leriche, *Topoi* 9 (1997) 890–92.

For the **inscription mentioning Zeus Megistos** see "Dura Inscriptions," 139, no. 6; Perkins, *Art,* 15. On the similarity of the temple of Zeus Megistos to the *temple à redans* at AI KHANOUM see Downey, *Architecture,* 85–86.

35. See Matheson in *Studies Brown,* 208.

36. Downey, *Mesopotamia* 30 (1995) 248–50.

37. For the **temple of Artemis** see F. E. Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 6: 407–11; Cumont, *Doura,* 169–240; Perkins, *Art,* 14; Downey, *Architecture,* 76–86. For dedications to Artemis of Roman Imperial date that were found at the site see Cumont, *Doura,* 404–9, nos. 50–51. A dedicatory inscription dated to 33/2 B.C. on a column provides a date for the erection of this column (Cumont, *Doura,* 409, no. 52; see also Hopkins in *Dura Rep.,* 5: 84; and Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 6: 397, 409–12).

38. Regarding **the date of the earliest temple of Artemis** Brown pointed out that its Greek (rather than Oriental) character is suggested by (a) the evidence for the use of Doric columns, (b) the probable placement of these columns in a propylon, and (c) an open courtyard that probably was colonnaded and contained an altar in the center. Brown noted (in *Dura Rep.,* 6: 410): "Though the excavations produced no evidence of its precise date, a rough approximation may be reached. The *terminus ante quem* is 40–32 B.C., and the layer of ash and cinders above the foundations south of the later sanctuary is evidence that it was destroyed by fire, presumably shortly before that time. The level below . . . the temple of 40–32 B.C., associated with the earlier buildings, was everywhere characterized by sherds of all three types of Hellenistic black-glaze wares, and, in lesser quantity, of red-glaze Pergamon ware. All later types were absent. From the same level came coins of Seleucus I and Antiochus I. The style of the Doric columns can only be taken to imply a date in the first three centuries B.C. These phenomena would imply a foundation early in the city's history. An early foundation is likewise favoured by the complete dissimilarity of the plan to the purely oriental scheme which is typical of all of Dura's later temples, as well as by the curious divergence in orientation from that of the regular street plan. It is difficult not to associate the original precinct with the early Greek settlers"; see also, Downey, *Architecture,* 78. For the **worship of Artemis at Doura Europos** see, for example, Downey, *Dura Sculpture,* 170–71.

39. For the evidence for **two altars** see Brown in *Dura Rep.,* 6: 407–11 ("Probably

in some other part of the earliest precinct there had existed a subsidiary altar to Apollo. With its destruction and the project of rehabilitating the sanctuary . . . it was evidently resolved to erect twin altars to Artemis and Apollo," 410–11).

40. For **Downey's reexamination of one of the temple walls** see *Romanization and the City,* 160.

EPIPHANEIA ON THE EUPHRATES

Pliny, who is our only literary source for Epiphaneia on the Euphrates, says (*NH* 5.86): "Cingilla Commagenen finit, Imeneorum civitas incipit. Oppida adluuntur Epiphania et Antiochia, quae ad Euphraten voca(n)tur, item Zeugma LXXII p. a Samosatis, transitu Euphratis nobile." Apparently Epiphaneia was located on the upper Euphrates, not far from ZEUGMA. We do not know its precise location.[1] Although we do not definitely know the founder, we may speculate that it was the Seleucid Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[2]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 52; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 717.

1. **Location.** Grainger (*Seleukid Syria,* 138) claimed that Epiphaneia was located across the Euphrates opposite ANTIOCH on the Euphrates.

2. For Antiochos as the probable **founder** see, for example, Grainger, *Seleukid Syria* 138; Grainger raises the possibility that Epiphanes founded both Epiphaneia and ANTIOCH on the Euphrates. It is less likely that Antiochos IV Epiphanes of Commagene (38–72 A.D.) was the founder. He apparently confined his settlement founding to his Cilician territories; in any event, it is unlikely he would have founded (or renamed) towns along the strategically vital Euphrates frontier and named one for himself; such an act would probably have been considered provocative by his Roman patrons; on Antiochos and Commagene see, for example, R. D. Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 785–94.

EUROPOS CARCHEMISH

Stephanos mentions a Europos in Syria (s.v. "Europos"); Hierokles (713.11) places it in Euphratesia. According to Procopius (*Pers.* 2.20; *De Aed.* 2.9) it was located on the Euphrates, near HIERAPOLIS Bambyke; Ptolemy (5.14.10) mentions it after ZEUGMA as one of the cities on the Euphrates.[1] Europos was, of course, the name of two places in Macedonia.[2] Presumably the settlement in Syria was named for one of these.

The site of Europos is not definitely known. Most probably it was at the site of Carchemish, which was located at the modern Jerablus, 27 kilometers downstream from Birecik.[3]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Europos 6"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 54–55; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 177; J. D. Hawkins, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* s.v. "Karkamis."

1. For other **literary references to Europos** see, for example, Pliny *NH* 5.87; Appian *Syr.* 17; Lucian *Hist. Conscr.* 20, 24, 28; Geog. Rav. 2.15 ("Europa" [ed. Schnetz]); George of Cyprus 879; *Tab. Peut.* XI.2. Kern, the editor of *I. Magnesia* 59b (a decree of LAODIKEIA on the Lykos), reasonably suggested that *Εὐρωπεῖ[ς* recorded at the end of the inscription = *Εὐρωμεῖς*. See also L. Robert, *Hellenica* 8 (1950) 31–38 and *BE* (1959) 194.

2. For the towns named **Europos in Macedonia** see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 172–73, 180–81. There was also a Europos on the Epirote/Thessalian frontier (Strabo 7.7.9). See further OROPOS.

3. For the **location** of Europos and its identification with Jerablus see, for example, Chapot, *Frontière,* 280; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 450; Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 132, 287; see map in K. Regling, *Klio* 1 (1902) opposite p. 444. Jones (*CERP*², 243–44) suggested that the modern name for Carchemish, Jarabis, may have been derived from Europos.

W. J. Farrell (*JHS* 81 [1961] 153) identified Thapsakos with Carchemish on the—weak—grounds that "it is the only place where a great and prosperous city could have existed in 401 B.C. [when the army of Cyrus the Younger passed through]"; contra: R. D. Barnett, *JHS* 83 (1963) 3 n. 8; and Bosworth, *Comment.,* 1: 222.

See also the trenchant observation of G. W. Clarke (in *Upper Syrian Euphrates,* 638): "There is little doubt . . . that Carchemish/Jerablus—Greco-Roman 'Europos'—had an important and early Greek phase . . . though recovering detail archaeologically is lost to us because the Greek and Roman overburden, as Sir Leonard Wolley nonchalantly remarks, was literally, and summarily, blasted away with dynamite during his excavations in the early 1920's in order to reach more conveniently the lower neo-Hittite strata, and thus the better to satisfy the trustees of the British Museum who supported the project."

GINDAROS

Strabo (16.2.8) describes Gindaros as a *polis* and as the "acropolis of Cyrrhestice and a natural robbers' nest." He also mentions that a temple called the Herakleion was close by and that Pagrai, which was in the territory of ANTIOCH, touched the boundary of Gindaros.[1] The publication of an inscription found in Macedonia in 1977 provided the first concrete indication that Gindaros was a Macedonian settlement. In that year A. K. Vavritsas published a dedication to Athena Kyrrhestis found at Aravissos (between Edessa and Pella) in Macedonia.[2] To the left of this dedication was the word *Γενδερρίου.* On the front face of the same stele was a long inscription regarding the city of Kyrrhos in Macedonia; the toponyms *ΓΕΝΔΕΡΡΟΣ* and *ΓΕΝΔΕΡΡΑ* were found in the inscription. *Γενδέρριος* is presumably the ethnic of the place. Furthermore it appears that Macedonian Kyrrhos and Genderros/Gendera were located close to each other. It is reasonable, therefore, to suggest that Gindaros in Syrian Cyrrhestice was named for Genderros/Genderra in Macedonia. An inscription from Jenderes indicates that in

106/7 A.D. Gindaros was using an Antiochene era.[3] Theodoret (*Philotheos Hist.* 2.9, ed. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen [= *PG* 82: 1314]) described Gindaros as a large village under the control of Antioch. The inscription and the reference in Theodoret suggest that if Gindaros belonged to Cyrrhestice during the Hellenistic period, it passed to Antioch during the Roman.

Gindaros was probably located at the site of the modern Jenderes, 47 kilometers northeast of ANTIOCH. Tell Ğindaris was inhabited throughout antiquity and down to the sixth century A.D. Excavators have found sherds, glass fragments, oil lamps, a few coins, and a terracotta relief bust of Dionysos dating from the late Hellenistic period.[4]

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 197; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 229; Miller, *Itineraria Romana,* 764; A. K. Vavritsas, *Anc. Maced.* 2 (1977) 7–11; J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1978) 288; P. Canivet, *Monachisme,* 163–64; Papazoglou, *Villes,* 154; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 723; A. Bousdroukis in *Syrie* 15–16.

For the results of survey work and excavation at Tell Ğindaris see D. Sürenhagen, *AAAS* 43 (1999) 162; and M. Khadour, A. Suleiman, and D. Sürenhagen in H. Weiss, *AJA* 101 (1997) 118–19.

1. Stephanos (s.v. "Kyrrhos"), on the other hand, says that Gindaros was the name of the acropolis of Kyrrhos; presumably Stephanos simply misunderstood—or misread—Strabo. Stephanos also records a "Gindara" (s.v.), which he describes as a *κώμη πρὸς τῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ*; presumably this is also a reference to Gindaros. On Gindaros see also Pliny *NH* 5.81 ("Gindareni"); Ptolemy (5.14.11), who includes it in Seleukis; *Tab. Peut.* IX.5; and other citations listed in Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 197; and Canivet, *Monachisme,* 163 n. 62.

M. C. Astour (in *La toponymie,* 134) has suggested that the toponym Gindaros was a Hellenized, non-Greek (i.e., Semitic) name.

2. For the **dedication to Athena Kyrrhestis found at Aravissos** see A. K. Vavritsas, *Anc. Maced.* 2 (1977) 7–11 (= *SEG* 27: 258; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1978] 288). The date of the inscription is not definitely known. Vavritsas dated it to the Imperial period; Pleket (commentary on *SEG* 27: 258) thought it might be dated palaeographically to the Hellenistic period.

3. For the use of the **Antiochene era** see J. Jarry, *Annales Islamologiques* 7 (1967) 197.

4. For the **location** of Gindaros see Burns, *Monuments,* 27 and map 68 on p. 246; Burns suggested it might be the modern Ain Dara 10 km south of Afrin on the Afrin River. For the **material remains from the late Hellenistic period at Tell Ğindaris** see M. Khadour, A. Suleiman, and D. Sürenhagen in H. Weiss, *AJA* 101 (1997) 118–19.

HERAKLEIA

According to Strabo (16.2.7) Herakleia was, along with Bambyke (HIERAPOLIS) and BEROIA, one of three towns *(polichnia)* east of Antioch that were ruled by Dionysios son of Herakleon.[1] Strabo also says that Herakleia

was 20 stades from the temple of Athena Kyrrhestis. Presumably this town is identical with the Herakleia in Cyrrhestice that is mentioned by Ptolemy (5.14.8). It is not clear whether the Herakleia "in Syria" (no. 13) that Stephanos mentions referred to this town or to HERAKLEIA by the Sea in northern Syria.

We do not know the founder or the exact location of Herakleia.

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In general see Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 48–49, 92; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 210; Tcherikover, *HS,* 56; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 140 and passim; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 725.

1. The passage in Strabo is the only extant reference to **Dionysios son of Herakleon.** Herakleon of Beroia was the minister (and murderer in 96 B.C.) of Antiochos VIII Grypos; see Athen. 4.153b–c quoting Posidonius; Jos. *AJ* 13.365; Justin *Prol.* 39; see also Otto, *RE* s.v. "Herakleon 3"; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 92; Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 72 and n. 60; Kidd, *Posidonius,* 327 to F75; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 173. It is not clear whether Dionysios was the son of this Herakleon. In any event, in 88 B.C. Beroia was under the control of someone named Straton (Jos. *AJ* 13.384).

HIERAPOLIS BAMBYKE

According to Aelian (*De Nat. An.* 12.2) it was Seleukos who renamed the old Bambyke as Hierapolis.[1] Pliny (*NH* 5.81) also tells us that Bambyke was renamed Hierapolis. He adds that the Syrians called it Mabog and says that the goddess Atargatis, whom the Greeks called Derketo, was worshipped there.[2] A silver coin of Hierapolis has on the obverse a head of Atargatis and on the reverse a goddess (Atargatis) seated on a throne in the manner of Zeus that is found on the coins of Alexander and the first Seleucids;[3] it also bears the letters *ΣΕ.*[4] Seyrig has suggested this may be read as *ΣΕ(ΛΕΥΚΟΥ).* If, as is likely, this suggestion is correct, the coin would represent a unique privilege—thus far unattested elsewhere—that was granted to Hierapolis. According to Lucian (*Syr. D.* 17ff.), Stratonike, the wife of the king of Assyria, was responsible for [re]building the temple at Hierapolis; presumably this is a reference to Stratonike, the stepmother and later the wife of Antiochos I.[5] Although there are no extant remains of the temple, we know about it from Lucian's description.[6] It was an Ionic structure built on a raised platform facing east; it was located on a hill in the center of the city and was surrounded by a double wall (*Syr. D.* 28–41). Lucian also mentions a pond close to the temple that contained the "sacred fish" (*Syr. D.* 45–7). Under Antiochos IV Epiphanes we find quasi-municipal bronzes similar to those minted at many other cities in his time.[7] According to Granius Licinianus (28.6–7, ed. Criniti) a king (the name is lost, but it is certainly Antiochos IV Epiphanes) contracted a "holy marriage" with Diana (= Atargatis) of Hierapo-

lis and plundered the temple treasures.[8] In addition to Atargatis, her consort Hadad—whom Lucian identified with Zeus—and Apollo were also the objects of particular veneration at Hierapolis.[9] Hieropolitans are attested in other parts of the Hellenistic world. For example, a papyrus from 156 B.C. mentions a slave in Egypt who was "a Syrian by race," from Bambyke. A decree of the mid-second century B.C. from Larisa in Thessaly honors the Chaldaean astronomer Antipatros; he is identified as a "Hieropolitan of Seleukis" (*Ἱεροπολίτης τῆς Σελευκίδος*) who became a citizen of Homolion in Thessalian Magnesia. In the latter part of the second century B.C. there was a flourishing colony of Hieropolitan merchants on Delos.[10] On one of the inscriptions dated to 128/7 B.C. that was found there (*I. Delos* 2226) Hierapolis is explicitly called a "polis." Nevertheless, we have no specific information about its civic structure in the Hellenistic period; the earliest extant attestation for a *boule* and *demos* dates from the second century A.D. (*IGLS* 1: 233.1–2). Strabo (16.2.7), writing in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., referred to Bambyke as a *polichnion.* Along with HERAKLEIA and BEROIA, Bambyke was part of a principality ruled by Dionysios son of Herakleon in the first part of the first century B.C.[11] Strabo (16.1.27) also says that Bambyke was renamed Hierapolis, and adds that it was also called Edessa; the latter information is probably an error.[12] Ptolemy, who refers to the town as Hierapolis, places it in Cyrrhestice (5.14.10).[13] In 54 B.C. Crassus removed treasure from the temple at Hierapolis (Plut. *Crassus* 17).

Hierapolis Bambyke was located on the highway that led eastward to EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe. It was located approximately 20 kilometers west of the Euphrates and 88 kilometers northeast of BEROIA (Aleppo) at the site of the modern Manbij.[14]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Bambyke"; D. G. Hogarth, *ABSA* 14 (1907–1908) 183–96; Bell, *Amurath,* 20–25; Tcherikover, *HS,* 55–56; Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* IV s.v. "Hierapolis"; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 474f.; Jones, *CERP*², 245–47; G. Goossens, *Hiérapolis;* J. B. Segal, *Edessa,* 46–54; F. Millar in *Hellenism,* 125–27; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 26; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 726; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 38–44, etc.

1. On the **founder** see Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 189ff. Goossens questions the attribution of Hierapolis to Seleukos I Nikator; he is especially concerned because of the absence of the town from Appian's enumeration of cities founded by Seleukos I (*Syr.* 57). This concern, however, may be overstated. The objection is *ex silentio.* Furthermore, there is nothing to indicate that Appian's list was comprehensive; in fact, Appian's own words in introducing his list of cities suggest the enumeration was selective (see E. Frézouls, *AAS* 4–5 [1954–1955] 92 and n.1). Finally, it is well to recall that Appian's reliability has been questioned (e.g., Tcherikover, *HS,* 166; but cf. Brodersen, *Komment.,* 158). In short, the absence of the toponym from Appian's list is not a compelling reason to dismiss Seleukos as the founder of Hierapolis. Goossens

similarly objects that Hierapolis is not mentioned in the list of foundations recorded by Agapius of Manbij (*Univ. Hist.* I.2, p. 237 [*PO* XI, p. 109, ed. A. Vasiliev]), nor "in any other list" (189 n. 3). Neither of these objections is decisive. Regarding Agapius, one should note that his list of Seleukos's foundations is hardly comprehensive; in fact, he only mentions APAMEIA, Aleppo, Qinnesrin (CHALKIS), EDESSA, SELEUKEIA, and LAODIKEIA. So the fact that he omits his hometown is not decisive. Furthermore, his information is not always accurate. For example, he repeats the erroneous claim—also found in the rabbinic and Arabic sources—that Antiochos built and named Antioch. Goossens's other objection—that Hierapolis does not appear in any of the other lists of Seleukos's foundations—is also *ex silentio* (Goossens, incidentally, does not indicate which lists he had in mind). I note the following:

Eustathius *Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 918 (= *GGM,* 2: 379) cites the *hoi palaioi* who mentioned ANTIOCH near Daphne, APAMEIA in Syria, LAODIKEIA, and SELEUKEIA.

Isidore *Etym.* 15.1.14–15 refers to ANTIOCH, LAODIKEIA, SELEUKEIA, APAMEIA, and EDESSA.

Pausanias, *FGrH* 854 F10 (= Malalas 8.193–204 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) records SELEUKEIA, ANTIOCH, LAODIKEIA, APAMEIA, and other cities.

Hieronymus *Chron.* p.127 (ed. Helm^2) mentions ANTIOCH, LAODIKEIA, SELEUKEIA, APAMEIA, EDESSA, BEROIA, and PELLA (see also Synkellos 520, ed. Mosshammer).

Ps.-Dionysius of Tell Mahre (*Incerti auctoris Chronicum anonymum Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum* ed. J. B. Chabot (*CSCO* 121 = III *Scriptores Syri* I, *Versio,* p. 37) mentions ANTIOCH, LAODIKEIA, SELEUKEIA, APAMEIA, EDESSA, and ALEPPO as well as AMIDA and PELLA.

Synkellos (520, ed. Mosshammer) lists ANTIOCH, LAODIKEIA, SELEUKEIA, APAMEIA, EDESSA, BEROIA, and PELLA.

None of these lists, it is true, includes Hierapolis among Seleukos's foundations. However, it is important to note that the focus is primarily on the great tetrapolis of Syria and that, like Agapius's compilation, none of the lists is comprehensive.

2. On **the toponyms Mabog and Bambyke** see, for example, C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RAO* 4 (1901) 99–109; Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 8–12; and Oden, *Studies,* 30–36. The natives referred to the city as **Mabog.** The Greeks and Romans understood the native name to be **Bambyke** or Banbyke. Plutarch (*Ant.* 37) says this was the former name of Hierapolis; see also, for example, Strabo 16.1.27; Pliny *NH* 5.81; Aelian *De Nat. An.* 12.2; see also *P. Oxy.* XI 1380.100; *UPZ* I 121.4; and Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Bambyke." The modern toponym, Manbij, recalls the native name. Finally, Ammianus (14.8.7) believed Hierapolis was the ancient Ninos; see further Vaux, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Ninus"; Weidner, *RE* s.v. "Ninos"; Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 12, 80 n. 2; Otto, *KP* s.v. "Ninos."

3. On **Atargatis** see especially Lucian *Syr. D.*; see also, for example, Oden, *Studies in Lucian,* 47–107; M. Hörig, *ANRW* 2:17.3 (1984) 1536–81; H. J. W. Drijvers, *LIMC* s.v. "Dea Syria"; and Segal, *Edessa,* 46–51; for the literary sources on the Dea Syria see P.-L. van Berg, *Répertoire.* On **Derketo** see Oden, *Studies in Lucian,* 69–73; P.-L. van Berg, *Répertoire,* index; and id., *Ét. crit.,* 13–75; C. Augé, *LIMC* s.v. "Derketo."

4. Seleukos also gave the right to mint bronze coins to SELEUKEIA in Pieria and

ANTIOCH near Daphne. This minting apparently did not extend beyond his lifetime. For the **coin with the letters *ΣE*** see H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1971, 16, 21, no. 14; Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* 1: 38.

I should mention a series of **didrachms with Aramaic inscriptions,** many of which bear a bust of Atargatis on the obverse and the name of either Abd-Hadad (i.e., "servant of Hadad"), Abyaty, or Alexander on the reverse; see, for example, E. Babelon, *Les Perses,* LI–LIV; S. Ronzevalle, *MUSJ* 23 (1940) 1–82; H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1971, 11–21; H. J. W. Drijvers, *LIMC* s.v. "Dea Syria." The coins are attributed—and, certainly, correctly—to Bambyke and dated to the fourth century B.C. Note, however, that in the past neither the attribution nor the date was universally accepted. Babelon raised the possibility that the coins could be attributed to Comana. Bellinger wondered whether Alexander was a high priest (like Abd-Hadad) rather than the Macedonian king (*Essays on the Coinage of Alexander the Great* [New York, 1963] 79 n. 179); he also suggested that the whole series belonged to a much later time. In any event, it appears that these coins should be associated with Bambyke rather than the later refoundation of the city as Hierapolis.

5. The **building of the temple by Stratonike** is mentioned only by Lucian (*Syr. D.* 17ff.). Furthermore he records it in connection with his narrative about the infatuation of the king's son with Stratonike and her infatuation with Kombabos, who had been sent by the king to assist in the rebuilding of the temple. The first part of Lucian's narrative, i.e., the story about the king's son and Stratonike, is a reflection of the well-known story of Antiochos I's infatuation with Stratonike; see, for example, App. *Syr.* 59–61; Plut. *Demet.* 38; Pliny *NH* 29.3; Val. Max. 5.7, Ext 1; Julian *Misopog.* 347; Tzetzes *Chil.* VII, *Hist.* 118 (ed. Leone); *Suda* s.v. "Erasistratos"; and Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 373–79. The second part of the narrative, i.e., the story of Stratonike and Kombabos, is a reflection of a *topos* that is commonly found in Greek and Near Eastern literature (as Lucian himself notes, *Syr. D.* 23; see also Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 192; and especially Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 384–402). In regard to these stories Sherwin-White and Kuhrt concluded: "It is impossible to sift political fact from the legendary accretions and romantic embellishments in these stories and foolish to try; Stratonice became story material" (*Samarkhand,* 25; see also Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 35, 189–91). They may be correct. Nevertheless, we should not throw the baby out with the bathwater. After all, it remains possible that Stratonike played a role in building the temple. The displays of reverence toward her in western Asia Minor (see STRATONIKEIA in Lydia, n. 5) certainly lend support to the possibility that she helped build the temple at Hierapolis; see Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 388–91, 431; Lightfoot nevertheless doubted that the temple Lucian saw was materially the one that Stratonike had built. On Antiochos and Stratonike see also J. Mesk, *RhM* 68 (1913) 366–94.

6. For the **temple** see, for example, C. Clemen, *Lukians Schrift über die syrische Göttin* (Leipzig, 1938) 40–56; Hörig, *ANRW* 2:17.3 (1984) 1550–51; and Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 427–34. The scattered remains of the ancient city seen by earlier travelers (for example, H. Maundrell in 1699, in T. Wright, ed., *Early Travels in Palestine* [London, 1848] 507; R. Pococke, *A Description of the East* [London, 1745] II.1: 166f.; F. R. Chesney, *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* [London, 1850] 1: 420–21) were barely to be seen in 1908 (D. G. Hogarth, *ABSA* 14 [1907–1908] 187); see also Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 35ff.; Stock, *Berytus,* 1937, 1–4; and Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 113ff.). The **pond** near the temple area in Manbij is undoubtedly the pond with the

"sacred fish" described by Lucian; see further, Hogarth, *ABSA* 14 (1907–1908]) 187f. (photograph on p. 188); Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 36f. (plan on p. 37); Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 118f.; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 489–97. On the **sacred fish** see, for example, Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 62f.; Hörig, *ANRW* 2:17.3 (1984) 1555; and Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 65–72.

7. For the **quasi-municipal coinage** with the head of Antiochos Epiphanes on the obverse and the ethnic *ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* on the reverse see, for example, *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 40, nos. 59–60; *CSE* 448; *SNG* (Cop) *Seleucid Kings* 223–24. Babelon (*RdS,* CV) says that this coinage was also minted at Hierapolis under Alexander Balas. However, Babelon does not give an example in his catalogue, and I could not find any example in other collections.

For **coinage under the empire** (second–third centuries A.D.) see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 136–40, nos. 1–32; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 138–46, nos. 2–61; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 50–64; *SNG Schweiz* II 1874–84.

8. For the marriage of Epiphanes to Diana/Atargatis and the plundering of the temple see, for example, Bickerman, *IS,* 121; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 132; and Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 42 n. 93, 438–39. Holleaux (*Ét.,* 3: 258 n. 1) claimed that Licinianus's description ("étrange récit") was an altered repetition of the account in 2 Macc. 1.14; the latter describes how Antiochos came to the temple of Nanaia in Persia to marry the goddess in order to get hold of the temple treasure and was killed by the temple priests while trying to seize the treasure; see also Bouché-Leclercq, *Séleucides,* 303 n. 2. Furthermore, following Niese (*Hermes* 35 [1900] 286), Holleaux assigned the description in 2 Macc. to Antiochos VII Sidetes rather than Antiochos IV. Holleaux's skepticism about Licinianus's reliability is understandable. Nevertheless, Licinianus is quite specific in (a) dating the death of the king that followed the incident at Hierapolis to the second consulship of Gracchus (i.e., Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus in 163 B.C.; on the actual date of Antiochos's death in 164 B.C. see Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 171) and (b) placing it at Hierapolis. Of course it is conceivable that Epiphanes tried to (a) contract "sacred marriages" with both Atargatis at Hierapolis and Nanaia in Elymais and (b) plunder both temples. Goossens's attempt (*Hiérapolis,* 192–95) to disassociate Licinianus's account from Hierapolis Bambyke is not convincing. On Antiochos's vain attempt to loot the temple of Nanaia in Elymais, his withdrawal, and subsequent death (Polyb. 31.9; App. *Syr.* 66; Jos. *AJ* 12.358–59; Porphyry, *FGrH* 260 F53, 56) see, for example, Holleaux, *Ét.,* 3: 255–79; Tarn, *GBI*², 463–66; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 170f. and n. 15.

On the "holy marriage" see S. N. Kramer, *The Sacred Marriage Rite* (Bloomington, 1969); and C. Habicht, 2. *Makkabäerbuch,* 202–3.

9. For **Hadad at Hierapolis** see Cook, *Zeus,* 1: 582–89; and Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 42, 436, 540 and passim. On the importance of the cult of **Atargatis and Hadad** at Hierapolis see, for example, Seyrig, *Syria* 37 (1960) 241–51; Oden, *Studies,* 48–55; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 362, 436, 540. For **Apollo at Hierapolis and the probable identification with the god Nebo** see Lucian *Syr. D.* 35–37; Macrobius *Saturn.* 1.17.66f.; see also Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 41ff., 68f.; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 41–42, 456–69; A. Bounni, *LIMC* s.v. "Nabu"; Drijvers, *Edessa,* 66 and n. 73; the latter rightly challenged R. Dussaud's suggested identification of Apollo at Hierapolis with 'El (*Revue de l'histoire des religions* 126 [1943] 147–48).

10. For the **slave from Bambyke** see *UPZ* I 121.4; and G. Vaggi, *Aegyptus* 17 (1937) 34–35.

For **Antipatros the Hieropolitan of Seleukis,** who is to be identified with the Antipater mentioned by Vitruvius (*De Arch.* 9.6.2; see G.W. Bowersock, *CQ* 33 [1983] 491) see K. Gallis, *AAA* 13.2 (1980) 250–51 (= *SEG* 31: 576); J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1983) 237.

For **Hieropolitans on Delos** see, for example, *I. Delos* 2226, 2247, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2280, 2282, 2283. See also P. Roussel, *Délos colonie athénienne* (Paris, 1916) 253ff. ("Puisque nous rencontrons en si grand nombre à Délos des Hiéropolitains à côté des Syriens d'Antioche, de Séleucie ou de Laodicée, il faut bien admettre que la ville (sc. Hierapolis) était une place de commerce, dont les représentants se fixaient dans les ports de la côte et dans ceux de la mer Aigée," p. 254); id., *BCH* 55 (1931) 438–40; Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 94–95; P. Bruneau, *Les cultes de Délos* (Paris, 1970) 466ff.; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 44–50.

For **the worship of Atargatis on Delos** see P.J. Morin, "The Cult of Dea Syria in the Greek World" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 1960) 85–131; Oden, *Studies in Lucian,* 48–49; and Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 48–50, 82–83.

11. On Dionysios son of Herakleon see BEROIA.

12. For the **suggestion that Strabo was mistaken in equating Edessa and Hierapolis** see, for example, Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Bambyke"; Honigmann, *RE Suppl.* s.v. "Hierapolis"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 56; and Syme, *Anatolica,* 107–8; contra: Brodersen, *Komment.,* 152 and n. 2. Brodersen noted that Appian (*Syr.* 57) included Edessa in the list of settlements he attributed to Seleukos I Nikator. Most scholars have assumed he was referring to EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe (e.g., Meyer, *RE* s.v. "Edessa," 1933; Kirsten, *RAC* s.v. "Edessa," 553). Brodersen, however, claimed that Appian meant an Edessa west of the Euphrates. With regard to Strabo (16.1.27), Brodersen suggested this was not an error. Noting that Hierapolis Bambyke does not appear in Appian's list, he claimed that, as with PELLA, we have an example of the coexistence of a "Macedonian" and an "official" name.

At *Syr.* 57 Appian says that "in Syria and in the upper barbarian regions above it there are many names of Greek and Macedonian towns, Beroia, Edessa, Perinthos, Maroneia, Kallipolis, Achaia, Pella, Oropos, Amphipolis, Arethousa, Astakos, Tegea, Chalkis, Larisa, Heraia, Apollonia; in Parthia, Soteira, Kalliope, Charis, Hekatompylos, Achaia; in India, Alexandropolis; in Skythia, Alexandreschata. . . ." Thus the settlements Appian mentions were located in two general regions, Syria and the "upper barbarian regions above it." It is clear that Appian considered Syria to encompass the territory from the Euphrates to the Mediterranean (*Syr.* 50; cf. *Mith.* 106 and Strabo 16.2.1–2). What is less clear is whether, as Brodersen apparently assumed, all the cities mentioned in the first group—Beroia to Apollonia—were in Syria. In any event, the location of many of these foundations is unknown.

13. Under the empire the form of the **toponym** was Hierapolis (rather than Hieropolis, as Goossens [*Hiérapolis* 7–8] claimed); for Hierapolis see, for example, Strabo 16.1.27; Plut. *Crass.* 17 and *Ant.* 37; Pliny *NH* 5.81; Ptol. 5.14.10; Amm. Marc. 23.2.6; Geog. Rav. 2.15 (ed. Schnetz); George Cyp. 872; see further, Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 8 n. 1 (note, however, Stephanos s.v. "Hierapolis"; Stephanos spelled the name of the Syrian city Hieropolis). The **ethnic** was Hieropolitan; see, for example, H. Seyrig, *Syria* 26 (1949) 19 n. 1 and *Syria* 37 (1960) 384 n. 1; L. Robert, *La déesse de Hierapolis Castabala* (Paris, 1964) 14–22; and HIERAPOLIS Castabala. I am not convinced by Goossens's claim (*Hiérapolis,* 6) that Hierapolis was simply a surname

or epithet that was applied to a native, Syrian town, rather than an actual town name. The appearance of the ethnic *ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* on the coinage (see above, n. 7) makes clear that Hierapolis was the official name of the town; see also *I. Delos* 2226.18–21, an inscription from Delos dated to 128/7 B.C., which refers to *Ἡ πό[λις] ἡ Ἱε[ρο]πολ̣[ει]τῶ[ν]*, and the decree of the mid-second century B.C. from Larisa in Thessaly honoring Antipatros, who is identified as a *Ἱεροπολίτης τῆ̣ς Σελευκίδος* (above, n. 10). For other instances of the ethnic see the references to Hieropolitans on Delos cited above, n. 10.

In late antiquity—reflecting the evolution of Greek pronunciation—the town name was apparently pronounced "Hierapolis" and "Gerapolis"; the latter spelling is attested, for example, in the late fourth century in Egeria (*Itinerarium* 18 = *CCL* 175: 59).

14. For the **location** see Goossens, *Hiérapolis,* 2f., 27f.; Segal, *Edessa,* 46. On Manbij see Burns, *Monuments,* 153–54 and map 71 on p. 248; Hogarth, *ABSA* 14 (1907–1908) 186ff.; Eliasséeff, *Encyclopedia of Islam* s.v. "Mandbidj."

JEBEL KHALID

Jebel Khalid is a prominent, triangular-shaped limestone outcrop located on the west bank of the Euphrates. It is 60 kilometers downriver from Carchemish (Jerablus), just above the headwaters of Lake Assad and 30 kilometers southeast of HIERAPOLIS Bambyke.[1] The extant evidence for the presence of a settlement at the site is archaeological and numismatic. There is no reference to this foundation in any of the extant literary sources. The ancient name of the settlement is not yet known.

In the course of excavation in the lowest foundation deposits of the Hellenistic settlement at the site, archaeologists nowhere found debris from earlier occupation. According to Clarke, "this Hellenistic settlement was constructed, it would appear, on a virgin site, in contrast with so many other Seleucid foundations which were associated with pre-existing town or village communities."[2]

The fortification system at Jebel Khalid was 3.4 kilometers in length (i.e., the circuit wall was 2.7 kilometers; the perimeter of the citadel, .7 kilometers), with possibly thirty towers. Connor and Clarke, the excavators, believe the fortifications were built in the first part of the third century B.C.[3] The similarity of the circumference to that at DOURA EUROPOS prompted Connor and Clarke to suggest that for the Seleucids Jebel Khalid served a similar purpose: it was a control point for the Euphrates River traffic.

Unlike the acropoleis in the major foundations established by Seleukos I Nikator, the acropolis at Jebel Khalid was separately walled and completely enclosed within the perimeter walls. On the acropolis archaeologists have uncovered a palace that Clarke and Rowney described as "an extremely well preserved Seleucid governor's administrative and residential building . . .

[which ranks as] . . . one of the best preserved of the minor Hellenistic palaces of the Seleucid era." Clarke suggested it was built in the third century B.C.[4]

The discovery of amphora handles from the Hellenistic period provides evidence for trade with the Aegean basin. Furthermore, the fact that the earliest handles date to the first half of the third century B.C. is evidence for the occupation and settlement at the site during that period.[5] Excavators have found 320 coins; over half were identifiable. The earliest are 2 posthumous coins of Alexander and 2 bronzes of Seleukos I Nikator. There follows a continuous succession down to issues of the last Seleucids (with a peak of specimens of Antiochos III) and municipal coins of Antioch dating from the 90s to the 70s B.C. Then there is a gap to the mid-fourth century A.D. Nixon reasonably suggests that the site was abandoned after Pompey's settlement in 64 B.C. In short, it would appear from the numismatic evidence that the duration of the settlement at Jebel Khalid was purely Seleucid and that its abandonment coincided with the collapse of the Seleucid empire. Most of the coins found at the site that can be attributed to a mint were struck at ANTIOCH near Daphne.[6] Partial excavation has revealed an *insula* of 35 × 90 meters.[7] Archaeologists have also discovered the remains of a Greek-style temple.[8]

Jebel Khalid would have provided ready access from the Euphrates to HIERAPOLIS Bambyke.[9]

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In general see P. Connor in *Macedonian Hellenism,* ed. A. M. Tamis (Melbourne, 1990) 12–26; G. Clarke, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 69–75; P. Connor and G. Clarke, *MedArch* 9/10 (1996/7) 151–83; G. Clarke, B. Rowney et al., *MedArch* 12 (1999) 156–71; G. Clarke, P. Connor, and J. Littleton, *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* 2 (1998) 47–53; G. Clarke in *Upper Syrian Euphrates,* 227–36; G. Clarke et al., *Jebel Khalid on the Euphrates,* vol. 1 (Sydney, 2002) (previous publications are listed on pp. ix–xi).

1. For a **map** and **site plans** see Clarke, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 69–71; id., *Jebel Khalid,* 1: vii–viii.

2. Clarke, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 71–72.

3. For the **fortification system** see Connor and Clarke, *MedArch* 9/10 (1996/7) 166–71; and Connor and Clarke, *Jebel Khalid,* 1: 1–15; Clarke, *Upper Syrian Euphrates,* 233. Connor and Clarke note, by comparison, that at Halikarnassos the circuit wall was originally 6.5 km, with sixty-five towers; at SELEUKEIA in Pieria it was c. 5 km; at Ephesos, c. 9 km; at DOURA EUROPOS the surviving length is 2.5 km, and the circumference is 3.35 km. They also observed that the acropolis at Jebel Khalid occupied 22,000 m^2, while the citadel at Doura was 13,000 m^2.

On the **date of the fortifications** see Connor and Clarke, *MedArch* 9/10 (1996/7) 178; Clarke, *Jebel Khalid,* 1: 21–22.

4. On the **acropolis palace** see Clarke, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 69–75; id. in *Upper Syrian Euphrates,* 233–36; id. in *The Royal Palace Institution in the First Millennium BC* (Aarhus, 2001) 215–47; id., *Jebel Khalid,* 1: 25–48; and id., "Excavating and Interpreting the Governor's Palace, Acropolis, Jebel Khalid" (The Australian Academy of the Humanities, 2001 Trendall Lecture, Canberra, 2003); Clarke and Rowney, *MedArch* 12 (1999) 157–59. Cf. Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 87; Grainger observed that for every city founded by Seleukos I whose layout is known, the acropolis was never completely enclosed within the city; in every known case the acropolis was at a corner or on a side of the city. Thus it could always communicate independently with the outside. According to Grainger, "the acropolis of every one of Seleukos I's cities was expressly designed to dominate and control the city it overlooked. This says volumes about the expectations of king and citizens." Noting the contrast of Jebel Khalid with the examples cited by Grainger (e.g., ANTIOCH near Daphne, APAMEIA on the Axios, BEROIA, CHALKIS, KYRRHOS, SELEUKEIA/Zeugma; also EDESSA/ANTIOCH [cited by Clarke, *MedArch* 7 (1994) 75 n. 4], ANTIOCH Margiana, AI KHANOUM), Clarke observed that at Jebel Khalid there was no preexisting population: "It was a purely Greek foundation, not an original town expanded with an influx of Greek immigrants who lived, at least originally, to a degree uneasily with the recently conquered and dominated local inhabitants." In short, Clarke suggested the settlement at Jebel Khalid was probably a Macedonian military colony *(katoikia).*

Note, however, that the question of the status of particular settlements—i.e., *polis,* military or civilian colony—is especially difficult to resolve. In the case of Beroia, Chalkis, and Kyrrhos it is not possible to affirm whether they were cities or military colonies. In this connection it is interesting to note that whereas Grainger (*Seleukid Syria,* 85–87) classified Kyrrhos as a city, Bickerman specifically pointed to it as an example of a settlement that was *not* a *polis* (*IS,* 80).

5. Of the fifty **amphora handles** found at Jebel Khalid in the excavations of 1986–1996, most (80 percent) were Rhodian; other stamped handles included Koan or pseudo-Koan, Thasian, Knidian (?), Cypriot, and some unidentified; see G. Clarke, *Jebel Khalid,* 1: 273–89; see also H. Jackson, *MedArch* 12 (1999) 169–70. In a private communication Graeme Clarke has kindly informed me that in 2000–2002 excavators found an additional eleven amphora handles of which seven were Rhodian.

6. For the **coins** found at Jebel Khalid see G. Clarke, *Chronique archéologique en Syrie* 2 (1998) 251; C. E. V. Nixon, *MedArch* 12 (1999) 159; and id. in *Jebel Khalid,* 1: 291–335. In a report (to be published) on the 2002 season, Nixon records the discovery of an additional forty-eight coins (all bronze), thirty-eight of which were Seleucid, including three of Seleukos I. The 2002 season also yielded the first Ptolemaic coin (from Cyprus) as well as several coins of the High Roman Empire. These latter coins help bridge the numismatic gap mentioned in *Jebel Khalid,* 1: 297.

7. For the **insula** see H. Jackson in *Archaeology in the Near East,* ed. I. Hopkins and A. Parker (Sydney, 2001) 92; and H. Jackson, *MedArch* 15 (2002) 121–26. For the size of city blocks in other Hellenistic settlements see, for example, ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 27.

8. For the **temple** see G. Clarke, *MedArch* 13 (2000) 123–26, 15 (2002) 116–21.

9. M. Gawlikowski (*Iraq* 58 [1996] 128) has suggested that AMPHIPOLIS might be identified with Jebel Khalid.

KYRRHOS

There are three views regarding the origin of the toponym Kyrrhos. According to Procopius the city was founded by Jews on their return from captivity in Babylon. They named the city in honor of Cyrus, who had liberated them.[1] The story is in itself unlikely. Furthermore, no pre-Hellenistic remains have thus far been found at the site of Kyrrhos (see below). Jones suggested—not convincingly—that the toponym reflects the Hellenization of a native name.[2] The third view is that the settlement was named for the homonymous city in Macedonia.[3] Strong support for this hypothesis is provided by a dedication to Athena Kyrrhestis found at Aravissos (between Edessa and Pella) in Macedonia (this is the general region where it is thought Kyrrhos was located; the precise site is still unknown).[4] To the left of the dedication was the word *ΓΕΝΔΕΡΡΙΟΥ.* On the front face of the same stele was a long inscription regarding the city of Kyrrhos in Macedonia; the toponyms *ΓΕΝΔΕΡΡΟΣ* and *ΓΕΝΔΕΡΡΑ* were also found in the inscription. It is highly likely that Macedonian Kyrrhos and Genderros/Gendera were located close to each other. It is interesting, therefore, to find the two Macedonian place-names used for towns—GINDAROS and Kyrrhos—located in reasonably close proximity in Syrian Cyrrhestice as well. Undoubtedly, then, Syrian Kyrrhos was named for the Macedonian city and included Macedonians in its founding population.

The extant evidence for Kyrrhos in Cyrrhestice is sparse. The earliest literary references mention the region, not the town.[5] Plutarch, writing in the late first/early second century A.D., says that Demetrios Poliorketes plundered parts of northern Syria up to Cyrrhestice; this happened in 286–285 B.C.[6] Assuming that Plutarch was not just using the designation retrospectively, we can conclude that the region called Cyrrhestice already had that name at the time. Furthermore, since the town name undoubtedly preceded the regional name (and not vice versa), we may conclude that Kyrrhos already existed at this time. If this reasoning is correct, it is possible that, after he received the region in 301 B.C., Seleukos I Nikator founded the settlement.[7] It would have guarded the northern frontier of his territory. Of course it is also possible—though less likely—that the founding took place under Antigonos Monophthalmos.

In 221 B.C., according to Polybius (5.50.7), a mutiny broke out among the soldiers of Antiochos III who were at APAMEIA; among the mutineers were 6,000 Kyrrhestai. Most probably this refers to the inhabitants of the region rather than to citizens of Kyrrhos.[8] In any event, the attestation for the regional name in 221 means that the settlement definitely existed at that time. It is probable that Cyrrhestice was one of the satrapies of Seleukis and that Kyrrhos was its capital.[9]

Under Alexander Balas the city minted quasi-municipal coinage in 148 B.C. with a portrait of the king on the obverse and the ethnic *ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΩΝ* and either Athena or Zeus on the reverse.[10]

I have already mentioned the evidence for the worship of Athena Kyrrhestis in Macedonia. In fact, according to Diodorus, Alexander intended to build a temple to Athena at Kyrrhos in Macedonia but was prevented from completing the project by the cost (18.4.5, read *Κύρρῳ* for *Κύρνῳ*). There is also evidence for the worship of Athena Kyrrhestis in Cyrrhestice; however, it is not clear where the temple was located. Stephanos (s.v. "Kyrrhos") mentions Athena Kyrrhestis in connection with Kyrrhos. Furthermore, Strabo (16.2.7) also mentions a temple of Athena Kyrrhestis.[11] Unfortunately he nowhere refers to Kyrrhos; all he says is that the temple of Athena Kyrrhestis was 20 stades from HERAKLEIA (the exact location of which is not known). The passage in Strabo is confused and possibly corrupt. At the very least, however, we should note numismatic evidence for a possible cult of Athena at Kyrrhos and literary evidence for the existence of a temple of Athena Kyrrhestis, possibly at Kyrrhos.[12] The Andronikos of Kyrrhos, who, according to Vitruvius (1.6.4; also Varro *RR* 3.5.17), built the Tower of the Winds (the *Horologion*) at Athens, probably came from the Macedonian rather than the Syrian town.[13]

Although most of the archaeological remains date from the Roman period, there is evidence from the Hellenistic period for an orthogonal street plan; the main street is on a north-south axis. The city wall also dates to the Hellenistic period.[14] Kyrrhos was an important central point in northern Syria on major routes to and from ANTIOCH near Daphne, BEROIA, ZEUGMA, DOLICHE, and Commagene (*Itin. Ant.* 189.6, 193.2, 194.9 [ed. Cuntz]; *Tab. Peut.* X.1). It was located halfway between Antioch and the Euphrates, c. 75 kilometers north-northwest of BEROIA (Aleppo) near the village of Azaz at the (ruined) site called Nebi Uri.[15]

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In general see Miller, *Itineraria Romana,* 764; Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 221–45; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. *Κυρρηστική* and *Κύρρος*; Tcherikover, *HS,* 55; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 470–71; E. Frézouls in *Apamée,* 81–86; id. in *La toponymie,* 242–43; id., *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 89–120; id., *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 164–96; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 40–42, 134–35, 174–75; id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 741–42; Klengel, *Syrien,* 168–70; Burns, *Monuments,* 70–72.

For the results of excavation see Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 120–28; id. in *Apamée,* 86–91; id., *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 189–96 (plan and photographs); id., *CFAS,* 174–80; D. van Berchem, *Syria* 31 (1954) 267–68; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Kyrrhos."

1. *De Aedif.* 2.11.2; cf. Bede (*Chronicon* 496 [ed. T. Mommsen, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica: Auctores Antiquissimi, Chronica Minora Saec. IV. V. VI. VII.* (Berlin, 1898; repr., Munich, 1981) 3: 305]), who also connected the name with Cyrus.

2. *CERP*², 244.

3. Frézouls, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 179.

4. For the **dedication to Athena Kyrrhestis found at Aravissos** see GINDAROS, n. 2. On the presumed location of Macedonian Kyrrhos see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 153.

5. In his account of Cyrrhestice Strabo, who lived in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., describes Gindaros as the "acropolis of Cyrrhestice" (16.2.8; on the other hand, Stephanos s.v. "Kyrrhos," says that Gindaros was the name of the acropolis of Kyrrhos). Surprisingly, **Strabo does not mention Kyrrhos.** It is not clear whether the omission is an error or whether it reflects the fact that Kyrrhos had so declined in importance in the late Hellenistic period (see Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 135, 174–75; Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 [1954–55] 94). At the very least we should note that in 18 A.D. Kyrrhos served as the winter quarters for the Legio X Fretensis (Tac. *Ann.* 2.57).

For Kyrrhos and Cyrrhestice see also, for example, Pliny *NH* 5.81. For the **status of Cyrrhestice and its relation to Seleukis** see the discussion on Cyrrhestice in the introduction.

6. On **Demetrios's military activity in Cyrrhestice** see Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army,* 111–16.

7. Honigmann has suggested (*RE* s.v. *Κύρρος*, 199) that since Kyrrhos does not appear in the list of settlements ascribed to Seleukos I Nikator by Appian (*Syr.* 57) but is mentioned in connection with Demetrios's final struggles (see, for example, Plut. *Demet.* 48), the **founder** was probably Antigonos I Monophthalmos. This is not convincing. I have pointed out elsewhere that absence from Appian's list does not necessarily mean the settlement could not have been founded by Seleukos; see further the discussion under HIERAPOLIS Bambyke. On the founder see also Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 91. In his book *Antigonos,* Billows does not include Kyrrhos among the foundations he ascribes to that king.

8. On the **6,000 Kyrrhestai** see, for example, Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 50–51, 95–97. If the 6,000 Kyrrhestai were from Kyrrhos, we would have evidence relating to the population size of the town. Unfortunately the references to the Kyrrhestai in Polybius's narrative (5.50.7 and 57.4) do not make clear whether they were drawn from the city of Kyrrhos or from the region of Cyrrhestice. Most scholars assume—reasonably—that the latter was the case; see, for example, Bickerman (*IS,* 80), Launey (*Recherches,* 348), Walbank (*Comment.,* 1: 581, 584), and Frézouls (*ANRW* 2:8 [1977] 174). The latter claimed that the number was too large to constitute a contingent from Kyrrhos. Contra: Bar-Kochva (*Seleucid Army,* 31), who assumed they were from the town.

9. The precise **status of the settlement** is not known. Bickerman (*IS,* 80) did not believe it was a *polis;* Grainger (*Seleukid Syria,* 52) thought it was.

10. On the **coinage** minted under Alexander Balas see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 66, nos. 63–64; *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 56, nos. 59–62; *SNG* (Cop) *Seleucid Kings* 277; *CSE* 449. On the quasi-municipal coins minted at various cities under Antiochos IV Epiphanes see ANTIOCH near Daphne, n. 23.

Coinage under the empire is attested from Trajan to Philip the Arab. The ethnic on these coins is (earlier) *ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΩΝ* and (later) *ΚΥΡΗΣΤΩΝ* (e.g., *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 134–35, nos. 1–19; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 133–37, nos. 1–34; *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Cities* 43–49; *SNG Schweiz* II 1862–65, 1872–73). For the **ethnic** see also Cyrrestes (Varro *RR* 3.5.17) and *Κυρρηστῶν* (Polyb. 5.50.7). In the later literary sources we find variant spellings of the **toponym.** Thus in George of Cyprus (873) we find *Κύρος* (see also Procopius *De Aed.* 2.11.2; Bede *Chronicon* 496 [above n. 1]), to which is added *ἤτοι Ἁγιούπολις*. Ptolemy has *Κύρρος* (5.14.10, ed. Müller), though different manuscripts have *Κύρος* and *Κύβρος*.

The coins of the Imperial period bear representations of Zeus Kataibates (e.g.,

BMC Galatia, etc., 133, nos. 1ff.; *SNG* [Cop] *Syria: Cities* 45–49; *Dura Coins* 1776–78); it is not clear, however, whether there is any connection between this cult and that of the Zeus found on the coins of the Hellenistic period. For the worship of Zeus Kataibates in Roman Kyrrhos see, for example, Cook, *Zeus,* 124; Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 223; Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 96f., 105.

11. For the **temple of Athena Kyrrhestis** see, for example, Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 49; Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 96–97; id., *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 174–75, 181. According to Strabo (16.2.8, ed. Meineke) near Gindaros there was a temple called the Herakleion (*Ἡράκλειόν τι καλούμενον πλησίον ἱερόν*). Kahrstedt (*Syr. Territ.,* 49) made the reasonable suggestion that this may be identical with the temple of Athena Kyrrhestis**.** Cumont's association of Athena Kyrrhestis with the Athena on the coins minted at Kyrrhos under Alexander Balas remains unproven; see Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 97 n. 2.

Babelon had suggested (*RdS,* CXXIX–CXXX) that the appearance of the owl on coins of Syrian Kyrrhos reflected the Athenian origin of the settlers. Tcherikover correctly questioned this (*HS,* 55), noting that Athena was also the goddess of Macedonian Kyrrhos. The inscription from Aravissos (see above, n. 4) effectively resolves the dispute in the latter's favor.

12. Frézouls remarked (*ANRW* 2:8 [1977] 174–75) that the epithet **Kyrrhestis** suggests a communal or possibly a regional worship, and suggested an analogue with sanctuaries in Asia Minor that served as the centers of worship for particular *koina.* He therefore speculated that there was a temple of Athena Kyrrhestis in Syrian Kyrrhos. He also suggested that it resulted from the desire to build there the temple that originally had been intended for the homonymous Macedonian city.

13. On **Kyrrhos in Macedonia** see Hammond, *Macedonia,* 1: 159–60; Papazoglou, *Villes,* 152–54. A *horologium* discovered on Tenos had on the reverse an epigram that mentioned **Andronikos of Kyrrhos,** [*πάτ*]*ρα μάκαιρα* [*Κ*]*ύρρος Ἑρμίου τέκος* [*Μ*]*ακηδόνων ἔδεθ*[*λο*]*ν* (*IG* XII.5 891). P. Graindor (*Byzantion* 3 [1926] 30) associated this Andronikos with the individual mentioned by Vitruvius and claimed this demonstrated that Andronikos was from the Macedonian rather than the Syrian town; see also H. S. Robinson, *AJA* 47 (1943) 293.

14. For a **plan of the city** see Frézouls in *Apamée,* 87. On the **city wall** see, for example, Frézouls, *AAS* 4–5 (1954–55) 93, and id., *CFAS,* 177, who noted the similarity to the walls of SELEUKEIA in Pieria; van Berchem, *Syria* (1954) 268; F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 272.

15. For the **location and site** of Kyrrhos see Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 236–45; Frézouls, *AAS* 4/5 (1954–55) 120–28 (plan and photographs after p. 126); P. Leriche in *Archéologie,* 270–72; see also Bar-Kochva, *Seleucid Army,* maps 2 and 3 (pp. 113, 5); Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 78; Burns, *Monuments,* 70–72 (plan). For the absence of evidence for pre-Hellenistic habitation at the site see Frézouls in *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 179.

MELEAGROU CHARAX

Strabo (16.2.8) mentions *ὁ Μελεάγρου χάραξ* in Cyrrhestice in the Antiochene plain below Pagrai. Tcherikover included this in his list of foundations, though he questioned whether it was a real city or just a simple fortress. In

fact, Kahrstedt was probably closer to the mark when he suggested it was a castle that was *γῆ ἐν δωρεᾷ*. Therefore, in the absence of supporting evidence, we should not consider *Μελεάγρου χάραξ* a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 56; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 47; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. *Μελεάγρου χάραξ*; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 751.

For the **location** see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. *Μελεάγρου χάραξ*; and map in Tchalenko, *Villages,* pl. III.

NIKATORIS

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Nikatoris"), who is our sole source of information, Nikatoris was a *polis* in Syria near Europos; he also says it was founded by Seleukos Nikator and adds that the ethnic was *Νικατορίτης*. It is not clear whether this settlement was located west or east of the Euphrates.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 55; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 326; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 756; and AMPHIPOLIS, n. 2.

OROPOS

Two literary sources provide evidence for the existence of an Oropos in Syria. Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes Oropos in the list of settlements that were founded by Seleukos I and named for cities in Greece and Macedonia. Stephanos (s.v. "Oropos") says Oropos was the name of five cities: in Macedonia, Boeotia, Syria, Argos, and Thesprotia. He says that Oropos in Macedonia was the birthplace of Seleukos I Nikator. As for the Syrian Oropos he says: *κτισθεῖσα ὑπὸ Νικάτορος, περὶ ἧς ὁ Πολυΐστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Συρίας φησὶν οὕτως, Ξενοφῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναμετρήσεσι τῶν ὀρῶν περὶ Ἀμφίπολιν κεῖσθαι πόλιν Ὠρωπόν, ἣν πρότερον Τελμησσὸν καλεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων. ταύτην δέ φασιν ὑπὸ Σελέυκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐπικτισθεῖσαν Ὠρωπὸν ὠνομάσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι Ὠρωποῦ* (= *FGrH* 273 F72). In short, Stephanos says Oropos in Syria was founded by Nikator. He adds that Polyhistor, citing Xenophon of Lampsakos, says (a) Oropos was located near AMPHIPOLIS, (b) it was previously called Telmessos,[1] and (c) it was refounded by Seleukos Nikator, who (d) named it for Oropos in Greece.

There has been much discussion regarding Oropos and the information provided by Stephanos. At least four questions have been raised. First, was there an Oropos in Macedonia, or are these really references to Europos? Second, if there was an Oropos in Syria, what European city was it named

for?[2] Third, was there an Oropos in Syria, or are these really references to Europos?[3] Finally, if the references are to Europos in Syria, which one is meant, that is, DOURA EUROPOS or EUROPOS Carchemish?[4] Thus there are two (interconnected) problems: the question of the existence of Oropos in Macedonia and the existence of Oropos in the East. The existence of an Oropos in Macedonia does not prove the existence of a like-named settlement in the East; but it does support that possibility. In that connection, therefore, we should note that the Delphic *theorodokoi* list and the Delphic manumission record an Oropos in Macedonia. This, and the fact that both Appian and Stephanos record an Oropos among the settlements founded by Seleukos, make me disinclined to emend the text of Stephanos. In short, I believe that Oropos in Syria was a distinct Hellenistic settlement and should not be equated with Europos.

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 347; Tcherikover, *HS,* 58; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 154f.; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 52; D. Knoepfler, *PBA* 104 (2000) 81–98.

1. On **Telmessos** see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Telmessos 3"; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 155.

2. **N. G. L. Hammond (*Macedonia,* 1: 168–69) claimed that Europos and Oropos in Macedonia were distinct.** Among other things he noted that the lexicographers gave the ethnic "Oropios" as an analogy to and not as an alternative for "Europios." (Actually, Stephanos's information regarding the ethnic is equivocal. Under "Europos" he does say τὸ ἐθνικὸν Εὐρώπιος ὡς Ὠρώπιος. However, under "Oropos" he lists the five cities of that name and then adds τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὠρωπεύς. He then quotes various authors who give the ethnic Ὠρώπιος). Hammond also noted that according to Stephanos, Macedon had two sons, Europos and Oropos, each being the eponym of his city. Hammond pointed out in addition that Oropos is recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list between Pella and Ichnai (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 17, l. 62; on the date see ANTIGONEIA Mantineia) and in a Delphic manumission (*GDI* 2082.3, 194 B.C.). Hammond remarked further that there was both a Europos (Strabo 7.7.9) and an Oropos in Epirus (Stephanos s.v. "Oropos 5 [in Thesprotia]"; see also Hammond, *Epirus* [Oxford, 1967] 803, 817).

D. Knoepfler denied the existence of all of the cities named Oropos in Stephanos's list except the one in Boeotia. He equated Stephanos's Macedonian Oropos with Europos in Amphaxitis (*PBA* 104 [2000] 90–91). For the identification of Macedonian Oropos and Europos see also Oberhummer, *RE* s.v. "Europos 1"; C. Edson, *CP* 50 (1955) 174, 187 n. 68; and Papazoglou, *Villes,* 172–73, 180–81 and n. 43. Finally, he identified Stephanos's Oropos in Thesprotia with the Europos on the frontier between Epirus and Boeotia mentioned by Strabo (7.7.9). As a result he also denied the existence of settlements named Oropos in the East and suggested rather that these were all foundations named Europos.

For **Oropos in Greece, on the Boeotian-Attic frontier,** see, for example, see J. Wiesner, *RE* s.v. "Oropos 1"; Meyer, *KP* s.v. "Oropos"; A. Morpurgo Davies in *Actes del II Colloquio Internacional de Dialectología Griega* (Madrid, 1993) 273–79; V. Petrakos, *Hoi*

Epigraphes tou Oropou (Athens, 1997); M. del Barrio in *Kata Dialekton: Atti del III Colloquio Internazionale di Dialettologia Greca* (published in *A.I.O.N.* 19 [1997] [Naples, 1999]) 553–73; Knoepfler, *PBA* 104 (2000) 82.

For the towns called **Europos** in Macedonia (in the region Almopia and on the Axios River) see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 172–73, 180–81 and n. 43; see also Hammond, *Macedonia,* 1: 168–69; Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator,* 1: 1–2. For Europos in Epirus see above.

3. Isidore of Charax (1) says that Doura was a *polis* of Nikanor, who was presumably Seleukos's general (on the identification of Nikanor see DOURA EUROPOS, n. 6). Isidore adds that it was a Macedonian foundation that was called Europos by the Greeks. The collocation of these various facts has fostered the conclusion that the Syrian Europos was named for the like-named Macedonian city, which was the birthplace of Seleukos. Leaving aside the question of which Macedonian Europos we may have in mind as Seleukos's birthplace, it is important to emphasize that there is no extant source that specifies *Europos* in Macedonia as **Seleukos's birthplace.** Stephanos cited Polyhistor, who said that Seleukos was from *Oropos* in Macedonia. And Malalas claimed he was born in Pella (8.203 [*CSHB* XXVIII]; see further, Mehl, *Seleukos Nikator,* 1: 1–2; Grainger, *Seleukos,* 4.)

4. There are **essentially three schools of thought regarding Oropos and Europos in Syria:** Oropos may be identified with (a) EUROPOS Rhagai in *Media* (italics mine; see Meineke in a note to his edition of Stephanos, s.v. "Oropos," citing Strabo 11.13.6); (b) a Macedonian colony in Syria that was quite separate and distinct from Europos Carchemish and Doura Europos (Tcherikover, *HS,* 58 [n.b., however, that in a footnote (n. 232) Tcherikover cited the reading *ταύτην δ' ἔφασαν ὑπὸ Σελεύκου τοῦ Νικάτορος ἐπικτισθεῖσαν Ὠρωπὸν καλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ Ἑλλάδι Ὠρωποῦ* and suggested that this may not be a comment of Xenophon but rather of Polyhistor or Stephanos himself and that it may refer to Europos Carchemish]; Brodersen, *Komment.,* 155); (c) Carchemish, which was refounded as a Europos (e.g., Jacoby, *FGrH* IIIa, p. 284; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Oropos 4"; note, however, that elsewhere [*RE* s.v. "Telmessos 3"] Honigmann remarked: "Die Gleichsetzung des syrischen Oropos mit Europos ist unsicher"; Jones, *CERP*², 243, 452, and 442; Grainger, *Seleukid Syria,* 52 and n. 99; and id., *Seleukid Prosopography,* 719). Assuming both the identification of Europos with Carchemish and the location of Carchemish at Jerablus are correct, we would then, of course, know the location of Oropos/Europos.

SAMOSATA

Strabo (16.2.3)—who relied on Eratosthenes—recorded the existence of Samosata. The site—the modern Samsat—has yielded evidence for habitation dating back to prehistoric times.[1] If Samosata was (re)founded in the Hellenistic period, we may try to identify the person for whom the city was named. Attention usually focuses on Samos. In fact, there are at least two persons known with this name. The first—"Samos I"—is attested only in a heavily restored inscription. The second—"Samos II"—is known from the epigraphic and numismatic evidence; he is not mentioned in any extant literary texts.

Samos (Samos I) may be read as a patronymic for King Arsames of Commagene in an inscription found at ARSAMEIA on the Euphrates: *βασιλέα [Ἀ]ρσά[μην] τὸν ἐκ β[ασιλέως] Σάμου*; another—less likely—reading is *τὸν ἐκ β[ασιλέως Ἀρ]σάμου*.[2] The *floruit* of Arsames the son of King Samos/[Arsames] is most probably the mid-third century B.C.[3] Hence, if the first reading is accepted, we would have evidence for a King Samos shortly before the middle of the third century B.C.

Samos II was the son of Ptolemaios and the father of King Mithridates Kallinikos. The coinage bears the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΜΟΥ ΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ* (or *ΘΕΟΣΕΒΟΥΣ*) *ΚΑΙ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ*.[4] From two inscriptions we learn that he was the father of Mithridates Kallinikos.[5] Unfortunately, we cannot give precise dates for his reign. In fact, all we can say is that his *floruit* was 130 B.C.[6]

The question, therefore, is how to attempt to sketch the circumstances of the founding of the settlement. We may suggest two possible scenarios: (a) if Eratosthenes, who lived in the third century B.C., actually referred to the city by that name it would, of course, mean that Samosata could not have been founded by Samos II; on the other hand, if Eratosthenes was simply talking about the urban center that would later be renamed Samosata, the possibility remains open that it could have been refounded by Samos II; (b) the person for whom the settlement was named predated Eratosthenes; hence this could have been Samos I. On balance the latter seems to be the more likely option.[7] A sculptured and inscribed stele found at Selik, a village c. 10 kilometers north of Samsat, bears a relief of Herakles greeting Antiochos and a fragmentary inscription recording various cults connected with himself that Antiochos established.[8]

Strabo (16.2.3), writing in the early first century A.D., observed that "Commagene is a rather small country; and it has a city fortified by nature, Samosata, where the royal residence used to be; but it has become a province; and the city is surrounded by an exceedingly fertile, though small territory. Here is now the bridge of the Euphrates; and near the bridge is situated Seleuceia, a fortress of Mesopotamia, which was included within the boundaries of Commagene by Pompey" (trans. Jones).[9] Despite Strabo's assertion, Syme has denied (a) the primary importance of Samosata in Seleucid times or in the early first century A.D. and (b) the existence of a bridge at Samosata. He has argued that Strabo erred by conflating Zeugma and Samosata.[10] On the other hand, there is other, later evidence for a crossing of the Euphrates at Samosata.[11] Thus Josephus (*BJ* 7.224), in discussing Samosata in connection with events of 72–73 A.D., describes it as the main city of Commagene; he adds that it was on the Euphrates and that there was a "very easy crossing" there. Finally, we may note modern toponyms near Samosata: Kantara ("Bridge") was 2 kilometers southwest of Samosata on the west bank of the Euphrates, and Arabkantara ("Arabian Bridge") was 3 kilometers northeast on the east bank.[12]

The earliest extant coinage of Samosata dates from the late first century B.C./early first century A.D. The legend on these coins is *ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ*; under the High Empire it is *ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΕΩΝ*.[13]

Samosata was strategically located at the village of Samsat. However, as a result of the construction of the Atatürk Dam a few kilometers downstream, the site is now underwater.[14]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 51; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Kommagene"; "Hist. Topog.," no. 407; Weissbach, *RE* s.v. "Samosata"; Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 749–51; Serdaroglu, *PECS* s.v. "Samosata"; Schottky, *Media,* 97–99; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 513–14; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 772; D. Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 17–18; L. Zoroglu in *Gottkönige,* 75–84.

1. With regard to the evidence for **earlier habitation at the site** Dörner (*Arsameia,* 367) called attention to "fragments from early pre-historic times, which testify to the long history of this preferred passage across the river."

2. For **King Samos/[Arsames] father of King Arsames** in the inscription found at Arsameia on the Euphrates see Puchstein, *Reisen,* p. 285 = *OGIS* 394 = *IGLS* 5 = *Nemrud Dağı,* pp. 267–68. Puchstein preferred the patronymic Samos or Sames; in this he was followed by Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Kommagene"), Schottky (*Media,* 96–97), Dörner (in *Nemrud Dağı,* 268, 367). On the other hand, Reinach (*REG* 3 [1890] 369) and Dittenberger (n. 6 to *OGIS* 394) opted—less probably—for Arsames; Jalabert and Mouterde (comment. on *IGLS* 5) left the question open.

3. On **Arsames** see ARSAMEIA on the Nymphaios.

4. For the **coinage** see, for example, *RdS,* p. 217, nos. 1–2; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 119, nos. 1–2; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 514.

5. The epigraphic evidence for **Samos the son of Ptolemaios and father of Mithridates** is as follows: (a) Puchstein, *Reisen,* p. 356 (= *OGIS* 402.7–8 = *IGLS* 46): [βασι]λέ[α Σά]μο[ν] . . . τὸν ἐ[κ βασ]ιλ[έ]ως [Πτ]ο[λε]μα[ίο]υ; (b) *OGIS* 396.10–12 (= *IGLS* 8): βασιλέα Μιθρα[δάτην] Καλλινίκον τ[ὸν ἐκ βασιλέω]ς Σάμο[υ]. For Mithridates Kallinikos see also Dörner and Goell, *Arsameia,* 40–58, 300–304.

6. The **evidence for the reign of Samos II** is one of his coins with the year *ΓΛ* (33) on it (*Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 119, no. 2). It is not clear whether this refers to the year of his reign or to an era dating to the founding of the dynasty. Since Samos's son, Mithridates I, was ruling in 96 B.C., the reference could be to a regnal year. On the other hand, the use of a dynastic era on a coin of Antiochos IV Epiphanes of Commagene in the mid-first century A.D. (see H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1964, 51–52 = *Scripta Numismatica* [Paris, 1986] 121–22) lends support to the notion that the year 33 on Samos's coin also refers to a dynastic era. If this is the case, it would give a date of c. 130 B.C. for the coin; see further Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 749.

7. For **Samos I** as the founder of Samosata see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Kommagene," 983; Dörner in *Nemrud Dağı,* 367–68. See also Sullivan, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 751–52.

8. For the **sculptured inscribed stele** from Selik see *IGLS* 51 = P. M. Fraser *ABSA* 47 (1952) 96–101 (= *SEG* 12: 554). The relief found at Selik (see Humann and Puch-

stein, *Reisen,* 368, no. 52) is similar to that found at Nemrud Dağı (Humann and Puchstein, *Reisen,* pl. 39.2 and *Nemrud Dağı,* fig. 293).

9. On **Strabo 16.2.3** see SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma, n. 6.

10. Syme, *Anatolica,* 95–110. For the **bridge over the Euphrates** see SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma.

11. For other **crossings of the Euphrates** see SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma, n. 1.

12. R.W. Macan (*Herodotus: The Fourth, Fifth, and Sixth Books* [London, 1895] 2: 299–302), following Hogarth, suggested that the Persian Royal Road crossed the Euphrates at Samosata. Contra: D. French (*Iran* 36 [1998] 18, 22, and 25 n. 54), who suggested the crossing was probably farther upstream at Tomisa, and Syme (*Anatolica,* 9–10), who opted firmly for the latter. On the Persian Royal Road system see also D. Graf in *Achaemenid History* 8 (1994) 167–89. For **Kantara and Arabkantara** see Kiepert, *FOA* V and commentary, pp. 1f., 5; Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 43–44; and SELEUKEIA on the Euphrates/Zeugma, n. 7.

13. For ***ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ*** see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 116–17, nos. 4–16; and *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 15. For ***ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΕΩΝ*** see, for example, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 119, no. 33; and *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 25; *SNG Schweiz* II 1841–45.

14. For the **location** see D. Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 17–18.

SELEUKEIA ON THE EUPHRATES/ZEUGMA

Seleukeia on the Euphrates, the site of a strategically important crossing (and bridge) over the Euphrates, was known by a succession of names.[1] Pliny, who lived in the latter half of the first century A.D., refers to it as "Seleucia ad Euphraten" (*NH* 5.82). This same name is found (as an ethnic) in an inscription of the Augustan age from Rhodes that mentions a *Σελευκεὺς τῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ* (*IG* XII.1 653). Strabo, who lived in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D., and Appian, who lived in the early second century A.D., refer to it simply as *Σελεύκεια* (Strabo 16.2.3; App. *Mith.* 114). In the course of time "Seleukeia" was ultimately replaced by "Zeugma." As I mentioned, Pliny called it "Seleucia ad Euphraten"; he was referring to the same city when he mentioned Zeugma, the "transitu Euphratis nobile." He said that Seleukos founded it and opposite, APAMEIA, and that Seleukos built a bridge joining the two towns (5.86). The confirmation of the identification of Seleukeia and Zeugma came with the publication in 1922 of an inscription found at Brigetio in Pannonia.[2] The inscription, dating to the end of the second/beginning of the third century A.D., records a dedication *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) D(olicheno) Domitius Titus dec(urio) Seleu(ciae) Zeugm(a)e.*

The word *ζεῦγμα*, of course, means "bridge." Originally a colloquial name for the city, it ultimately became a toponym, namely, "The Bridge."[3] Polybius (5.43.1) calls it *Σελεύκεια ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ζεύγματος*. In a fragmentary inscription from Pergamon (*I. Perg.* 3: 21.23–24), dated to 117 A.D. or the beginning

of 118 A.D., the ethnic is *Σελευκέων* [—— *τῶν πρὸς τῷ Ζεύγ*]*ματι*. In an inscription from around 165 A.D. (LW 1620.46–47 = *I. Agon. Gr.* 72) the name appears as *Ζεῦγμα πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ*. We also find *Ζεῦγμα* and, under the later Roman Empire and in the Byzantine sources, *Ζεῦμα*.[4] Coinage from the second and third centuries A.D. with the ethnic *ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ* survives.[5]

Strabo talks about two bridges: (a) an "old bridge" near Thapsakos (16.1.21 and 23) and (b) a "bridge on the Euphrates" (11.13.4; 11.14.15; 16.1.1, 2.1, and 2.3; cf. Jos. *BJ* 7.105). The latter was apparently a well-known landmark in the early first century A.D. and is undoubtedly identical with the Zeugma mentioned by Pliny. Where was the "bridge on the Euphrates"? Let us briefly consider the extant evidence bearing on this complex question.

Strabo—who was probably relying on either Theophanes of Mytilene (fl. mid-first century B.C.) or Posidonius (c. 135–c. 51–50 B.C.) for his discussion of Syria—provides the following information: he says (16.2.1) that the distance from the Mediterranean Sea to the "bridge of the Euphrates" was not less than 1,400 stades. This corresponds roughly to Pliny's figure of 175 miles from SELEUKEIA in Pieria (which was on the coast) to Zeugma (*NH* 5.67). Strabo also says that the bridge was at Seleukeia, that Pompey had included it within Commagene, and that it was not less than 2,000 stades (upstream) from Thapsakos (16.1.22, 23; 2.3).[6] Pliny (*NH* 5.86) indicates that Zeugma was 72 Roman miles (downstream) from Samosata at a crossing of the Euphrates (= approximately 66.2 miles). In fact, the modern village of Belkis is 68 miles downstream from Samosata and is to be identified as the site of Seleukeia on the Euphrates/Zeugma.[7] Surface survey at Kara Tepe, the highest of the hills on the bluff overlooking the Euphrates west of Belkis, has uncovered a large amount of early Hellenistic ceramic ware. This has prompted the reasonable suggestion that the earliest settlement at the site was probably located here. In addition, survey work at Belkis suggests that the Hellenistic town extended c. 1 kilometer along the Euphrates and tapered inland to incorporate Belkis Tepe.[8] On the other hand, archaeologists have not found evidence for significant settlement at the site prior to the Hellenistic period.[9]

Relatively little is known about Seleukeia during the Hellenistic period. Antiochos III met his fiancée, Laodike the daughter of Mithridates, near Seleukeia and married her at Seleukeia (Polyb. 5.43.1). It was in Seleukeia that Tigranes killed Cleopatra Selene (Strabo 16.2.3). The founder was Seleukos I Nikator (Pliny *NH* 5.86).[10] An inscription recording the construction of a temple of Zeus-Oromasdes, Apollo-Mithras-Helios-Hermes, and Artagnes-Herakles-Ares by Antiochos I of Commagene has been found. The site of the temple has not yet been determined.[11] Under Roman hegemony the town developed further and flourished; the extraordinary archaeological discoveries there clearly reflect this. But an account of that lies beyond the scope of the present study.[12]

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In general see Chapot, *Frontière,* 275ff.; Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 119–50; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," nos. 414, 486; id., *RE* s.vv. "Seleukeia 4," "Commagene"; J. Dobiàs, *Syria* 6 (1925) 253–68; Tcherikover, *HS,* 53–54; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 449; Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 23–70, 85–279; B. Spuler, *RE* s.v. "Zeugma"; Syme, *Anatolica,* 95–110; M. Gawlikowski, *Iraq* 58 (1996) 123–33; Grainger, *Seleukid Prosopography,* 778; D. Kennedy, ed., *Zeugma.*

For the collected sources see Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 290–95; D. Kennedy and R. Burgess in *Zeugma,* 139–62.

Seleukeia on the Euphrates/Zeugma is a particularly rich archaeological site. For the results—primarily dating from the Roman period—of archaeological survey and excavation at the site and the surrounding region see, for example, C. Abadie-Reynal et al., *Anatolia Antiqua* 4 (1996) 311–24, 5 (1997) 349–70, 6 (1998) 379–406, 7 (1999) 311–66, 8 (2000) 279–337; *Archéologia* (March 1998) 28–39; D. Kennedy, *Archéologia* (November 1994) 26–35; D. Kennedy et al. in *Zeugma,* esp. 11–138; J. A. Meyerson, *Archaeology Odyssey* (November/December 2000) 32–41; R. Ergeç, M. Önal, and J. Wagner in *Gottkönige,* 105–14; R. Early et al., *Zeugma: Interim Reports.* See also, for example, www.zeugmaweb.com/zeugma/english/engindex.htm; www.diplomatie.gouv.fr/fr/ (type "Zeugma" in the search box); and www.classics.uwa.edu.au/projects/zeugma.

1. According to Stephanos (s.v. "Zeugma") and Pliny (*NH* 34.150) Alexander the Great built the bridge when he crossed the Euphrates. This apparently contradicts the evidence (Aristoboulos, *FGrH* 139 F55; Plut., *Alex.* 68.2; Curt. 10.1.19; cf. Arr. *Anab.* 3.7.1–2) that Alexander (and Darius: Arr. *Anab.* 2.13.1) crossed the river at Thapsakos; as a result, Tcherikover (*HS,* 53) dismissed the information given by Pliny and Stephanos as "naturally false." Nevertheless, we should bear in mind that the exact location of Thapsakos has not yet been determined (see further AMPHIPOLIS). In fact, M. Gawlikowski (*Iraq* 58 [1996] 123–33) has postulated that there were two cities named Thapsakos: a lower one below the bend of the Euphrates and one upstream. Gawlikowski has suggested the latter was the one known to Xenophon (*Anab.* 1.4.11) and Alexander and was renamed Seleukeia/Zeugma. It is also important to bear in mind that there were a number of crossings of the northern reaches of the Euphrates, for example, at Tomisa, SAMOSATA, near Urmia, and at Seleukeia as well as at Carchemish; see further W. C. Brice in *Serta Indogermanica,* ed. J. Tischler (Innsbruck, 1982) 21–22; Syme, *Anatolica,* 105 and n. 86; SAMOSATA, n. 10 and references cited there.

2. For the **inscription from Brigetio** see J. Dobiàs, *Le musée belge* 26 (1922) 119 (= *Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris,* pp. 42ff., no. 13); and Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 40, 69.

3. At 14.2.29 Strabo says *ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ Σαμοσάτων τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς, ἣ πρὸς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ τῷ ζεύγματι κεῖται.* In his translation in the Loeb Classical Library series H. L. Jones capitalizes "Zeugma," indicating a place-name. I believe, rather, that Strabo was simply saying that Samosata was located near the river crossing and the bridge, i.e., that he was not using *ζεῦγμα* as a toponym. In fact, it is often a problem determining whether the term is being used in a particular instance as a common noun (i.e., *ζεῦγμα,* "bridge") or a toponym (i.e., *Ζεῦγμα,* "The Bridge"). See, for example, Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 23 n. 6.

For the **bridge** at Seleukeia see Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 107–9; Wagner's suggestion that the two concrete projections beside the river at Seleukeia were part of the bridge has been challenged by Abadie-Reynal et al. (*Anatolia Antiqua* 4 [1996] 316–19; see also D. Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 41; and the plan in *Zeugma: Interim Reports,* 8).

4. For **other literary and epigraphic references to Zeugma,** see, for example, Paus. 10.29.4; Cass. Dio 40.17.3, 49.19.3; Front. *Strategemata* 1.1.6; Procop. *De Aed.* 2.9.18; George of Cyprus 877; Hierokles 713.4; Theodoret *Eccl. Hist.* 4.970, 1007 (*PG* 82: 1149, 89), *Philotheos Hist.* 5.1 (ed. Canivet and Leroy-Molinghen [= *PG* 82: 1352]); *IGR* 3: 1012.20 (= LW 1839); Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 23–24, 290–95; D. Kennedy and R. Burgess in *Zeugma,* 139–62. On the **toponym and the ethnic** see Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 65–70; Wagner also notes that Zima, the later form of Zeugma, was still current in the mid-nineteenth century.

5. For the **coinage** see, for example, K. Butcher in *Zeugma,* 233–36; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 130–32, nos. 1–19; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 124–29, nos. 1–47; Bellinger, *Dura: The Coins,* nos. 239–41, 1761–75a; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 28–35; *SNG GB* 4: 5845–47; *SNG Schweiz* II 1846–55.

6. At two other points Strabo repeats the reference—albeit somewhat obliquely—to **the location of the bridge being in Commagene.** At 16.2.3 he specifies Samosata was a city in Commagene that in his time (or the time of his source) had become an eparchy (*Κομμαγηνὴ μικρά τίς ἐστιν. ἔχει δ᾽ ἐρυμνὴν πόλιν Σαμόσατα, ἐν ᾗ τὸ βασίλειον ὑπῆρχε. νῦν δ ᾽ ἐπαρχία γέγονε. χώρα δὲ περίκειται σφόδρα εὐδαίμων, ὀλίγη δέ.*). He then comments that *ἐνταῦθα δὲ νῦν ἐστι τὸ ζεῦγμα τοῦ Εὐφράτου. κατὰ τοῦτο δὲ Σελεύκεια ἵδρυται, φρούριον τῆς Μεσοποταμίας.* But to what does *ἐνταῦθα* refer? Does it mean the bridge was in/at Commagene or Samosata? To try to answer this we should refer to 14.2.29, where Strabo says *ἄρχεται δὲ ἀπὸ Σαμοσάτων τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς, ᾗ πρὸς τῇ διαβάσει καὶ τῷ ζεύγματι κεῖται.* What is the referent of *ᾗ*? I.e., does the *ᾗ* refer to the *polis* or the eparchy (understood) of Samosata, or rather to Commagene. If we follow the former interpretation, this would indicate the bridge was at the *polis* or the eparchy of Samosata. However, Syme has convincingly argued that Strabo erred in placing the bridge at Samosata (*Anatolica,* 95–110). Furthermore, Wagner has demonstrated that the *ᾗ* modifies the feminine, singular *τῆς Κομμαγηνῆς* (*Seleukeia,* 42–48). This also suggests that at 16.2.3 *ἐνταῦθα* likewise refers to Commagene rather than the eparchy of Samosata (of course the eparchy of Samosata was in Commagene).

On the **inclusion of Seleukeia in Commagene in the first century B.C.** see Cicero *Ad Quint. Fr.* 2.11.2; App. *Mith.* 114; Strabo 16.2.3 (Tcherikover, *HS,* 53 n. 212; Dobiàs, *Syria* 6 [1925] 256f.; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 113); and the Dexiosis relief of Antiochos I from Belkis Tepe (Wagner and G. Petzl, *ZPE* 20 [1976] 204ff.; Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 56ff., 117ff.).

Note that Strabo (16.1.22, 23) placed Zeugma in Commagene, Pliny (*NH* 5.86) located it in Syria, and Ptolemy (5.14.10) placed it in Cyrrhestice. It is well to recall that the areas enclosed by Commagene and Cyrrhestice changed over time. In the mid-first century B.C. Seleukeia was given briefly to Antiochos I of Commagene by Pompey the Great (App. *Mith.* 114). Under Augustus the region was separated from Commagene and annexed—as part of Cyrrhestice—to the province of Syria. This could explain Strabo's placing the city in Commagene and Pliny's including it in Syria. For the annexation of Commagene to the province of Syria see the use of the Aktian era on coinage of Trajan (e.g., *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 130, no. 1; Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 64).

On **the fluctuating boundaries of Commagene in the Roman period** see, for example, D. French, *AMS* 3 (1991) 11–18.

As for **Strabo's main source for Syria,** Dobiàs (*Syria* [1925] 257 n. 2) thought it was Theophanes; Syme (*Anatolica,* 106) suggested it was Posidonius.

7. **Location.** Other ancient sources regarding the **location** of Zeugma include Pliny (*NH* 5.67); the *Tab. Peut.* (X.3, 24 miles from Europos); *Itin. Ant.* (185.1, 189.2, 191.2 [ed. Cuntz]: 12, 14, or 24 miles from DOLICHE); see further Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 49.

There have been three basic views on the location of Seleukeia:

i. In the nineteenth century K. Ritter (a) located Zeugma on the west bank of the Euphrates 12 km downstream from Belkis, opposite Birecik, and (b) identified Birecik with APAMEIA (*Erdkunde,* 7: 950); see also, for example, Magie, *RRAM* 1240. Kiepert (*FOA* V and commentary, pp. 1f., 5) placed (a) Zeugma upstream near SAMOSATA on the west bank and Seleukeia opposite it on the east bank and (b) a second Zeugma downstream (also) on the west bank and opposite it on the east bank at Birecik, Apameia (see also Chapot, *Frontière,* 277). He also noted that near Samosata there were two modern villages, Kantara ("Bridge," 2 km southwest of Samosata on the west bank of the Euphrates) and Arab Kantara ("Arabian Bridge," 3 km northeast of Samosata on the east bank).

ii. Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 4") placed Seleukeia near SAMOSATA on the east bank of the Euphrates, in Osrhoene. In this connection he understood App. *Mith.* 114 ("To Antiochus of Commagene he [i.e., Pompey] handed over Seleucia and the parts of Mesopotamia that he conquered," trans. H. White) to indicate "the city and its surroundings." However, I do not think that the text necessarily indicates Seleukeia was in Mesopotamia. Honigmann also called attention to Theodoret (*Eccl. Hist.* 4.970 [*PG* 82: 1148–49]), who described how Eusebius, bishop of Samosata, traveled from Samosata to Zeugma in the course of a night; this presumably indicated the close proximity of the two towns. However, Cumont noted that because of the swiftness of the Euphrates current it is in fact possible to travel downstream from Samosata to Zeugma in Cyrrhestice (Belkis) in one night (addendum to Dobiàs, *Syria* [1925] 267ff.; see also Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 51).

The fact that Strabo 16.2.3 (erroneously?) referred to **Seleukeia as a *φρούριον τῆς Μεσοποταμίας*** could, if taken literally, mean that it was located on the east bank of the Euphrates. On the other hand, Pliny (*NH* 5.81–82; cf. 6.119) included Seleukeia in Syria. A caveat is in order here: "Syria" could be used in a larger sense to designate an area that included regions east of the Euphrates (see, for example, Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Syria," esp. 1718). Thus Strabo (16.1.1–2) says that historically the name Syria included Babylonia. And Stephanos said that EDESSA and ANTHEMOUSIAS (which were in Mesopotamia) were located in Syria. Nevertheless, I believe that in this instance Pliny meant Seleukeia was on the west bank of the Euphrates; both he (*NH* 5.86–87) and Isidore of Charax (1) explicitly say Zeugma was on the Euphrates, opposite APAMEIA. Furthermore, the inscription from Brigetio (n. 2, above) confirms the identification of Seleukeia and Zeugma. Dobiàs (*Syria* [1925] 260–61) explained the passage in Strabo as an objective genitive of a verbal construction (*φρουρεῖν τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν,* i.e., a "fortress against Mesopotamia") rather than a partitive genitive (*φρούριον τῆς Μεσοποταμίας*); this suggestion was dismissed by Syme as a "novel rendering [that] puts an intolera-

ble strain upon the Greek language" (*Anatolica,* 101); despite this, Syme was firmly convinced that Strabo erred in placing Seleukeia in Mesopotamia (106). Kennedy suggested that the *φρούριον* mentioned by Strabo was probably on Belkis Tepe (in *Zeugma,* 37, on which see below). Wagner noted (*Seleukeia,* 83) that the fortification system at APAMEIA was oriented eastward against Mesopotamia; see also Tcherikover, *HS,* 54; Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 52–56; Syme, *Anatolica,* 101–6.

iii. Cumont (*Ét. syr.,* 119–50) argued convincingly that Seleukeia was located on the west bank of the Euphrates at Belkis and that APAMEIA was opposite it; he also suggested that Birecik was the site of Birta MAKEDONOPOLIS. Among other things Cumont observed that there are ancient remains at Belkis but none at Birecik or opposite it, on the west bank. In this connection he quoted D. G. Hogarth (in *Ét. syr.,* 134 n. 1), who remarked: "I was often at Biredjik and its neighbourhood . . . and always felt troubled by: a) the lack of any appearance of classical antiquity in Biredjik itself; b) the nakedness and indefensibility of the opposite right bank; c) the unsuitability of the stream at that point to a pontoon bridge." On the other hand, (a) a Syriac inscription apparently dated to 6 A.D. from Birecik (mentioned by Cumont, *Ét. syr.,* 144) refers to a commander at Birtha; (b) Zeugma, or at least its acropolis, was on a mountain (Cass. Dio 49.19; cf. Front. 1.1.6), and Belkis is built on a bluff; coinage of Seleukeia shows a temple situated on a mountain (see above, n. 5). Strong support for the latter identification was provided by Wagner, who discovered at Belkis a group of roof tiles stamped with the name of the Legio IIII Scythica. In fact, it is known that this legion was stationed at Zeugma in the first–second century A.D. (see J. Wagner in *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms,* ed. D. Haupt and H. G. Horn [Cologne, 1977] 2: 517–39; M. A. Speidel in *Zeugma,* 166–70). Of at least thirty roof tiles of the Legio IIII Scythica discovered by Wagner, Algaze, and others, twenty-seven were found at Zeugma (*Seleukeia,* 137–46; G. Algaze et al., *Anatolica* 20 [1994] 20; Kennedy et al. in *Zeugma,* 13, 133–35). Furthermore, as a result of rescue operations in 2000 and 2002 archaeologists discovered a building inscription of *Legio IIII Scythica* as well as additional stamped tiles of this and other legions (M. Hartman and M. A. Speidel in *Zeugma: Interim Reports,* 112–22).

In general see Dobiàs, *Syria* (1925) 253–68; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 93; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Zeugma"; and Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 25–56, 85–109, 132–46. For a full review of the *status quaestionis* see Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 25–56 (esp. 37 n. 85), 85–109 (photographs and maps at end).

For a description of the site see, for example, D. Kennedy, *Archéologia* (November 1994) 26–35; C. Abadie-Reynal et al., *Archéologia* (March 1998) 28–39; D. Kennedy and J. Bunbury in *Zeugma,* 19–29. Note that, as a result of the construction of the Birecik Dam at Belkis, part of the site is now underwater.

8. On **Kara Tepe** see C. Abadie-Reynal et al., *Archéologia* (March 1998) 30; and D. Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 50–51. For the probable extent of **the Hellenistic town** see Wagner, *Seleukeia,* plan II; and Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 54.

9. See Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 237.

10. For **a statue of Tyche** found at Belkis that is similar to the famous Antiochene Tyche see Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 123–26. It is not clear whether the appearance of the statue at Seleukeia can be related to the fact that Seleukos founded the city (see

Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 126) or whether it is simply another example of the widespread copying of the Antiochene Tyche by cities in the Near East.

11. For the **inscription describing the construction of the sanctuary** see C. Crowther in *Zeugma: Interim Reports,* 57–67; and id., in *The Zeugma Archaeological Project 2000 Interim Report,* vol. 1, *Text and Appendices* (Oxford, 2001). The last section of this text (ll. 23–end) follows the text of the *Nomos* inscription that was found at Nemrud Dağı (F.K. Dörner and J.H. Young in *Nemrud Dağı,* 206–13 = *OGIS* 383.67–88). Cf. parallels in inscriptions found at SAMOSATA (*OGIS* 404) and DOLICHE (see n. 6).

12. For **Seleukeia under Roman hegemony** see, for example, Wagner, *Seleukeia,* 85–168; id., *Die Römer an Euphrat und Tigris,* Antike Welt Sondernummer 16 (1985); Millar, *Near East,* 260–61; Pollard, *Syria,* 39–40, 257–61; Kennedy in *Zeugma,* 237–45. For the **archaeological discoveries** see studies and Web sites noted above.

SERRE

Tcherikover, following on earlier discussions, suggested that *Γέρρη* in Cyrrhestike recorded by Ptolemy (5.14.10) might be the same town as (a) *Πέρρη* that Hierokles mentions (713.6) and (b) Serre in northern Syria recorded on the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (X.2), that the correct spelling of the latter was Serrhai and that it was named for Serrhai in Macedonia.[1] It is certainly possible that the Serre recorded in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* was named for the Macedonian town.[2] However, the speculative chain is long, and we should want stronger confirmatory evidence before claiming Serre in Syria as a Hellenistic settlement. The precise location of Serre is not known.[3]

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1. See Tcherikover, *HS,* 55; Ritter, *Erdkunde,* 10: 1000; C. Müller and C. Fischer note to Ptolemy 5.14.10; H. Gelzer (ed.) note to George of Cyprus 878; K. Regling, *Klio* 1 (1902) 473; Müller, *Itineraria Romana,* 758; see also Dussaud, *Topographie,* 451, 468; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Serre."

Although there are other references to Perre in Syria—see, for example, George of Cyprus 878; *Itin. Ant.* 210.3, 215.10 (ed. Cuntz)—I do not know of any other reference to Serre or Serrhai; an *argumentum ex silentio,* I admit.

2. On **Serrhai in Macedonia** see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 379–81.

3. **Location.** Dussaud (*Topographie,* 451 and map XIII) followed Müller-Fischer's (ad Ptolemy 5.14.10) identification of Serre with Kara-Manbij on the west bank of the Euphrates; cf. Chapot (*Frontière,* 282 n. 2), who doubted this.

STRATONIKEIA NEAR THE TAUROS

After discussing STRATONIKEIA in Caria, Strabo (14.2.25) mentions that there was also a Stratonikeia near the Tauros (*Στρατονίκεια ἡ πρὸς τῷ Ταύρῳ*).

He describes it as a small town (*πολίχνιον*) near the mountain. This is all the information Strabo and Stephanos (s.v. "Stratonikeia"), presumably following Strabo, provide. We do not know the founder,[1] nor do we know the location.[2] Its site could have been in Cappadocia, Lycaonia, or, more probably, in Commagene.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 724; Bevan, *House of Seleucus,* 167 n. 1; and Tcherikover, *HS,* 52.

1. **Founder.** Stratonike I, the daughter of Demetrios I Poliorketes, was the wife of Seleukos I Nikator and later of his son, Antiochos I. Antiochos I and Stratonike I were, in turn, the parents of Antiochos II and Stratonike II (who married Demetrios II). In short, Seleukos I could have founded Stratonikeia in honor of his wife; Antiochos I could have done this in honor of his wife or his daughter; Antiochos II could have founded it in honor of his mother, his sister, or his daughter. Is it possible that this city was the one Stratonikeia Appian (*Syr.* 57) ascribes to Seleukos I?

2. **Location.** Stephanos s.v. "Antiocheia 9," says this city was *ἐπὶ τῷ Ταύρῳ ἐν Κομμαγήνῃ.* The parallel terminology with Stratonikeia suggests the latter may also have been in Commagene. But this is, admittedly, a rather weak argument, and a possible location in Cilicia, Lycaonia, or Cappadocia cannot be dismissed.

IV

PHOENICIA

ALEXANDROSCHENE

The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 584.4 (ed. Cuntz), which dates to 333 A.D., is the only extant source for Alexandroschene. It was located on the coast, 12 miles south of Tyre. There is no evidence that connects Alexandroschene to the Macedonian king.[1]

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 666; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 60; K. Baedeker, *Palestine and Syria* (Leipzig, 1906) 266; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Alexandroschene"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 81; Besnier, *Lexique* s.v. "Alexandroscenae."

1. Benzinger, Tcherikover, and Besnier (all as cited above) suggested it was named for Severus Alexander.

DEMETRIAS BY THE SEA

The discovery of a lead weight has allowed us to demonstrate the existence of a previously unknown Hellenistic foundation.[1] The weight in question came from the region of Tyre. It bore the date *θν̣ρʼ* and the fragmentary inscription *Δημητριά̣δος τῆς [πρὸς] θαλ̣άσ[σηι], ἡμι[μν]αῖον*. The date was thus 154/3 B.C., and the founder must have been Demetrios I. The restoration *[πρὸς] θαλ̣άσ[σηι]* is not certain. On the other hand, the presence of a dolphin on the weight indicates this was a coastal town.

We do not know precisely where on the coast this was. Seyrig, however, made three points that suggest the general location:[2] (a) the style of the headdress on the coins ("le voile . . . suspendu au sommet de la couronne de tours") is found only on the coast south of the Eleutheros River; (b) unlike coins, weights are usually found near their issuing city; this suggests a site in southern Phoenicia; and this suggestion is reinforced by (c) the appearance of the toponym on the weight; the use of the city name is common on coins of cities in southern Phoenicia and Syria.[3] On the other hand, in northern Phoenicia and Syria the normal practice was to follow the Greek custom of using the ethnic.[4]

It is possible that coinage survives from this city. Seyrig called attention to coins with the letters *ΔΗ* and a date (years 1, 3, and 22).[5] The date is preceded by L, which is normally the sign for "year" in documents drawn up in regions that were or had been under Ptolemaic control.[6] This would indicate the provenience of the coins was south of the Eleutheros River. Furthermore, Seyrig pointed out that the coin of year 1 is very similar to a coin from Dora, also from year 1. This suggests that both coins came from the same mint and were produced at the same time. Finally, Seyrig pointed to the discovery at SAMAREIA of two coins with the letters *ΔΗ* dated to the year 22 as support for positing the location of Demetrias in the vicinity of

Dora. Furthermore, since Dora was apparently using a Pompeian era, the *ΔΗ* coins are probably dated by the same era. Thus the coins most likely date to 63/2, 61/0, and 42/1 B.C. As to the name of the town that minted the *ΔΗ* coins, the obvious suggestion is Demetrias. And this was undoubtedly the same Demetrias that produced the lead weight of 154/3 B.C.[7]

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In general see R. Mouterde, *MUSJ* 25 (1942–1943) 74–77; and H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 52–55; and id., *Antiquités syriennes* 4 (Paris, 1953) 123–24.

1. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 53. Mouterde (*MUSJ* 25 [1942–1943] 74–77) originally published the weight. He read the inscription as *θνρʹ Δημητριάδο[ς] τῆς [Μ]οανδέων [Ἡ]μι(μναῖον) [δ]ημόσιον* and suggested that Demetrias of the Moandeis was a port on the coast of Anatolia and was founded by Demetrios Poliorketes. He also posited that this is the Demetrias mentioned in the list of cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria in 81 B.C. (*I. Strat.* 508.74). Seyrig's interpretation was based on an improved reading of the inscription. For the suggestion that the Demetrias mentioned in *I. Strat.* 508 could be identified with Demetrias by the Sea see further SELEUKEIA on the Bay of Issos, n. 4.

2. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 51–55.

3. For examples of **the use of the city name rather than the ethnic in southern Phoenicia and Syria** see, for example, Tyre (e.g., *ΤΥΡΟΥ, RPC* 1: 4619ff.), Ake (e.g., ΑΚΗ, *RPC* 1: 4745), Nysa and SKYTHOPOLIS (e.g., *ΝΥΣΑ Η ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΣ, RPC* 1: 4829), etc.

4. Seyrig (*Syria* 27 [1950] 55) considered two possibilities regarding the **location:** Sykaminon (Caïffa) or the ruins south of Tyre at Umm el-Ammed (on these see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 3, 9ff., 20; and E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie* [Paris, 1864], 695–749). For the two coins of Demetrias found at SAMAREIA see G. A. Reisner, C. S. Fischer and D. G. Lyon, *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (Cambridge, 1924) 1: 265, no. 14 and 2: pl. 62, no. 122; and Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes,* 4: 123–24.

5. For **coins with the inscription *ΔΗ*** see, for example, Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 50–52 and 56, no. A. For additional coins see Seyrig, *Antiquités syriennes,* 4: 123–24; A. Kushnir-Stein in *RBNE,* 9–14; and P. Lampinen in *Caesarea Papers 2,* 358–59.

6. The editors of *RPC* note, however, **at least one case of the appearance of *ΕΤΟΥΣ* in southern Phoenicia:** coins of Cleopatra from CHALKIS under Libanos (*RPC* 1: p. 644 and nos. 4771–73; see also Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 49).

7. A. Kushnir-Stein (in *RBNE,* 9–14) has suggested that Demetrias by the Sea may be identified with **STRATON'S TOWER** (one of the possibilities originally considered by Seyrig). Briefly, she suggested that the coins with the letters *ΔΗ* (see above, n. 5) were issued by Straton's Tower, which, according to her reconstruction, was renamed "Demetrias" at some point between 162 (accession of Demetrios I) and 154/3 B.C. She called attention to an undated coin with the head of Zeus on the obverse and a cornucopia flanked by the letters *Δ* and *Η* on the reverse that Seyrig had suggested might also be attributed to this Demetrias (Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 56, no. A). Kushnir-Stein suggested this coin was older than the other dated Demetrias coins and that it was probably produced in the second part of the second century B.C. Hence

Kushnir-Stein posited two periods for coin production at Demetrias: the second half of the second century B.C. and the middle of the first century B.C.

We may note the following:

i. In support of her claim Kushnir-Stein observed (11–12) that there are neither coins nor inscriptions attesting "Straton's Tower" as the name of the city during the second and the first centuries B.C. On the other hand, R. R. Stieglitz has pointed out that there are literary references to Straton's Tower during this period (*Caesarea Papers* 2, 360). Thus he noted (a) Artemidorus of Ephesos, whose *floruit* is the end of the second century B.C., mentioned Straton's Tower (in Stephanos s.v. "Doros"); (b) Artemidorus may also be the source for Strabo's reference to Straton's Tower (16.2.27); (c) *P. Oxy.* XI 1380.94–95, which dates to the late second century A.D. but may be a copy of a late Hellenistic document, contains a list of Syro-Palestinian coastal towns, including Straton's Tower (note that, in fact, this is a list of places where Isis was honored); (d) Josephus consistently used the name Straton's Tower to refer to the town that preceded Caesarea (see, for example, *AJ* 13.307–13: events dating to 104/3 B.C.).

ii. Kushnir-Stein claimed that one of the coins of Demetrias in the Israel Museum was reportedly found in Caesarea. On the other hand, Lampinen has pointed out that of the up to 8,000 coins found in the course of excavation at Caesarea not one from Demetrias has been recorded among the finds (in *Caesarea Papers* 2, 359). Noting that Demetrias coins have been found around the site of Caesarea, he observed this suggests a location nearby but not contiguous with Caesarea or Straton's Tower (if, indeed, the two occupied the same site).

EUPATREIA

Bronze coins dated to 148/7–146/5 B.C. bearing the head of Alexander Balas on the obverse and Athena Promachos with the legend *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* and *ΕΥΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ* on the reverse provide our only extant evidence for Eupatreia (or Eupatris).[1] *ΕΥΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ* is an ethnic similar to, for example, *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ, ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ, ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΩΝ, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ.* The coins, therefore, would probably originate in a town named Eupatreia or Eupatris.

We cannot definitely identify this town. Moore, who published the coins, suggests it may have been the (temporarily) renamed ORTHOSIA.[2] It is not possible to indicate the person for whom it could have been named.[3]

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1. For the **coins with the legend *ΕΥΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ*** see W. Moore, *AJN* 5–6 (1993–94) 54–59.

2. For the **suggested identification of Eupatreia with Orthosia** see Moore, *AJN* 5–6 (1993–94) 58. Among other things, Moore noted that the coins will have been minted during the period when the rule of Alexander Balas in Phoenicia was essentially under Ptolemaic protection. In this connection he called attention to the fact that the dates on the coins are preceded by the sign L, which is usually the sign for "year" in

documents drawn up in regions that were or had been under Ptolemaic influence. This would indicate the provenience of the coins was south of the Eleutheros River; see above, DEMETRIAS by the Sea. Furthermore, he noted that the provenience of some of the coins from Lebanon or Syria and their absence from the collection of Arnold Spaer tend to exclude a mint in the region south of PTOLEMAIS Ake; rather, this points to a place of origin between Ptolemais and the Eleutheros.

3. Presumably a town named in honor of the infant king Antiochos V Eupator—who ruled less than two years and was murdered in 162 B.C. when Demetrius I seized the throne—would have been called Eupatoria.

HERAKLEIA IN PHOENICIA ARKA

Stephanos (s.v. "Herakleia 14") refers to a Herakleia "in Phoenicia," as does a Zenon papyrus dated to 258 B.C.[1] In 1937 Tcherikover had remarked that although its exact location was not known, this Herakleia was probably located in the vicinity of Sidon, near the Seleucid-Ptolemaic frontier. In 1953 E. Honigmann published a short article in which he proved that Herakleia was another name for Arka in Phoenicia.[2] Briefly, Honigmann noted that Epiphanios, the Phoenician bishop, was among the members of the Synod of Antioch in 444 A.D. A list of these bishops is preserved; in the Greek manuscripts this particular bishop is called Ἐπιφάνιος Ἡρακλείας, but in the Latin he is called *Epiphanius Arcae.*

Excavators have discovered over twenty stamped Rhodian amphora handles—dating mainly to the early second century B.C.—at the site.[3] According to Aurelius Victor (*De Caesaribus* 24), Arka, which was the birthplace of Severus Alexander, was also known as Caesarea. Coins of the second and third centuries A.D. bear the inscription *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥ* (Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius) and COL. CESARIA LIBANI (Elagabalus to Severus Alexander) and variants thereof.[4] And an inscription from Phoenicia mentions *Caesarenses ad Libanum* (*CIL* III 183.2–3). Arka Caesarea was well known for the worship of Astarte.

Arka was close to Orthosia and was the first Phoenician city south of the Eleutheros River. It was located at the site of the modern Tell ʻArqâ.[5]

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In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog." nos. 69a ("Arka") and 210a ("Herakleia Phoinikes"); id., *Patristic Studies* 123–24; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 416 n. 5; Tcherikover, *HS,* 68; and id., "Palestine," 19, 80 n. 50; H. MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 342–43.

For the results of excavation at Tell ʻArqâ see J. P. Thalmann, *Syria* 55 (1978) 1–104, esp. 51–70 (the Hellenistic levels).

1. For **Herakleia in Phoenicia in the Zenon papyri** see *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59088.9–10; for an improved reading see *P. Lond.* VII 1933.10–11 (= Durand, *Palestine,* no. 51, εἰς Ἡράκλεια[ν τὴν ἐ]μ Φοινίκηι). A Herakleia that is not otherwise specified but un-

doubtedly refers to this town is mentioned in *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59044.1–2 and 59093.9 (= Durand, *Palestine,* nos. 52 and 45).

2. For the **identification of Herakleia in Phoenicia with Arka** see Honigmann, *Patristic Studies,* 123–24; on Arka see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 69a. Note that Frézouls (in *La toponymie* 232 n. 53) identified Herakleia Arka with HERAKLEIA "in Pieria"; see further HERAKLEIA by the Sea.

3. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see Thalmann, *Syria* 55 (1978) 61–65.

4. For **coins of Caesarea ad Libanum** with the legend *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΟΥ* see, for example, Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 356, nos. 138–40 and *Supplément,* 8: 256, nos. 86–87; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 243–44, nos. 1–3; *AUB Collection,* p. 158, nos. 1–3; *SNG* (Cop) *Phoenicia* 149–50; *BMC Phoenicia* 108–9, nos. 1–5; *SNG Schweiz* II 2267. For COL. CESARIA LIBANI see, for example, *BMC Phoenicia* 109–10, nos. 6–10; *AUB Collection,* p. 158, no. 4; *SNG Schweiz* II 2268. As far as I can see, only Mionnet records the legend *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΤΩ ΛΙΒΑΝΩ* (*Description,* 5: 356, nos. 136–37) and *ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΙΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΩ* (*Supplément,* 8: 255, no 85). For the problem of using Mionnet (and Eckhel, *Doctrina*) without corroboration from other *corpora* such as the *SNG* or the *BMC* see A. Johnston, *Historia* 32 (1983) 60.

5. In general for the **history of Arka** see J. Starcky, *Cahiers de l'Oronte* 10 (1971–1972) 103–17; E. Will, *Dossiers de l'archéologie* 12 (1975) 44–49.

LAODIKEIA IN PHOENICIA BERYTOS

We learn that Berytos was renamed Laodikeia in Phoenicia from the epigraphic and numismatic evidence; the extant literary sources provide no indication of this.[1]

Berytos, being part of Phoenicia, was under Ptolemaic control until 200 B.C. After the battle of Panion Phoenicia and southern Syria passed to the Seleucids. In the second century B.C. Laodikeia issued both autonomous as well as quasi-municipal coins.[2] The autonomous bronze coins had a Tyche on the obverse. The reverse often had Poseidon or Astarte standing on the prow of a ship, the letters *BH* or *ΛA* and the monogram Φ, that is, the initials of Berytos/Laodikeia and Phoenicia, and, on a few coins, the Phoenician legend LL'DK' 'S BKN ʿN or LL'DK' 'M BKN ʿN, which has been read as "Of Laodikeia which is in Canaan" or "Of Laodikeia Mother in Canaan."[3] The quasi-municipal coins—issued under Antiochos IV Epiphanes (175–164 B.C.) and continuing with Alexander I Balas (150–145 B.C.), Demetrios II Nikator (146–138 B.C.), and Alexander II Zabinas (128–123 B.C.)—contained the king's head on the obverse, and on the reverse the name of the king in Greek (*ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ*, *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*), the city name in Phoenician (LL'DK' 'S BKN ʿN or LL'DK' 'M BKN ʿN), the Greek letters *ΛA*, and the monogram Φ.[4] After c. 123 B.C. the Phoenician "Of Laodikeia which is in Canaan"/"Of Laodikeia Mother in Canaan" is no longer attested, occasionally replaced by LB'RT, that is, "Of Berytos," or the Greek *ΒΗΡΥΤΙΩΝ*

or *BH*.[5] The reference to Laodikeia and Berytos on some of these coins clearly demonstrates that the city had both names. Further proof of this can be seen in the epigraphic evidence.

In 1914 P. Roussel collected the extant epigraphic notices, all dating from the second century B.C., for Laodikeia in Phoenicia. One of them is a monument base from Delos erected around 178 B.C. by *οἱ ἐν Λα[οδικείαι] τῆι ἐν Φοινίκηι ἐγδοχεῖς καὶ να[ύκληροι]* (*OGIS* 247). The presence of *να[ύκληροι]* indicates that Laodikeia was a coastal town and thus eliminates the identification of Laodikeia in Phoenicia with LAODIKEIA near Libanos. Another inscription from Delos, dated to 110/9 B.C., records a dedication by *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαοδικέων τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου* (*I. Delos* 1551). The fact that the same monument base carried another dedication by *τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων τῶν ἐν Δήλωι ἐμπόρων καὶ ναυκλήρων καὶ ἐγδοχέων* dated to 122/1 B.C. (?) (*I. Delos* 1777) indicates that Berytos and Laodikeia were one and the same.[6]

The epigraphic and numismatic evidence, incidentally, demonstrates that Laodikeia was a flourishing city throughout the second and first centuries B.C. From the Delian inscription of 110/9 B.C. we learn that at the time the *demos* of Laodikeia was passing decrees and that the city was *asylos* and *hiera*. Furthermore, archaeological investigation has revealed the existence of Hellenistic houses that probably date to the second century B.C.[7] This could also suggest there was a period of expansion at the time. At first glance this would seem to contradict Strabo (16.2.19), who says that Berytos was destroyed by Tryphon and restored by the Romans. The contradiction, however, may only be apparent. In antiquity the "destruction" of city could take a number of forms, ranging from real physical destruction to tearing down (part of) the city walls or simply reducing a *polis* to the status of a *kome*.[8]

Archaeologists have also found ceramic ware and other imported objects (c. second century B.C.) from the Aegean basin, among other places, as well as locally produced pottery that has been dated to the second and first centuries B.C. A weight bearing the name of Nikon the *agoranomos* that was found in the vicinity of Beirut provides evidence for an agora in the Hellenistic city.[9] There is epigraphic evidence—dated palaeographically to the Hellenistic period—for the worship of Astarte.[10]

It is not clear who renamed Berytos. Most likely it was either Seleukos IV or Antiochos IV. Both were sons of a Laodike III, the brothers of Laodike IV; both were married to a Laodike (possibly the same person); furthermore, each was the father of a Laodike.[11] The name "Laodikeia in Phoenicia" is not attested in the epigraphic or numismatic sources after the second century B.C.[12]

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In general see J. Rouvier, *RN*, 1896, 265–82, 377–96; 1898, 437–56, 640–58; and id., *JIAN* 3 (1900) 263–312; P. Roussel, *BCH* 31 (1907) 445–46 and 35 (1911)

433–40; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 58–60; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 3"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 68; R. Mouterde, *MUSJ* 40 (1964) 149–90; J. Lauffray, *ANRW* 2.8 (1977) 135–45; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 493–95; H. Seeden, *Antike Welt* 30 (1999) 337–41.

1. For other instances in which the numismatic and/or epigraphic sources are the only attestations for the founding of a town as a Hellenistic settlement see, for example, ARSINOE Rhithymna, SELEUKEIA on the Bay of Issos, SELEUKEIA Gaza.

There are **no definite literary references to Laodikeia in Phoenicia.** Appian (*Syr.* 57) says that *Λαοδίκεια δὲ ἡ ἐν τῇ Φοινίκῃ* was—along with ANTIOCH under Libanos, SELEUKEIA by the Sea (i.e., in Pieria), SELEUKEIA on the Tigris, and APAMEIA in Syria—one of the most famous of the foundations of Seleukos Nikator. This is a problematic reference. Brodersen (*Komment.,* 150) and Rouvier (*RN,* 1896, 273) assumed that Appian meant LAODIKEIA by the Sea and called it Laodikeia in Phoenicia by mistake. This is undoubtedly the case. Note, however, that in introducing the cities Appian says *καὶ εἰσὶν αὐτῶν ἐπιφανέσταται καὶ νῦν κτλ.,* i.e., Appian specifically says "these are *now* the most famous" (italics mine). In other words, in the early second century A.D. these were, according to Appian, the best known of Seleukos's foundations. Now it will be admitted that in the second century A.D. Laodikeia by the Sea was a flourishing city. The question to be asked is whether Laodikeia in Phoenicia was also sufficiently prominent at the time to justify (the correctness of) Appian's remark.

Eustathius (*Comment. on Dion. Perieg.* 915 [*GGM,* 2: 377]) referred to LAODIKEIA by the Sea as a city of Phoenicia. The reference in Theophanes (*Chron.* 401 [ed. de Boor]: *ἀπὸ Λαοδικείας τῆς παραλίου Φοινίκης*) presumably applies to Laodikeia in Phoenicia rather than Laodikeia by the Sea.

2. For the **coinage** see, for example, J. Rouvier, *JIAN* 3 (1900) 263–312; Head, *HN*², 790; Babelon, *Les Perses,* CLXII–CLXV; *BMC Phoenicia,* l–li and 51ff.; P. Bordreuil in *GHPO,* 304–9; W. Moore, *SM* 42 (1992) 117–25; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 493.

3. For the **autonomous coins** see, for example, Babelon, *Les Perses* 1178–89; Rouvier, *RN,* 1898, 437–56, 640–58; id., *JIAN* 3 (1900) pp. 269–74, nos. 457–74bis; *BMC Phoenicia,* 51–53, nos. 1–13. The legend LL 'DK' 'M BKN 'N was read for *Les Perses* 1180; *JIAN* 3 (1900) pp. 269–71, nos. 457–58, 462; and *BMC Phoenicia,* 52, no. 5.

Rouvier (*RN,* 1898, 440ff.) divided the autonomous coinage of Laodikeia-Berytos into two large categories: (a) coins minted from the later years of Antiochos III until the end of the reign of Alexander II Zabinas (123 B.C.) or the first years of the reign of Antiochos VIII Grypos (121 B.C.) (the legends on these are primarily Phoenician, with some Greek); (b) coins minted after 81 B.C. (when Tigranes' arrival in Syria resulted in a new era being introduced at Berytos; see Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 38) down to the Roman colonization of Laodikeia in c. 14 B.C. (the legends on these coins are in Greek).

4. For the **quasi-municipal coins** with the king's head on the obverse and the name of the king in Greek and city name in Phoenician on the reverse see, for example, Rouvier, *JIAN* 3 (1900) pp. 266–69, nos. 441–56; and id., *RN,* 1896, 379; *RdS* 660–64 (which Babelon mistakenly assigned to LAODIKEIA near Libanos); *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 49, nos. 55–56; *BMC Seleucid Kings,* 39, no. 57; *CSE* 704–10; *SNG Spaer* 1076; P. Bordreuil and N. Tabet, *Syria* 62 (1985) 180–81; Bordreuil and Tabet, *Syria* 63 (1986) 421; P. Bordreuil in *GHPO,* 304–9; see also Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 125–30; *INC Rome,* 2: 63–67.

The legend LL ʾDKʾ ʾS BKN ʿN or LL ʾDKʾ ʾM BKN ʿN on the coins (both autonomous and quasi-autonomous) in practically all cases could be read only with difficulty. The problem centers on the letter that has been read as either ʾS or ʾM. As a result there has been much discussion as to whether the phrase means "Of Laodikeia which is in Canaan" or "Of Laodikeia Mother [or, less accurately, Metropolis] in Canaan." In 1985 P. Bordreuil and N. Tabet published a coin bearing the portrait of Antiochos Epiphanes in which the ʾM in the legend LLʾDKʾ ʾM BKN ʿN could be clearly read (*Syria* 62 [1985] 180, and corrected attribution in *Syria* 63 [1986] 421). In general see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 59, and *Syria* 25 (1946–48) 311, n. 3; J. Lewy, *HUCA* 18 (1944) 439–40 and n. 68; W. Moore, *SM* (1992) 119–20; P. Bordreuil in *GHPO,* 304–9, and earlier works cited there.

5. For **coins with LB ʾRT, *ΒΗΡΥΤΙΩΝ* or *ΒΗ*** see, for example, J. Rouvier, *JIAN* 3 (1900) pp. 271–74, nos. 463–74bis; *BMC Phoenicia* 52–53, nos. 8–12.

6. For **other epigraphic attestations for Laodikeia in Phoenicia** see, for example, *IG* II^2 2316.51–52: *Λ[α]οδικεὺς τ[ῶ]ν ἀ[π]ὸ [Φο]ιν[ί]κης* (Panathenaic victor list, c. 166/5 B.C.); *Exp. Arch. Délos* 30: 281: *Λαοδικεῦ ἀπὸ Φοινίχης (sic);* Herzog, *Koische Forsch.,* p. 71, no. 42: *Λαοδικέως ἀπὸ Φοινίκης* (the last two inscriptions are dated palaeographically to the second century B.C.); M. Segre, *Iscrizioni di Cos* (Rome, 1993) EV 150: [*Λαοδικέα*] *ἀπὸ Φοινίκης*; *SEG* 43: 526.3, 6 (= L. Migeotte, *BCH* 117 [1993] 351–52; see also the literature cited in the introduction to *SEG* 43: 526): [. . . *Λαοδικὶς ἀ*]*πὸ Φοινίκας* (a list of contributions by women at Rhodes, c. 100 B.C.) In general, see P. Roussel *BCH* 35 (1911) 433–40 .

It is interesting to note that apparently in 122/1 B.C. merchants on Delos called themselves *τὸ κοινὸν Βηρυτίων* (*I. Delos* 1777) but that in 110/9 B.C. the citizens of Laodikeia called themselves *ὁ δῆμος ὁ Λαοδικέων τῶν ἐν Φοινίκῃ* (*I. Delos* 1551). Roussel (*BCH* 35 [1911] 438–39) suggested that the use of the toponym "Laodikeia" in 110/9, when the native name had apparently reemerged, was an attempt to flatter Antiochos VIII. Mouterde speculated (*MUSJ* 40 [1964] 156) that the use of the toponym reflected the fact that the city temporarily revived the dynastic name when it received *asylia,* probably soon after 111 B.C. Note, however, that Roussel and Launey, who edited *I. Delos* 1777, raised the possibility that it also, like *I. Delos* 1551, dated to 110/9 B.C. Now the date of 122/1 for *I. Delos* 1777 is derived from the name of the archon—Nikodemos—in line 5 of the inscription. However, Roussel and Launey suggested that ll. 5–6 might be the remains of an earlier text. For the Laodikeians/Berytians on Delos see P. Arnaud, *Aram* 13–14 (2001–2002) 175–81 and earlier literature cited at 176 nn. 17–18.

The persistence of the native toponym after a town had been renamed is a common phenomenon; for example, we see it at ANTIGONEIA Mantineia, APAMEIA Kelainai, and many cities in the Near East, like Berytos and PHILADELPHEIA Rabbat Amman.

7. For the evidence for **Hellenistic buildings** see D. Perring, *Berytus* 43 (1997–1998) 19, 27; and M. Sartre, *Alexandre* 147. Perring also called attention to the discovery of Hellenistic defenses on the eastern side of the town (*Aram* 13–14 [2001–2002] 133 n. 12). In general, for Hellenistic remains found at Beirut see, for example, reports and articles in *Aram* 13–14 (2001–2002) and in various issues of *BAAL;* see also D. Perring, *Berytus* 43 (1997–1998) 27; and id., *Antiquaries Journal* (forthcoming);

C. Aubert, *RA* (2002) 205–8; id. in *Syrie,* 111–24; id. in *Céramiques hellénistiques,* 73–84; and id. in *Archaeology and History in Lebanon* 17 (2003) 100–108.

Under Augustus Berytos was accorded the status of a Roman colony, Colonia Julia Augusta Felix Berytus; see Pliny *NH* 5.78; M. Grant, *From Imperium to Auctoritas* (Cambridge, 1946) 259–60; Mouterde, *MUSJ* 40 (1964) 161–73; and Burnett et al., *RPC* 1: p. 648.

8. On the **destruction of a city** see, for example, KOLOPHON; see also Rouvier, *RN,* 1896, 276–81, 396; id., *RN,* 1898, 439; and Roussel, *BCH* 35 (1911) 436–37.

9. For **weights** from or attributed to Berytos see, for example, E. Babelon and J.-A. Blanchet, *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris, 1895) 2250 (152/1 B.C.); J. Rouvier, *RN,* 1897, 369–72 (129/8 B.C.); *SEG* 7: 806; and correction of H. Seyrig, *Syrian Coins,* 31 n. 40 (93/2 B.C.); A. Kushnir-Stein, *IEJ* 52 (2002) 227–28 (85/4 B.C.). For the ***agoranomos*** see J. Rouvier, *RN,* 1897, 369–70.

10. For the **worship of Astarte** at Hellenistic Berytos see H. Sader in *Ancient Egyptian and Mediterranean Studies,* ed. L. H. Lesko (Providence, 1998) 204–6.

11. On the **founder** see Rouvier, *RN,* 1896, 384–86 (where he suggests Antiochos III); and id., *RN,* 1898, 445–47. For the likelihood that Antiochos IV married Laodike, the widow of his brother Seleukos IV, see Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 49–50.

12. Rouvier suggested that the **location** of Laodikeia was approximately 6 km south of Beirut, between Shouweifat and the Nahr el-Ghadir (*RN,* 1896, 393–94; noted also, for example, by Dussaud, *Topographie,* 60 [see map III opposite p. 72] and Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Laodikeia 3"); this has not been accepted. The claim of E. Renan that Umm el-Ammed (farther south, between Tyre and Akko) was the site of Laodikeia in Phoenicia (*Mission de Phénicie,* 712–15, 724–25, 744; followed by E. Meyer, *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 49 [1931] 4–6) was effectively refuted by Dussaud, *Syria* 13 (1932) 281; see also Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 55, n. 4. For the discovery of Hellenistic remains at Beirut see above, n. 7.

LEUKAS BALANAIA

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Balaneai"), who lived in the early sixth century A.D., Balanaia was a Phoenician city that was called Leukas in his day.[1] The question is, When was Balanaia renamed? Tcherikover speculated that the Greek toponym, Leukas, suggested a Hellenistic rather than a Roman foundation.[2] One might even speculate further that the Phoenician Leukas with its white, calcareous rock recalled the limestone cliffs on the west coast of the island of Leukas in the Ionian Sea. The problem is that the earliest extant attestation for Phoenician Leukas—on coins—dates from the Roman period. Coins dated by a Claudian era to between 48 and 51 A.D. provide our first information about the renaming of Balanaia as Claudia Leukas.[3] It is possible, therefore, that Claudia Leukas was founded around that time. The argument is admittedly *ex silentio.* Nevertheless, in the absence of other evidence, we should probably not consider Leukas a Hellenistic foundation.

Balanaia was located on the Syrian coast between Gabala and Antardos at the site of the modern Banias.[4]

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In general see J. Rouvier, *RB* (1904) 572–76; "Benzinger, *RE* s.vv. "Balanaia" and "Leukas"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 93; Tcherikover, *HS,* 64–65, 67; R. Dussaud, *Topographie,* 128–29; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 22–24.

1. In addition to its mention in Stephanos, Leukas is also mentioned in an inscription dated to the early third century A.D. (*IGR* 3: 1012.19). The **only other literary reference for Leukas** is Pliny *NH* 5. 82: "Laodicenos, qui ad Libanum cognominantur, Leucadios, Larisaeos." This reference is problematic, because at *NH* 5.79 Pliny mentioned Balanea as a town on the Syrian coast. Rouvier suggested (*RB* [1904] 576 and n. 1) that the town could have been known by both names. Perhaps. Of course it is also possible that Pliny made a mistake. A. H. M. Jones (*CERP*², 260) pointed out that in his discussion of northern Syria Pliny had included Leukas, "which, though Pliny was unaware of the fact, since he catalogued Balanaea separately, was on the coast." In any event, it should be noted that the precise nature of the relationship between Balanaia and Leukas is not entirely clear. For Balanaia see also Strabo 16.2.12 and Josephus *BJ* 1.428.

2. Tcherikover actually had two entries for Leukas (*HS,* 64–65 and 67). Under the first he cited Pliny's reference to Leukas (*NH* 5.82) and coins from the Roman period with the legend *ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΛΕΥΚΑΔΙΩΝ* and *ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΣ.* In this connection he also discussed and dismissed the attempt to associate Leukas with Abila Lysaniou (see below, n. 3). Under the second he referred to Stephanos (s.v. "Balaneai"), who describes Balanaia as a *πόλις Φοινίκης, ἡ νῦν Λευκάς,* and, as I mentioned, noted that the Greek toponym Leukas points to a Hellenistic rather than a Roman foundation.

3. The legend *ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΣ* on the **coins of Leukas** prompted de Saulcy (*Numismatique,* 20–21) to argue—unconvincingly—that it was identical with Abila Lysaniou. Contra: Rouvier (*RB* [1904] 573–74), who pointed out that (a) there is no evidence connecting Leukas and Abila and (b) the name Chrysorhoas is very commonly found in the Greek world for rivers; see also J. Raillard, *NZ* 26 (1894) 1–4; Seyrig, *Syria* 26 (1949) 24 n. 1; and Jones, *CERP*², 457. For the identification of the coins of Leukas with Balanaia see Rouvier (*RB* [1904] 574–75), who noted that its coinage (a) demonstrated Leukas was a coastal town and was located on a river (i.e., the Chrysorhoas), and (b) had a reverse coin type (Baal in a chariot) similar to that found on coins of Balanaia. On the coinage of Leukas—which extended from Claudius to Gordian III—see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 20–29; Head, *HN*², 785; see also Burnett, *RPC* 1: pp. 639–41; and Baldus, *CRWLR,* 132–33. On the **eras** used at Leukas see Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 22–24.

4. On the **location** of Balanaia see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 128–29.

LEUKE KOME

Leuke Kome was a coastal town between Beirut and Sidon, where, according to Plutarch, Antony briefly stopped (*Ant.* 51). There is no extant information to indicate whether or not this was a Hellenistic settlement.

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See Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Leuke Kome 2."

MARATHOS

The appearance of the Macedonian shield on a coin of Marathos has prompted the suggestion that there was a Macedonian colony there. In addition, Rey-Coquais pointed to various indications of the importance of (Delphic) Apollo—the god of colonization—at Marathos.[1] It is possible, therefore, that there was a Macedonian colony at Marathos.

* * * *

1. For the **Macedonian shield** on the coinage of Marathos see *AUB Collection,* 162 n. 1; K. Liampi in *Poikila* (Athens, 1990) 163 and *Der makedonische Schild* (Bonn, 1998) 154–55.

For the suggestion that there was a Macedonian colony at Marathos see J. Rey-Coquais, *Arados et sa pérée* (Paris, 1974) 152–53, 238–40; Billows, *Colonists,* 181. H. Seyrig (*RN,* 1964, 31 and n. 3) suggested that the Macedonian shield might simply have recalled Alexander's visit to the town (Arrian 2.13.8, 14.1, 15.6); nevertheless, he did note that the appearance of a Macedonian shield on a town's coinage usually reflected a claim to a Macedonian origin. Cf. Grainger, *Phoenicia,* 41–42.

ORTHOSIA

It is likely that Orthosia was the refounding of an earlier town, though it is not clear which this was.[1] The name Orthosia is derived from an epithet of Artemis; it is also the name of a town in Caria.[2] We hear about Orthosia as early as 242/1 B.C., when it was besieged by a Ptolemaic force but relieved by Seleukos II (Eusebius *Chronography,* p. 251, ed. Schoene). In 138 B.C. Tryphon fled to Orthosia after having been defeated by Antiochos VII Sidetes (1 Macc. 15.37).[3]

The earliest extant coinage, dated by the Seleucid era, is from 99/8 B.C. The next series of extant coins is dated year 1, 4, 11, 24, 36, 40, 41 (and, possibly, 50). If, as is likely, this is the Pompeian era, this would date the coins to between 64/3 and 24/3 B.C. In between these we find some coins with a portrait of Cleopatra that are dated by her regnal years to 36/5 and 35/4 B.C.[4] The ethnic on the coinage is usually *ΟΡΘΩΣΙΕΩΝ*.[5] Astarte was the principal divinity of the town. On the coinage of the town she is portrayed in her temple, her foot resting on a river.[6]

We do not know who founded Orthosia. Two points, however, may be noted: (a) the city was already in existence in the middle of the third century B.C., and (b) it was located south of the Eleutheros River (Pliny *NH* 5.78

and Ptolemy 5.14.3). This region was ruled by Antigonos Monophthalmos before the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. and came under Ptolemaic control after the battle. However, because of the continuing Syrian Wars in the third century many of the cities in the area north and south of the Eleutheros frequently changed hands. In short, we cannot indicate with certainty whether Orthosia was an Antigonid, Ptolemaic, or Seleucid foundation.

According to Strabo (16.2.21) Phoenicia stretched from Orthosia in the north to Pelousion. Orthosia was located near the mouth of the Nahr el Bârid on the left bank, at the modern Ard Artousi.[7]

* * * *

In general see Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 347a; id., *RE* s.v. "Orthosia 3"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 67–68; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 78–80; Jones, *CERP*², 231, 446 n. 2; R. W. Smith, *ABD* s.v. "Orthosia."

1. Dussaud suggested (*Topographie,* 79–80) that Ulluza mentioned in the Amarna tablets might have been **the name of the town that preceded Orthosia.** On the other hand, Dussaud also noted that one can identify Ulluza with Anrata in the Egyptian city lists, and speculated further that Orthosia was probably derived "en déformant un ancien toponyme." Synkellos (89, ed. Mosshammer) says *Σαμαραῖος, ἐξ οὗ Ὀρθωσιασταί,* and Hippolytus (*Chron.* 125, [p. 19, ed. Helm]) says *καὶ τὸν Ἀσενναῖον, ἐξ οὗ Ὀρθωσιασταί.* For other literary references to Orthosia see, for example, Geog. Rav. 2.15, 2.16, 5.7 (Ortozea, Orthosia, Ortosiada [ed. Schnetz]); *Tab. Peut.* IX.3 (Ortosias); Hierokles 716.4 and George of Cyprus 975 (Orthosias); and Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 347a.

2. For **Orthosia as an epithet for Artemis** see Höfer, *Lex. Myth.* s.v. "Orthosia"; and Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 347a.

3. At Khan el-Abde, which is in the immediate vicinity of Orthosia, workmen digging in 1938 discovered **tetradrachms** scattered in the earth; see Seyrig, *Syrian Coins,* 1–22. The tetradrachms were struck by Tryphon, Antiochos VII, and Ptolemy II–IV. The proximity of the find to Orthosia prompted Seyrig to suggest—reasonably—that the original hoard or hoards were connected with the town. Noting further that the tetradrachms of Tryphon all belong to his last year, Seyrig suggested that the coins may have been left there by Tryphon's party in the course of their flight.

W. Moore published some bronze coins with the legend *ΕΥΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ* that are dated to the three-year period 148/7 to 146/5 B.C. (*AJN* 5–6 [1993–94] 54–59). He suggested that the coins may have been minted at Orthosia and that they reflect a brief renaming of Orthosia as EUPATREIA.

4. For the **coinage** see E. Babelon, *Les Perses,* CLXXVI; Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 (1901) 148–52; Hill, *BMC Phoenicia,* lxxvi–lxxvii; Burnett et al., *RPC* 1: p. 644; and below, nn. 5 and 6. For coins dated by the Seleucid era see J. Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 (1901) 149, no. 872; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 31 (1954) 76 and n. 2. For coins dated by a Pompeian era see, for example, *Les Perses* 1487–88, 1489, 1491; *Coll. Philipsen Catal. Hirsch* 25 (1909) 3007; and Seyrig, *Syria* 31 (1954) 76 n. 3 and 77. For coins with portraits of Cleopatra see H. R. Baldus, *JNG* 23 (1973) 19–43; and *CRWLR,* 136.

On the **eras** in use at Orthosia see Seyrig, *Syria* (1954) 76–7.

5. For the **ethnic** *ΟΡΘΩΣΙΕΩΝ* see, for example, *Les Perses* 1487–1501; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 247, no. 1; Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 (1901) 148–51, nos. 867–78; *BMC Phoenicia,* 126, nos. 1–4; *SNG GB* 4: 6040; for the less common *ΟΡΘΩΣΕΩΝ* see, for example, Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 (1901) 151–52, nos. 879–85; *BMC Phoenicia,* 127, nos. 5–6.

6. For **coins portraying Astarte** see, for example, *Les Perses* 1497–1501; Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 (1901) 150–52, nos. 877–79; *BMC Phoenicia,* 127, nos. 5–6; *SNG GB* 4: 6041 (second and third centuries A.D.); and M. Delcor, *LIMC* III *Addenda,* 1077–85, esp. 1079 (Astarte on the coins of various Phoenician cities). For **Dionysos** on the coinage see, for example, *Les Perses* 1487–90, 1494–95; Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 (1901) 148–52, nos. 867–70, 872, 874, 876, 881.

7. For the **location** see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 78–79.

PTOLEMAIS/ANTIOCH AKE

Pliny (*NH* 5.75), Strabo (16.2.25), and Stephanos (s.vv. "Ake" and "Ptolemais") say the ancient city of Ake (Akko) was renamed Ptolemais; Strabo also mentions that the Persians had used it as a base for operations against Egypt. According to the *Letter of Aristeas* (115) it was Ptolemy II Philadelphos who brought about the renaming. The new name is found in a Zenon papyrus dated to 259 B.C. and in a number of papyri from subsequent years.[1] And Callimachus, who lived from c. 305 to 240 B.C., referred to the city by its new name (Harpocration *Lexicon* s.v. "Ake" [ed. Dindorf]). Demetrius of Magnesia (Harpocration *Lexicon* s.v. "Ake") said that only the acropolis was formerly known as Ake; presumably this means that the Ptolemaic refoundation was considerably larger than ancient Ake. In fact, the archaeological evidence indicates that in the Hellenistic period most of the population lived in the town rather than on Tell Akko.[2] Philadelphos's decision to refound Ake was probably prompted in part by its importance as a commercial center. Thus Zenon sent gifts to Pelousion from Ptolemais (*P. Lond.* VII 2141 = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 15). According to Herodas (2.16, ed. Cunningham)—who refers to the city as "Ake"—wheat was exported from here to Egypt.[3] The Ptolemies maintained a mint at Ptolemais.[4]

Antiochos III first captured the city in 219 B.C. and spent the winter of 218/7 B.C. there (Polyb. 5.61–62, 71.12, who refers to the city as "Ptolemais"). After the battle of Panion in 200 B.C. the city came under Seleucid rule. At some point the city was renamed Antioch. The evidence for the renaming is numismatic—bronze coins with the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ* on the reverse.[5] Some of the earliest extant coins with this ethnic are quasi-municipal bronzes that bear a portrait of Antiochos IV Epiphanes on the obverse.[6] But we do not definitely know if it was Epiphanes who renamed the city. Autonomous bronze coins with the portrait of a deity on the obverse and the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ* on the reverse were also minted in the second and first centuries B.C.[7] One of the reverse types of the coinage issued by Antioch in Ptolemais—standing

Zeus extending a wreath in his right hand—is found on the coins of a number of cities in Syria and northern Mesopotamia that were allowed to mint by Antiochos IV.[8] In addition, there was a royal Seleucid mint that apparently remained in continuous operation—except for the reign of Antiochos VII—from the reign of Seleukos IV until at least 107/6 B.C. (the date of the last extant Seleucid coin).[9] The autonomous and royal coins minted in the latter part of the second century B.C. were frequently dated by the Seleucid era.[10]

During the Hasmonaean revolution the inhabitants of Ptolemais were decidedly anti-Jewish.[11] In 153/2 B.C. Alexander Balas seized control of Ptolemais (Josephus *AJ* 13.35–37; 1 Macc. 10.1). The city was the site of Balas's marriage to Ptolemy VI Philometor's daughter, Cleopatra, in 150 B.C. (Josephus *AJ* 13.82–5; 1 Macc. 10.56–60).[12] Despite Seleucid control of the city, Philometor's influence at Ptolemais is reflected in the fact that (a) he minted tetradrachms there and (b) beginning with the reign of Alexander Balas (and continuing under some of his successors), the mint at Ptolemais issued tetradrachms on the Phoenician standard, with the Ptolemaic eagle and with the mint mark [monogram] or *ΠΤΟ* on the reverse.[13] According to Josephus, when Philometor was visiting Ptolemais he claimed that Ammonios, Balas's minister, attempted to assassinate him (*AJ* 13.106–8; 1 Macc. 11.10). The prominence of Ptolemais in the affairs of Alexander Balas prompted Bevan to suggest that it was the site of his "court." Demetrios I promised to give Ptolemais and its territory to the Temple in Jerusalem; however, Jonathan declined the offer (1 Macc. 10.39, 46). An inscription found at Akko contains a dedication by the army chief secretary to Zeus Soter in honor of "Great King Antiochos Soter Euergetes Kallinikos," namely, Antiochos VII Sidetes; it is most likely dated to 130–129 B.C. The inscription was found near the entrance to a Hellenistic temple (see below); opposite the south side of the temple the foundations of a long, narrow building have been discovered. The discovery of an elephant bone there as well as the dedication by the army chief secretary prompted the excavator, S. Applebaum, to suggest that this may have been a barracks, a workshop, or a stable. Another inscription found at Akko, a funerary stele, records the name of Hypergenes son of Eurymedes, a Cretan. The inscription is dated palaeographically to the second century B.C. Presumably Hypergenes was a mercenary.[14]

We do not know how long the name Antioch persisted. A Delian ephebic list dated to 119/8 B.C., a Rhodian inscription dated to the first half of the first century B.C., a demotic papyrus dated to 103 B.C., and a hieroglyphic inscription from Karnak refer to the city as "Ptolemais." Of course these references are not from Ptolemais itself and, hence, may not necessarily reflect the official usage at the time.[15] In any event, the toponym Ptolemais remained in use well into Byzantine times.[16]

Dated coins of Antioch Ptolemais from 126/5 to 118/7 B.C. indicate the

city was ἱερά and ἄσυλος. Newell has reasonably suggested that it was Cleopatra Thea who granted this concession in order to curry favor with the inhabitants. The Rhodian inscription, which records a dedication to the Samothracian gods, provides additional information about the status of Ptolemais: we learn that the dedicator, a Rhodian, was honored with a gold crown and citizenship by Ptolemais and that Ptolemais was ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος (ll.25f.). The latter description is also found on bronze coinage of Ptolemais.[17] Seleucid control of Ptolemais came to an end in 104/3 B.C., when, in relatively quick succession, Alexander Jannaios, Ptolemy IX Soter II, and, finally, Cleopatra III besieged the city. The latter captured Ptolemais in 103 B.C. Archaeological excavation has revealed evidence for extensive destruction and abandonment of the Hellenistic settlement at the very end of the second century B.C.[18]

For understanding the religious life at Ptolemais we are primarily reliant on the numismatic and epigraphic evidence. From the coinage issued by Antioch in Ptolemais under Antiochos IV we can see the importance of, among others, the worship of Zeus and Tyche as well as the Dioskouroi, Apollo, and Artemis. The worship of Zeus Soter is attested by the dedication I mentioned above. The dedication was found north of the entrance of a structure that has been identified by Applebaum as a temple that was apparently built in the Hellenistic period. Another inscription, this one from Kafr Yassif, 9 kilometers northeast of Akko, is dated palaeographically to the early or middle Hellenistic period. It records a dedication by a certain Diodotos, his wife, Philista, and their children to Hadad and Atargatis.[19] It is likely, as Avi-Yonah suggested, that Diodotos and his wife were Greeks or Macedonians rather than Hellenized natives. If so, we have a clear instance for the worship of the Oriental gods by Greco-Macedonian settlers or their descendants. And the *Mishnah* (*Avodah Zarah* 3.4) provides evidence from the Imperial period for a bath dedicated to Aphrodite.

The discovery at Akko of Hellenistic stamped amphora handles provides evidence for trade mainly with the Aegean basin; scattered finds also suggest trade with southern Italy and Egypt.[20] In inscriptions from Delos and Rhodes the form of the ethnic is *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ*; on the extant coinage, it is normally *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΕΩΝ*. In the literary evidence we find *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΝ*, *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ,* and *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΕΩΝ*.[21] Under Claudius the city was renamed and issued coins with the ethnic *ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙ*(*Κ*)*ΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ*.[22]

The territory of Ptolemais was apparently quite extensive. Although there is no extant evidence relating directly to the territory of the city in the Hellenistic period, we do have information from the period both before and after. According to a fragmentary text of the *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax the territory of Ake extended from Ekdippa to Mount Carmel (104 [*GGM,* 1: 79]). Josephus, who lived in the latter half of the first century A.D., described Ptole-

mais as a "maritime" city (*BJ* 2.188–91; cf. *BJ* 3.35); he commented that it stood at the entrance to the Great Plain and was surrounded by mountains: the Galilean range to the east, Mount Carmel to the south, and the "Ladder of Tyre" to the north.[23]

Ptolemais was located on the Phoenician coast at the site of the modern Akko, 14 kilometers north of Haifa.[24]

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In general see J. Rouvier, *RB* 8 (1899) 393–408; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 65; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 19; Tcherikover, *HS* ,77–78; id., *HCJ,* 91f.; B. Spuler, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 9"; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 235–37; L. Kadman, *Ptolemais,* 15ff.; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 89: id., *EJ* s.v. "Acre," 221–23; id., *Geography,* 130ff.; A. Kindler, *BASOR* 231 (1978) 51–55; Schürer, *History*^{2}, 2: 121ff.; V. Kontorini, *RN* 21 (1979) 30ff.; G. M. Cohen and E. Van 't Dack in *Conflict,* ed. Van 't Dack et al., 124ff.; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 34ff.; Arav, *Palestine,* 16–20; N. Kashtan, *MHR* 3 (1988) 37–53; Z. Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco"; M. Dothan, *ABD* s.v. "Acco"; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 488–91.

For the results of excavation at Hellenistic Ake see M. Dothan and Z. Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco" and references cited there.

1. For the **toponym Ptolemais** in the Zenon papyri see, for example, *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004.12 (= *CPJ* 2a = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 4, 259 B.C.). See also *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59008.17 (= *Palestine,* no. 16, c. 259 B.C.), IV 59558.3 note (= *Palestine,* no. 56, 253 B.C.), IV 59698.11, 25 (?); *P.L. Bat.* XX 32.4 (= *Palestine,* no. 10, 258 B.C.); *PSI* IV 406.14 (= *Palestine,* no. 27), V 495.2 (= *Palestine,* no. 46, 258/7 B.C.), IV 366.1 (250/49 B.C.), IV 403.8–9, VI 612.4, VI 616.34 (= *Palestine,* no. 28); *P. Lond.* VII 1931.4 (258 B.C.), 2022.1 (= *Palestine,* no. 35), 2141.2 (= *Palestine,* no. 15); *P. Mich. Zen.* 1.3 (?) and note.

2. For the **archaeological evidence for habitation in the Hellenistic period on the mound and in the town** see M. Dothan, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco," 23–24; Z. Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco," 24–25. For evidence for the Hellenistic city wall see Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco," 25.

3. On the **importance of Ptolemais Ake as a commercial center in the third century B.C.** see also *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004, 59008, [IV 59698?]; *PSI* V 495, IV 366, IV 403, VI 612, VI 616; *P. Lond.* VII 1931, 2022. See also Spuler, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 9," 1884; G. Mc. Harper, Jr., *AJP* 49 (1928) 19; Tcherikover, "Palestine," 29; N. Kashtan, *MHR* 3 (1988) 37–45.

4. For the **Ptolemaic mint at Ptolemais** see Svoronos, *Nomismata,* 2: 113–18 (nos. 764–93), 163 (nos. 1034–38), 192 (no. 1187); *BMC Ptolemies,* 28 (nos. 40–43), 33–34 (nos. 108–24), 42 (no. 5), 49–50 (nos. 31–43), 53–54 (nos. 74–76), 65 (no. 29); Mørkholm, *EHC,* 101, 2, 8, 10; Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins,* 31–32 and passim. Some of the coins minted by the Ptolemies at Ptolemais had the mint mark [monogram] or *ΠΤΟ* (e.g., *BMC Ptolemies,* 53 [no. 74], 65 [no. 29], and above). For the reappearance of the mint mark under Alexander Balas and some of his successors see below, n. 13.

D. Syon (cited in Houghton and Lorber, *Seleucid Coins,* I.2, pp. 416–17 and no. 1096) has suggested that after Antiochos III captured southern Syria, the Seleucids

maintained a mint that produced bronzes—perhaps as a subsidiary to ANTIOCH near Daphne—at Ptolemais Ake.

5. With the **ethnic *Ἀντιοχεῖς οἱ ἐν Πτολεμαΐδι*** compare, for example, that of SELEUKEIA Gaza: *οἱ Σελευκεῖς ἐν Γάζῃ.* See also Le Rider, *Suse,* 410–11. For another town that was renamed at least twice during the Hellenistic period see ALEXANDREIA/ANTIOCH/SPASINOU CHARAX.

For **the (unlikely) suggestion that the designation "Antiochenes" constituted an association in Ake that was loyal to the Seleucids** (rather than the ethnic for the citizens of Ptolemais, now renamed Antioch) see, for example, Bickerman, *GM,* 62 (a *politeuma*); Avi-Yonah (*EJ* s.v. "Acre," 222); contra: Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 443f.; Le Rider, *Suse,* 411; Kindler, *BASOR* 231 (1978) 52. See also Schürer, *History*², 2: 123 n. 202.

6. For **quasi-municipal coins of Ptolemais (portrait of Antiochos IV on the obverse and the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ* on the reverse)** see, for example, *RdS* 619–23; Kadman, *Ptolemais* 1–10; Seyrig, *RN,* 1962, 27, no. 1; *SNG Spaer* 1156–60; Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 125–30, *INC Rome,* 63–67. Tcherikover (*HS,* 77) argued—*ex silentio*—that since there are no coins earlier than Epiphanes with this ethnic, we may ascribe the renaming to him. Mørkholm (*Antiochus IV,* 116 and n. 4) is rightly skeptical.

7. For **autonomous coins (head of the Dioskouroi, Apollo, or Zeus, head or bust of Tyche on the obverse and the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ* on the reverse)** see, for example, *BMC Phoenicia,* p. 128f., nos. 1–10; *SNG* (Cop) *Phoenicia* 177; Kadman, *Ptolemais* 11–63, 271; Seyrig, *RN,* 1962, 27, nos. 2–5; *CSE* 810–11.

For coins of Antioch Ptolemais see, for example, G. F. Hill, *BMC Phoenicia,* lxxvii–lxxxvii, 128–38; Kadman, *Ptolemais* 1–85; H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1962, 25–50; V. Kontorini, *RN,* 1979, 30–41; A. Kindler, *BASOR* 231 (1978) 51–55; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 489.

8. For **coins with the reverse type of Zeus standing and extending a wreath in his right hand** see, for example, *RdS* 619–23; Kadman, *Ptolemais* 1–10. For other cities that produced the same type see, for example, ALEXANDREIA by Issos, ANTIOCH near Daphne, HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, and SELEUKEIA in Pieria; see also variants at APAMEIA on the Axios and EDESSA/ANTIOCH. See also Seyrig, *Syria* 20 (1939) 299; id., *Syria* 39 (1962) 194.

9. For **Seleucid coins minted at Antioch in Ptolemais** see, for example, E. T. Newell, *LSM,* 1–51; A. B. Brett, *ANS MN* 1 (1945) 17–35; Mørkholm, *Syria,* 44–56; id., *INJ* 3 (1965–66) 8–9, nos. 1–7; id., *INC Jerusalem,* 76–82; G. Le Rider in *Studies Mildenberg,* 165–69; id., *RN,* 1992, 40–45, nos. 80–105; *CSE* 771–814; *SNG Spaer* 1100–59, 1252–53, 1553, 1734–37, 1841–42, 2264–65, 2471–82, 2745–50, 2765 (?); and G. Bjorsky, *INJ* 13 (1994–99) 39–45.

A series of silver coins dated to 136/5 B.C. and previously assigned to Ptolemais (Seyrig, *Syrian Coins,* 10, no. 6 = Babelon, *RdS* 1104) in fact belongs to Askalon (G. Le Rider and H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1967, 35, no. 198); this removes the only extant Seleucid coin that can—at present—be ascribed to Antiochos VII.

10. For coins dated by the **Seleucid era** see, for example, Kadman, *Ptolemais* 28–53 (autonomous, 132/1–112/1 B.C.); *CSE* 796–99, 801–9 (royal, 151/0–121/0 B.C.); *SNG Spaer* 2264–65, 2471, 2475–82, 2745–50. Note that Tryphon, in a break with the Seleucid practice, dated by his regnal years (following Ptolemaic custom) rather than by the Seleucid era; e.g., Newell, *ANS MN* 1 (1945) p. 28, nos. 22–23; *CSE* 800;

SNG Spaer 1841–42. See also Seyrig, *Syrian Coins,* 12–17; Mørkholm, *INC Jerusalem,* 79–81; A. Houghton, *RSN* 71 (1992) 136–39.

11. For the **anti-Jewish policy of Ptolemais** see, for example, 1 Macc. 5.15, 12.48, 2 Macc. 13.25. According to 2 Macc. 6.8, *ψήφισμα δὲ ἐξέπεσεν εἰς τὰς ἀστυγείτονας Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις Πτολεμαίου ὑποθεμένου κτλ.* The reference is to a proposal most probably made by Ptolemaios son of Dorymenes (so I. Lévy, *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* [Brussels, 1950] 690 and n. 1; Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch* 6.8 and comment.; Fischer, *Seleukiden,* 206; see the text of W. Kappler and R. Hanhart, eds., *Maccabaeorum Liber II*). Less likely is the MS reading *Πτολεμαίων ὑποτιθεμένων,* i.e., on the proposal of the citizens of the city of Ptolemais; so, for example, Bickerman, *GM,* 120–21; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 481 n. 13; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 56 and n. 3; J. Goldstein, comment. on 2 Macc. 6.8; and Hengel, *Judaism*^{2}, 2: 192 n. 200.

12. For the **suggestion that Ptolemais was the site of Balas's "court"** see Bevan, *Seleucus,* 219 n. 3. On the Hellenistic court, royal residence, and palace see, for example, various articles in Nielsen, *Hellenistic Palaces,* and in Hoepfner and Brands, *Basileia;* on the Hellenistic notion of a "capital city" see, for example, C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11 (1962) 273 n. 8. On the **marriage of Balas to Cleopatra** see Seibert, *Verbindungen,* 86f.

13. For **tetradrachms struck at Ptolemais by Ptolemy Philometor** see Mionnet, *Supplément,* 9: pl. V.1; Svoronos, *Nomismata,* 2: 244, no. 1486. (See also Newell, *LSM,* 3; Mørkholm in *INC Jerusalem,* 80; Augé in *Archéologie,* 155. On Ptolemaic coinage struck in Phoenicia see R. S. Poole, *BMC Ptolemies,* xxxiv–xxxviii.) Philometor's influence in Syria was so strong that, according to Josephus (*AJ* 13.113–15), the Antiochenes urged him to assume two diadems, of Asia and of Egypt; Philometor declined and persuaded them to accept Demetrios (in place of Alexander Balas) as king.

A number of coastal cities, including Berytos, Sidon, Tyre, and Ptolemais Ake issued **tetradrachms on the Phoenician (rather than the Attic) standard** (Newell, *LSM,* 2–3, citing J. Rouvier, *JIAN* 4 [1901] 203, no. 949; see also A. B. Brett, *ANS MN* 1 [1945] 20–21; Mørkholm in *INC Jerusalem,* 75–86; Seyrig, *Syrian Coins,* 10–11; A. Kindler, *BASOR* 231 [1978] 53; G. Le Rider, *BCH* 119 [1995] 391–404). Thus, whereas all the extant tetradrachms of Ptolemais assigned to Antiochos IV Epiphanes were of Attic weight, those of Antiochos V were struck on both the Attic and the Phoenician standard. Tetradrachms of Phoenician weight are also attested for Alexander Balas, Demetrios I, and Antiochos VI; Antiochos VII apparently did not mint any silver coinage (see below); tetradrachms of both Attic and Phoenician weight are attested for Demetrios II, of Phoenician standard for Cleopatra and Antiochos VIII.

The **mint mark** *ΠΤΟ* or , which is found on Ptolemaic coins produced at Ptolemais (see above, n. 4), is not found on coins issued at Ptolemais Ake in the generation after the Seleucid conquest of southern Syria, i.e., on coins issued by Antiochos III, Seleukos IV, or Antiochos IV. It then reappears on some Seleucid coins of Ptolemais of Alexander Balas and some of his successors, i.e., Antiochos VI, Tryphon, Demetrios II, Cleopatra, and Antiochos VIII (see, for example, Brett, *ANS MN* 1 [1945] 27–29, nos. 19–23; Kindler, *BASOR* 231 [1978] 52–53).

14. For the **dedication to King Antiochos** see Y. H. Landau, *IEJ* 11 (1961) 118–26 = *SEG* 19: 904 = *SEG* 20: 413 = *Iscrizioni . . . della Bibbia* 14. For the **narrow building**

opposite the south side of the temple see S. Applebaum in *Ancient Historian,* 65, 71 n. 48; Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco," 25. For the **funerary stele** see Y. H. Landau in *BASOR* 224 (1976) 39–40 (= *SEG* 26: 1679).

15. For the **Delian ephebic list** see *I. Delos* 2598.17, 18, 19 (= P. Roussel, *BCH* 55 [1931] 438–49). For the **Rhodian inscription** see Kontorini, *Inscriptions,* 43ff., no. 3 (= *SEG* 33: 644; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1984] 290); Kontorini proposed a date of 87/6 B.C. (57–58). The identification of the Ptolemais in the Rhodian inscription with Ptolemais in Phoenicia is strongly supported by the fact that Ptolemais is described in both the inscription (ll. 25f.) and on bronze coins of the Phoenician city as *ἱερὰ καὶ ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος* (see below, n. 17).

Kontorini noted (*RN,* 1979, 40) that in the Delian ephebic list in which the inhabitants of Ptolemais were called by that name, the inhabitants of Berytos were called *Βηρύτιοι*: "Les monnaies de cette ville nous attestent pourtant qu'elle portait alors un nom séleucide, Laodicée de Phénicie" (40 n. 46). In fact, during the second century B.C. epigraphic and numismatic evidence demonstrates that the toponyms Berytos and Laodikeia were both used to refer to that city; see above, n. 6.

Turning to Ptolemais, we find the appearance of the ethnic *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ* in inscriptions from Rhodes (first half of the first century B.C.) and Delos (119/8 B.C.) and the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ* on bronze coins minted at Ptolemais in the second century B.C. Although the extant numismatic and epigraphic evidence is not precisely contemporaneous, it is interesting to note the presence of "Antioch in Ptolemais" on the coinage of the city, i.e., in an official context, and "Ptolemais" on an inscription from Delos, i.e., in a less formal context.

For the **demotic papyrus** see W. Clarysse and J. K. Winnicki in *Conflict,* ed. Van 't Dack et al., pp. 50ff., no. 3. For the **hieroglyphic inscription** see J. Quaegebeur in *Conflict,* p. 88, no. 3. It is possible, as Seyrig has suggested (*RN,* 1962, 33), that the city finally abandoned the name Antioch in 48/7 B.C., when it adopted a Caesarean era. See also Meimaris et al., *Chronological Systems,* 136–37; Meimaris dates the beginning of the Caesarean era to 49 B.C.

16. For the **persistence of the name Ptolemais in late ancient and Byzantine sources** see, for example, Ptolemy 5.14.3; Eusebius and Hieronymus *Onomasticon* 30, 31 (ed. Klostermann); Procopius *De Aed.* 5.9; *Itin. Ant.* 149.4 (ed. Cuntz); *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* (ed. H. Gelzer) 1.42, 2.41, 3.41, 4.38, 5.42, 7.44, 8.41, 9.41, 11.38; Stephanos (s.vv. "Ake" and "Ptolemais"); Hierokles 715.7; George of Cyprus 970; *Tab. Peut.* IX.2. Interestingly, the name *AKH* is found on a coin dated to 5/4 B.C. (Kadman, *Ptolemais* 83; see also Seyrig, *RN,* 1962, 37, rejecting the same reading in Kadman, *Ptolemais* 81–82). As Seyrig comments (38), the appearance of the name Ake on a single coin does not allow us to draw any conclusion that the official name of the city had been changed.

17. For **coinage of Ptolemais describing it as *hiera* and *asylos*** see, for example, H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1962, 28–29 nn. 7–9; G. Le Rider and H. Seyrig, *RN,* 1968, 25 no. 411; Newell, *LSM,* 20.

The discovery that Ptolemais had **autonomy** was made by Seyrig (*RN,* 1962, 40–42 and no. 30), who first deciphered the legend on a bronze coin of the city. The reading has since been discovered on at least nineteen coins (Kontorini, *RN,* 1979, 31–33, nos. 1–11; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1981) 621; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 488–91).

The Rhodian inscription provides further confirmation of this status (see above, n. 15; Kontorini, *RN,* 1979, 39–41; id., *Inscriptions,* 43ff., no. 3.26). The extant dated coins are from the year 9 (of its autonomy). We do not definitely know to what era the year refers. Seyrig proposed three possibilities: a "Pompeian," dating from 64 or 63 B.C. ("moins probable"); a "Caesarean," dating from 47 B.C. ("plus attrayante"); or a still unknown, pre-Roman era; Stein ("Studies," 112–18) suggested an era beginning in 49 B.C. Rigsby has suggested that the title "autonomous" was granted after the Seleucid abandonment of the city (*Asylia,* 490). Kontorini (*RN,* 1979, 33–38) has suggested placing the coins dated to year 9 in the last phases of the Hellenistic history of the city.

18. On the **successive sieges of Ptolemais** see Josephus *AJ* 13.320–53. On the capture of Ptolemais by Cleopatra see *AJ* 13.353; see also papyrus no. 3 (103 B.C.) and inscription no. 3 in Van 't Dack, *Conflict,* 50ff. See also A. R. Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 63–64; G. M. Cohen and E. Van 't Dack in *Conflict,* ed. Van 't Dack et al., 29–33, 119, 126; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 140ff.; id., *Jews,* 79f. For the archaeological evidence for destruction at the end of the second century B.C. see Applebaum in *Ancient Historian,* 64 ("in the area of excavation nothing of significance superseded the destruction till the time of Caesar") and 71 n. 48.

19. For **the religious life at Ptolemais** see Seyrig, *Syria* 39 (1962) 193–207; M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 9 (1959) 9–12; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 34–37. For the numismatic evidence see Kadman, *Ptolemais,* p. 26 and, for example, nos. 1–10 (Zeus); 59–61 (Tyche); 11, 13–24, 26–27, 40 (the Dioskouroi); 50–52 (Apollo); 81 (Artemis).

For the **Hellenistic temple** see S. Applebaum, *IEJ* 9 (1959) 274; Y. H. Landau, *IEJ* 11 (1961) 118; Z. Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco," 25. For the **dedication to Hadad and Atargatis** see Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 9 (1959) 1–12 (= *SEG* 18: 622); see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1960) 400. Avi-Yonah dated the inscription to the mid-second century B.C.; the Roberts suggested a somewhat earlier date. On Hadad and Atargatis see HIERAPOLIS Bambyke, which was a major center for the worship of these gods. For the **bath dedicated to Aphrodite** see Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 36–37.

At Umm el-Ammed, which is 19 km south of Tyre, between it and Akko, a Phoenician inscription dated to 132 B.C. commemorates the construction of doors and gates in the temple of Bal Shamin (G. A. Cooke, *A Text-Book of North Semitic Inscriptions* [Oxford, 1903] no. 9). In addition, there is epigraphic evidence for the worship of Milkastart in the third century B.C. (J. T. Milik, *Dédicaces faites par des dieux* [Paris, 1972] 423–27, no. 17). If, as Kasher suggests (*Hellenistic Cities,* 35–36), this area was in the *chora* of Ptolemais, then we would have evidence dating from the Hellenistic period for the worship of other Oriental gods there. In fact, the precise limits of the territory of Hellenistic Ptolemais are not known (see above). Furthermore most scholars place it in Tyrian territory; see, for example, Milik, 423; Seyrig (*Syria* 40 [1963] 26: "une bourgade agricole . . . sur la route de Tyr à Ptolemaïs, immédiatement au Nord de la frontière des deux villes"; see also J. Teixidor, *The Pagan God* [Princeton, 1977] 40). On Milkastart see, for example, Milik, 423–27; Seyrig, 26–28; Teixidor, 40–42; Bonnet, *Melqart,* 122–28).

20. For the discovery of **stamped amphora handles (Rhodian, Thasian, Knidian, Koan, and Chian as well as from the Brindisi area and from Egypt)** see S. Applebaum, *IEJ* 9 (1959) 274; M. Dothan, *IEJ* 23 (1973) 258; id., *IEJ* (1975) 165; id., *IEJ* (1979) 228; id., *BASOR* 224 (1976) 31; Goldmann, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Acco," 25; G. Finkielsztejn,

Atiqot 39 (2000) 135–53. For a fragment of a Megarian bowl with the letters *ANTI* (possibly an abbreviation for Antioch) on the exterior of the base see Dothan, *BASOR* 224 (1976) 31.

21. For the **ethnic** *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΥΣ/ΩΝ* in inscriptions see, for example, *I. Delos* 2598.17, 18, 19 (119/8 B.C.); Kontorini, *Inscriptions,* 43ff., no. 3.25 (first half of the first century B.C.); and above, n. 15. Seyrig has pointed out (*RN,* 1962, 33 and n. 2) that in Strabo and the *BJ* of Josephus the form of the ethnic is the same as that on the coins, i.e., *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΕΩΝ,* while in the *AJ* and Stephanos the form used is *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ.* Note, however, *BJ* 1.249: *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΝ* (*ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΕΩΝ,* however, is attested in various MSS; see the *apparatus criticus* to the passage).

22. For the reading of the **ethnic** as ***ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ*** see, for example, G. F. Hill, *BMC Phoenicia,* lxxix; Kadman, *Ptolemais* 86–90; Seyrig, *RN,* 1962, 39, nos. 25–27; A. Kindler, *BASOR* 231 (1978) 54. The correct reading ***ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ*** was made by Imhoof-Blumer (*RSN* 21 [1917] 52–53) and followed by *RPC* 1: 4746–48. In a private communication, A. Kindler-Stein kindly provided the following information: "The reading of *RPC* 1:4746–8 is correct. While assisting the editors of this volume I checked a fairly representative number of these coins; they were made of several different dies and kappa is missing on all of them. It seems that previous publications relied somewhat too heavily on the initial erroneous reading. Could it be that the name of the city was Germanias?"

23. **There are number of allusions in the ancient literature to the territory of Ptolemais;** see, for example, 1 Macc. 10.39; *Letter of Aristeas* 115. On the **location of Ptolemais in Phoenicia** see, for example, Pliny (*NH* 5.75); Ptolemy (5.14.8); Stephanos (s.vv. "Ake" and "Ptolemais"); Hierokles 715.7; George of Cyprus, 970.

On the **dating of the *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax** to the second quarter of the fourth century B.C. see F. Gisinger, *RE* s.v. "Skylax"; Dilke, *Maps,* 133–34; see also see K. Galling, *ZDPV* 61 (1938) 66ff. On the **townships neighboring on the territory of Ptolemais** see, for example, N. Kashtan, *MHR* 3 (1988) 38–44. On the **territory of Ptolemais in the Roman period** see Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 130–33 and map on p. 131 (for B. Isaac's criticism of Avi-Yonah see APOLLONIA [Arsuf], n. 5); Applebaum, *Judaea,* 70–96; id. in *GREI,* 135–40. For the **Roman colony** of Ptolemais Ake that was founded between 50/1 and 54 A.D. see Applebaum in *GREI,* 135–40.

24. In the rabbinic sources Ake was considered to be on the **frontier of the Land of Israel** (*TJ Sheviith* 6.1 [36b–c]; *TJ Shekalim* 4.9); opinion differed, however, as to whether it was in or outside Israel (*Tosefta Oholot* 18; *TB Gittin* 7b); see further Neubauer, *Géographie,* 15, 231–32; Hildesheimer, *Beiträge,* 11f.

TYRE

In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great besieged and destroyed the city Tyre.[1] Subsequently he rebuilt and repopulated the city (Justin 18.3.19). Tcherikover was understandably hesitant about considering this a new Hellenistic foundation. Nevertheless, Alexander apparently did rebuild Tyre on a major scale, as he later did at Gaza. Such large-scale rehabilitation of cities became quite common in the Hellenistic period; see, for example, THEBES, LYSIMA-

CHEIA in Thrace, SARDIS in Lydia, and AMYZON in Caria. In any event, the rebuilding of Tyre was successful; by 321 B.C. it was once again a fortified city (Diod. 18.37.3–4).

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 68–69; H. Berve, *Alexanderreich,* 1: 296; and Jones, *CERP*², 237.

1. For the **siege and destruction of Tyre** see, for example, Arrian 2.18–24; Curtius Rufus 4.2–4; Plut. *Alex.* 24–25. On the "destruction" of cities and the various forms—i.e., physical destruction or reduction of political status—this could take see KOLOPHON. In the case of Tyre we are obviously dealing with extensive physical destruction.

V

SOUTHERN SYRIA

AENOS

The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.2) records an Aenos on the road from Bostra to Damascus; it was 37 miles north of Kanatha (modern Kanawat) and 26 miles south of Damascus. *Ain* in Arabic means "spring or source"; thus the Greek toponym could reflect the Hellenization of a native word. Alternatively, since Ainos was the name of a number of places in Greece, the toponym could originate there.[1] Neither of these hypotheses, however, is very likely. Most probably, as Waddington noted in 1870, "Aenos" in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* is a corruption of Phaenos/Phaina, which is attested.[2] Hence, in the absence of other information, I do not consider Aenos a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 16; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Ainos 7"; Hölscher, *RE* s.v. "Phaina"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 67; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 376–77; Jones, *CERP*², 466; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer* s.v. "Phaene"; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 42; M. Sartre, *Syria* 76 (1999) 197–98.

1. See AINOS, n. 1.
2. Waddington, *I. Syrie,* p. 574. For **Phaina** see, for example, Waddington, *I. Syrie* 2524–25, 2530–32; Sartre, *Syria* 76 (1999) 197–98 (= *I. Syrie* 2524); Hierokles 723.1; George of Cyprus 1070 (Phenoutos).

For the Aenon near Salim mentioned in John 3.23 and the attempts to locate it (e.g., in Peraea in Transjordan, the northern Jordan valley, or Samareia) see R. E. Brown, *The Gospel According to John (i–xii)* (New York, 1962) 151.

ANTHEDON

The toponym Anthedon is found both in Boeotia and in southern Syria. It is not clear whether the latter city was named for the Boeotian town or whether the name represented an attempt to Hellenize a local toponym.[1] Whatever the origin of its name, we may assume that Anthedon was a Hellenistic foundation. The earliest attestation for the town is Josephus (*AJ* 13.357, 395; *BJ* 1.87), who mentions that Alexander Jannaios conquered it. Subsequently it was liberated by Pompey and later restored by Gabinius (Jos. *AJ* 14.88; *BJ* 1.164).[2] The extant coinage of Anthedon is attested in the early third century A.D.[3]

Herod renamed the city "Agrippias" (Josephus *AJ* 13.357; *BJ* 1.87) or "Agrippeion" in honor of Marcus Agrippa (Josephus *BJ* 1.416); however, the new name did not persist.

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Anthedon"), the ethnic of the Boeotian city was *Ἀνθηδόνιος* and of the city in southern Syria, *Ἀνθηδονίτης.* The exact location of Anthedon is not definitely known. From Stephanos and Theodosius (*De Situ Terrae Sanctae* 138 = *CCL* 175: 116) we learn that it was on the Mediter-

ranean coast, between Gaza and Askalon. The ruins of Khirbet Teda, 3 kilometers north of Gaza, have been identified with Anthedon.[4]

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In general see Hölscher, *Palästina,* 60–61; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 22; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Anthedon 1"; G. F. Hill, *BMC Palestine,* xlv–xlvii; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 244–45; Tcherikover, *HS,* 79; id., *HCJ,* 95; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 3; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 28f.; id., *EJ* s.v. "Anthedon"; *TIR Iudaea-Palestina,* 63; Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 104; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 176.

1. Jones (*CERP*[2], 449) dismissed the possibility that Anthedon was a "military colony" named for "a tiny Boeotian city" because "all the well-attested examples take their names from cities of some importance in the Macedonian kingdom (including Thessaly)." Hence he speculated that Anthedon was simply ʿAin Teda "tendentiously" misspelled. In the present lack of firm evidence it is not possible to either affirm or deny Jones's assertion. Note, however, that (a) his argument is *ex silentio* and (b) there are settlements attested in northern Syria that were or may have been named for towns in central or southern Greece; e.g., HERAIA and TEGEA.

Ps.-Scymnus 500 (*GGM,* 1: 216), which Tcherikover cited (*HS,* 79) as referring to Anthedon in southern Syria, in fact refers to the Boeotian city. For Anthedon see also Hierokles 719.1 and below, n. 4.

2. On the nature of **Gabinius's activity** in restoring cities in southern Syria see below, SELEUKEIA Abila, n. 2.

3. For the **coinage** see Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 522f.; id., *Supplément,* 8: 364; de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 234ff.; *BMC Palestine,* xlv–xlvii and 103, nos. 1–4; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 1: pp. 32–33, nos. 1–9; and Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 38–40.

4. **Location.** Pliny mistakenly claimed that Anthedon was located in the interior (*NH* 5.68). However, all the other extant sources place it on the coast; e.g., Josephus *AJ* 13.396, 18.158; Josephus *BJ* 1.416; Ptolemy 5.15.2; Stephanos s.v. "Anthedon"; Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 5.192 ([ed. Bidez and Hansen] = *PG* 67: 1240).

For the identification of Teda with Anthedon see, for example, W. J. Phythian-Adams, *PEFQSt* (1923) 14–17; *AEHL* s.v. "Anthedon."

ANTIOCH BY HIPPOS

According to Pliny (*NH* 5.71, 74), Hippos was on the east bank of the Sea of Gennesareth (Sea of Galilee).[1] There is little extant information about the history of the city. Tcherikover has reasonably suggested that the toponym Hippos was simply the Greek translation for the Semitic name Susita. Nevertheless, we do not know how or when the town first received its (Greek) name. Synkellos (558–59, ed. Mosshammer) included Hippos among the towns captured by Alexander Jannaios. Hippos was later liberated by Pompey (Josephus *AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.156). It was one of the cities of the Decapolis (Pliny 5.74; Ptolemy 5.14.18).[2] Josephus described it as a "Greek city" (*AJ* 17.320; see also *BJ* 2.97).

From the numismatic evidence of the mid-first to the early third century A.D. with the (abbreviated) ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΩΙ,* we learn that Hippos was renamed Antioch.[3] We do not know who was responsible for this or when it happened. Presumably it was one of the Seleucid kings, possibly Antiochos IV; this, however, is speculation. In any event, Synkellos (558–59) considered it a "Macedonian settlement." Subsequently the new name apparently fell into disuse before being revived in the first century A.D. Thus on a coin of 37 B.C. and on some coins of Nero and Domitian, the ethnic *ΙΠΠΗΝΩΝ* is found.[4]

From the coinage we also learn (a) of the importance of Tyche in the religious life of the city and (b) that in the Imperial period the city used an era beginning in 64 B.C.[5]

I have already noted the identification of Hippos with the (Semitic) Susita that is mentioned in the rabbinic sources. This identification is nowhere recorded in the extant Greek and Latin literary sources. Nevertheless, it is almost certainly correct. Both words mean "horse" (Greek, *hippos;* Hebrew, *sus*); furthermore, the image of a horse is found on many of the city's coins. Sussiya, a village east of the lake, preserves the ancient name.[6]

We have the following information regarding the location of Hippos: it was the name of a mountain (Ptolemy 5.14.6) near which the like-named city was located. I have already noted that, according to Pliny (*NH* 5.71, 74), the city was on the east bank of the Sea of Gennesareth. In his enumeration Pliny mentions it between SKYTHOPOLIS, GADARA, and DION. Ptolemy (5.14.18) records Hippos among the cities of Coele Syria, mentioning it between ABILA and CAPITOLIAS. Eusebius and Hieronymus place it near a village (Eusebius) or castle (Hieronymus) named Apheka (*Onomasticon* 22, 23, ed. Klostermann); this is undoubtedly identical with the modern village of Fiq, which is located east of the Sea of Galilee. The ancient ruins at Qal'at Husn above En Gev have been identified with Antioch by Hippos.[7]

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In general see de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 344–5; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 73; Beer-Hepding, *RE* s.v. "Hippos 4"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 74; id., *HCJ,* 98; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 471–72; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 388–89; G. Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways* (New York, 1935) 169–71; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 64; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 169f.; id., *Gazetteer,* 65; id., *EJ* s.v. "Susita or Hippos" (photograph); Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 130–32; Urman, *Golan,* 121–22; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 152–56; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 147; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 184–85; C. Epstein, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Hippos"; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 536–37; R. C. Gregg and D. Urman, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights* (Atlanta, 1996) 21–26; and the review of B. Isaac in *RBNE* 2: 179–88.

For the results of excavation at the site see C. Epstein, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Hippos (Sussita)"; http://hippos.haifa.ac.il/.

1. For other **literary references to Hippos** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 15.217; Ptolemy 5.14.18; Stephanos s.v. "Hippos"; Hierokles 720.6. See also Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 65; *TIR Iudaea-Palestina,* 147.

2. On **Synkellos's list** see G. Schmitt, *ZDPV* 103 (1987) 24; and PHILOTERIA, n. 1.

On the **Decapolis** see, for example, Schürer, *History*², 2: 125–27; Browning, *Jerash,* 13–17; and B. Isaac, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 67–74 (= Isaac, *Near East,* 313–20; additional references on p. 321); P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 67 (1990) 204–6.

3. For the (abbreviated) **ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΩΙ*** see de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 345–47; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 222, no. 1; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 301, nos. 1–3; Head, *HN*², 786; Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 77–78, nos. 18–21; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* pp. 170ff., nos. 1, 4, 6–40; *SNG ANS* 6: 1136–52; *SNG Schweiz* II 2187–89. In general on the coinage see Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxxxiii–iv; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 168–69; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 152–56; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 536–37.

For the coins discovered at the site by excavators of the Haifa-Polish team see http://hippos.haifa.ac.il/Numismatic Report. As of 2001, excavators had discovered thirty-two coins, at least six of which—three Ptolemaic, three Seleucid—date to the Hellenistic period. The coins came from mints at, among other places, ALEXANDREIA, ANTIOCH near Daphne, and PTOLEMAIS Ake.

4. For **coins with the ethnic *ΙΠΠΗΝΩΝ*** see, for example, Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 74, no. 197 (37 B.C.); E. Muret, *RN,* 1883, 67; Imhoof-Blumer, *NZ* 16 (1884) 293; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* pp. 170–71, nos. 2–3, 5; *SNG Schweiz* II 2185–86.

5. On the **religious life at Antioch by Hippos** see Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 70. On the **era at Antioch by Hippos** see Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 70–78; Meimaris, *Chronological Systems,* 75–76; and Stein, "Studies," 28–30.

6. For **Susita in the rabbinic sources** see, for example, Neubauer, *Géographie,* 238–40; for the **image of a horse on coins of Antioch by Hippos** see, for example. *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 301, nos. 1–3; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* pp. 170–71, nos. 4–5; *SNG ANS* 6: 1136–45, 1148–52; for **Sussiya** in the Arabic geographers see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 540.

7. For **Apheka** see Dalman, *Sacred Sites and Ways,* 169–71; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 64 and map "North"; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 29; Gregg and Urman, *Jews, Pagans, and Christians in the Golan Heights,* 27–44. In general on the **location** see Schürer, *History*², 2: 130–31; B. Bar-Kochva, *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 54.

ANTIOCH IN HULEH

The rabbinic sources refer, in a number of citations, to a "Hulat Antiocheia" or "Hulata of Antiocheia." There are two schools of thought regarding the identification of "Hulat Antiocheia"/"Hulata of Antiocheia": (a) it was a Hellenistic settlement that was located somewhere in the region of the Huleh Valley in northern Galilee, or (b) it was a suburb of the great ANTIOCH near Daphne where (part of) the Antiochene Jewish community lived.

Let us first consider the available evidence.

i. The rabbinic sources: the *Jerusalem Talmud* (*Horayoth* 3.4) recounts Rabbi Akiva's visit to "Holat Antokhiya." In addition, the *Tosefta* (*Demai* 2.1) and the *Jerusalem Talmud* (*Demai* 2.1[22d]) refer to rice grown in the Hulat of Antioch (note, however, that the text is corrupt).

ii. According to Josephus (*AJ* 15.343–59), a certain Zenodoros leased property in and burglarized Trachonitis. Finally Zenodoros died—in Antioch in Syria (*AJ* 15.359)—and Augustus gave his territory to Herod. This territory was located between Trachonitis and Galilee and contained Oulatha and Panias and the surrounding area (*AJ* 15.360).[1]

iii. Josephus describes how Herod the Great decided to settle a group of Jews in Batanaea.[2] Josephus says that a Jew from Babylonia, Zamaris, had crossed the Euphrates with five hundred mounted archers and other kinsmen. By chance they were staying at "Antioch near Daphne in Syria" because the governor of Syria, Saturninus, had given them a place (*chorion*) named "Oulatha" (*AJ* 17.23–25, 29). Herod, needing a buffer zone between his territory and that of the Trachonites, invited Zamaris and his followers to settle in Batanaea; the latter region bordered on Trachonitis.

iv. According to Josephus (*BJ* 4.3) there was a place (*chorion*) called Daphne that was located near Lake Semechonitis (Lake Huleh) and the sources of the Jordan River. That is, it would have been northeast of Lake Huleh and just south of Dan, probably at or near the modern kibbutz Daphne.

According to Schlatter and Tcherikover, Josephus erred in associating the Antioch mentioned at *AJ* 15.359 and 17.24 with the great city on the Orontes. In fact, according to Schlatter and Tcherikover, the Antioch Josephus was referring to was near another Daphne (i.e., the one approximately 7 km southwest of Panion) and thus was near Lake Huleh. Furthermore, they claim it was the same city as the "Hulat Antiocheia" or "Hulata of Antiocheia" recorded in the rabbinic sources. The latter they likewise associate with the Huleh region. Furthermore, Tcherikover has suggested that the founder of Antioch in Huleh was Antiochos III and that he established the settlement after his victory at the battle of Panion in 200 B.C. Schlatter thought that the colony was built at one end of the actual battlefield.[3]

On the other hand, Kraeling and M. Dothan have argued that "Hulat Antiocheia"/"Hulata of Antiocheia" in the rabbinic sources referred to the great city on the Orontes, as do Josephus's references to "Antioch in Syria" (*AJ* 15.359) and "Antioch near Daphne in Syria" (*AJ* 17.24). G. Fuks agreed with this claim, pointing out that if this Oulatha of Antioch had been located near Lake Semechonitis, Saturninus would not have had any authority over it, since it was located in Herod's territory. In short, according to Kraeling, Dothan, and Fuks, there is no evidence for positing the existence of an "Antioch in Huleh."[4]

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In general see Schlatter, *Topographie,* 314–20; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 95; Tcherikover, *HS,* 70–71; id., *HCJ,* 101–2; C. H. Kraeling, *JBL* 51 (1932) 130–45; M. Dothan, *EI* 2 (1953) 166–69 (Hebrew); Avi-Yonah, *BJPES* 10 (1942) 19–20; id., *Geography,* 51, 69; id., *Gazetteer,* 29; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 18–20, 152; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 155 and n. 113; id., *Jews,* 93–95; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 55, 272; S. C. Herbert in *Tel Anafa,* 1: 6 n. 16.

1. On **Oulatha in the region between Trachonitis and Galilee** see Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 89; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 272.

2. On **Herod the Great's resettlement of the Babylonian Jews** see Cohen, *TAPA* 103 (1972) 83–95.

3. On **Antioch in the Huleh region,** for example, Schlatter, *Topographie,* 314–20; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 69; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 101–2. According to Avi-Yonah (*BJPES* 10 [1943–44] 19–20; *Gazetteer,* 29; *EJ* s.vv. "Huleh" and "Dan"; cf. *Geography,* 51, 69) Antioch in Huleh was the renamed biblical city of Dan. There is some evidence for Hellenistic building activity in the cult area of Dan (Biran, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Dan," 331). As Herbert noted, this reflects the continuation of a cult, not necessarily the founding of a settlement (*Tel Anafa,* 1: 5 n. 13).

Josephus also mentions (*AJ* 13.394, *BJ* 1.105) the "**trench of Antiochos**" (ἡ Ἀντιόχου φάραγξ) together with the towns of Gaulana, Seleukeia, and Gamala among the places captured by Alexander Jannaios. Schlatter (*Topographie,* 314–20), Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 102), and Avi-Yonah (*Gazetteer,* 29) have identified this with "Antioch in Huleh." A number of objections may be brought against this: (a) the identification is, of course, based on the assumed existence of Antioch in Huleh, and this is far from certain; (b) the trench is named after an *Antiochos,* not after a city named Antioch; (c) Avi-Yonah (*EJ* s.vv. "Huleh" and "Dan"; cf. *Geography,* 51, 69) has suggested ἡ Ἀντιόχου φάραγξ means "Valley of Antiochus" and hence can be equated with the Huleh Valley. However, according to LSJ[9], the definition of φάραγξ is "cleft, chasm, esp. in a mountain side, ravine, gully." The usual terms for "valley" in Greek are, for example, νάπος, ἄγκος, γύαλον, αὐλών. Finally, the location of ἡ Ἀντιόχου φάραγξ is not definitely known. See also the discussion of Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 18–20, 195; Kasher, *Jews,* 93–94, *Hellenistic Cities,* 155 and n. 113; G. Fuks, *SCI* 5 (1979/80) 181–82; see also Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 55.

On the **Huleh Valley** see Avi-Yonah, *EJ* s.v. "Huleh"; S. C. Herbert, *Tel Anafa,* 1: 2ff.

4. For **the denial of the existence of an Antioch in the Huleh region** see, for example, Kraeling, *JBL* 51 (1932) 130–45; M. Dothan, *EI* 2 (1953) 166–69; Downey, *HAS,* 189 and n. 116; S. Lieberman, *Tosefta Kifshutah on Zeraim* (New York, 1955) 1: 209; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 19; G. Fuks, *SCI* 5 (1979) 182. See also S. Applebaum, *Judaea,* 47 n. 2 ("Some scholars have identified Hulata with the Huleh Valley near the headwaters of the Jordan, in whose vicinity another city [?] called Antioch existed. . . . This seems improbable").

B. Bar-Kochva (*ZDPV* 92 [1976] 70 n. 44) observed that the location of Antioch in Hulata had not yet been demonstrated but raised the possibility that the Hellenistic site at Tel Anafa could be identified with Antioch.

THE ANTIOCHENES IN JERUSALEM

In 175 B.C. Antiochos IV Epiphanes came to power. Shortly after, the high priest Jason in Jerusalem, having bought the high priesthood, paid him an additional 150 talents in order to be allowed "to establish a gymnasium and an ephebia and to enroll the Antiochenes in Jerusalem" (*γυμνάσιον καὶ ἐφηβίαν αὐτῷ συστήσασθαι, καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι*, 2 Macc. 4.9). The precise meaning of the phrase *καὶ τοὺς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις Ἀντιοχεῖς ἀναγράψαι* is not fully understood and has been the subject of differing interpretations. For example, Honigmann suggested the phrase referred to a tribe of the city.[1] Meyer thought the phrase meant the Jerusalemites were given the same rights as the citizens of ANTIOCH near Daphne.[2] Bickerman suggested that it indicated the existence of a corporate entity, a *politeuma,* named after Antiochos.[3] Cohen speculated that the term referred to foreigners from ANTIOCH PTOLEMAIS (Ake) who were resident in Jerusalem.[4] Tcherikover, following Bevan and Niese, argued that it demonstrated that "Jason received from Antiochus permission to convert Jerusalem into a Greek polis called Antioch."[5] Tcherikover's suggestion has met with the approval of many scholars.[6] Nevertheless, it is important to emphasize that there is no unequivocal evidence to substantiate this claim. Tcherikover himself was aware of this. In the course of developing his thesis he remarked: "The sources furnish only a few allusions on this reform by Jason and *each one has to be interpreted* if we wish to understand the main lines of the project" (italics mine). The only other reference to the Antiochenes in Jerusalem is 2 Macc. 4.19, which records how Jason sent a religious delegation (*theoroi*) "[representing/chosen] as being the Antiochenes from Jerusalem" (*θεωροὺς ὡς ἀπὸ Ἱεροσολύμων Ἀντιοχέας*) to the games being celebrated in Tyre.[7] If Jerusalem was refounded as an Antioch, we do not know how long it will have retained its new name. At the latest it presumably would have ceased with the victory of the Hasmonean forces in 164 B.C.

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In general see Bickerman, *GM,* 59–65; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 161–70, 404–9; Fischer, *Seleukiden,* 19–22, esp. 20 n. 53 ; Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform,* 83–96.

1. E. Honigmann, *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher* 6 (1928) 211.
2. E. Meyer, *Ursprung,* 2: 145. Contra: Bickerman, *GM,* 59 n. 1.
3. E. Bickerman, *GM,* 59–65; followed by M. Hengel (*Judaism*^{2}, 1: 277–79), who interpreted the actions of Jason and his followers as "preparations to found the new polis 'Antioch in Jerusalem'" (277) and commented that "we should not reject out of hand Bickermann's suggestion that the citizens of the 'new Antioch' formed themselves into a kind of association preparatory to the foundation of the city proper" (278). In *Jews, Greeks, and Barbarians* (43) Hengel took a position apparently closer to Tcherikover: "There were Jewish 'Hellenists' from Jerusalem who were given per-

mission by the new king Antiochus IV Epiphanes to disregard the 'royal favour' (i.e. of Antiochos III) and to give Jerusalem a new constitution, namely that of a Greek city called Antiocheia."

4. G. M. Cohen in *Pursuing the Text: Studies in Honor of Ben Zion Wacholder,* ed. J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen (Sheffield, 1994) 243–59. Compare, for example, the Damascenes in Rhodes, Delos, and Athens (end of the second/beginning of the first century B.C.); see DEMETRIAS Damascus, n. 3.

5. *HCJ,* 161; Bevan, *Seleucus,* 2: 168; and Niese, *GMS,* 3: 228.

6. Tcherikover's interpretation has been accepted by, among others, Vermes and Millar in the new edition of Schürer's *History*^{2}, 1: 148; F. M. Abel and J. Starcky, *Les livres des Maccabées* (Paris, 1961) 54–55; Le Rider, *Suse,* 410–11; Bar-Kochva, *JM,* 443; see also Habicht, *2. Makkabäerbuch,* 216–17 n. 9; Bringmann, *Hellenistische Reform,* 83–96; and M. Stern, *Zion* 57 (1992) 233–46. Habicht noted the differing motives of Jason and Antiochos. The motive of the former in asking for permission to found a *polis* was essentially cultural, i.e., to end the isolation of the Jews. The motive of the latter in granting Jason's request was political, i.e., to assure a royal stronghold in the region. In this connection Habicht suggested that just as the territory of the *polis* of Athens included Attica, so the territory of the *polis* of Antioch Jerusalem probably included all of Judaea. Starcky pointed to the colonizing activity of Antiochos Epiphanes and claimed that Antioch Jerusalem was, along with ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe, ANTIOCH on the Saros, and ANTIOCH PTOLEMAIS (Ake), a foundation of the king (*Les livres des Maccabées,* 54–55). In fact, Mørkholm has demonstrated that Epiphanes' colonizing work was far more modest than generally believed and that none of the above cities can be firmly attributed to him (*Antiochus IV,* 116–18). And Bickerman objected: "The often repeated hypothesis that Epiphanes made Jerusalem a polis named Antioch and that the inhabitants were called Antiochenes is philologically unsound and directly refuted by documents of II Macc. 11.27, 34 addressed to the gerousia and the demos of the Jews respectively and not to the Antiochenes. Likewise the letter of Antiochos IV (II Macc. 11.22–26) speaks of the Jews and their temple" (*Maccabees,* 112). Nevertheless these objections are not, in themselves, compelling reasons for denying that Jason founded the *polis* of Antioch Jerusalem. They are, after all, *ex silentio.*

A major part of Tcherikover's discussion of 2 Maccabees 4.9 is concerned with the verb ἀναγράφω. Tcherikover is uncomfortable with the definition "to register" for ἀναγράφω. He readily admits that this definition is found on inscriptions and papyri but objects that (a) "the list is invariably drawn up by officials . . . and minor civil servants and not by ministers of government" and (b) "in all the above examples existent objects are counted and listed—yokes of cattle, priests, members of colonies, etc. It follows therefore that 'Antiochenes' existed in Jerusalem before Jason decided to register them. This, of course, is impossible: *Antiocheus* means a member of a certain organized community who does not exist independent of that community. This alleged registration of individual existent Antiochenes, without connection with an existent community, could only have taken place provided we were to interpret 'Antiochenes' as people 'holding citizen rights of the Syrian city of Antioch'; but Bickermann rightly rejects this supposition, which is in principle opposed to the basic elements of Hellenistic law" (*HCJ,* 406).

As to the first point: whether Jason personally drew up the list or whether—as is

more likely—he delegated the task to someone is unclear. Tcherikover's second point is more significant. He admits that the verb can mean "to register" persons, but objects that the persons have to be registered in an organization or community that already exists, and asks how this can be. According to Tcherikover there was no such organization or community in Jerusalem at the time: the *polis* (so Tcherikover) or the *politeuma* (so Bickerman) did not yet exist. The third possibility, that he was registering people who were holding citizen rights in Antioch near Daphne was rightly dismissed by Bickerman. Since, in Tcherikover's view, there was no preexistent community from which the "Antiochenes" might be registered, he dismissed the possibility that the verb could mean "to register." This difficulty prompted him to suggest that at 2 Macc. 4.9 *ἀναγράφω* means "to recognize or proclaim." In short, according to Tcherikover, "Jason received permission from the King 'to register the people of Jerusalem as Antiochenes,' that is, to proclaim them as 'Antiochenes'. Henceforward they are not to be called 'Jerusalemites' but 'Antiochenes'" (*HCJ,* 407). Part of Tcherikover's thesis regarding 2 Maccabees 4.9 depends on the assumption that at the time of Jason's actions there was no community of Antiochenes in Jerusalem. This assumption, however, may not be correct. Elsewhere I have attempted to demonstrate that the verb *ἀναγράφω* at 2 Macc. 4.9 can, in fact, mean "to register" because the "Antiochenes in Jerusalem" may have been Antiochenes from PTOLEMAIS Ake and could, in fact, have been living in Jerusalem in the period before 175 B.C. (above, n. 4).

For the relation of the alleged *polis* of Antioch Jerusalem to the settlement in the Akra see JERUSALEM (THE AKRA).

7. Habicht noted that invitations to participate in religious festivals and games were normally issued only to *poleis* (*2. Makkabäerbuch,* 218). This was undoubtedly the case, for example, for the cities listed in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list (A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 [1921] 1–85; and L. Robert, *BCH* 70 [1946] 506–23). Tyre, however, was not Delphi. We may well question, therefore, whether the same conditions that applied to a festival in mainland Greece would also have applied to the games of an old native city in second-century Phoenicia. The text says only that when the games were being held Jason sent the *theoroi* to Tyre in order to bring 300 *drachmai* for the sacrifice to Herakles. The text, however, does add one significant detail: Epiphanes was present at the games (4.18). Undoubtedly that was the real reason Jason sent the delegation. Thus it is quite conceivable that the motivation was not so much to participate in the games as to curry favor with the king.

APOLLONIA (ARSUF)

According to Pliny (*NH* 5.69) and Stephanos (s.v. "Apollonia 13") Apollonia was near Joppe. The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.1) places it 22 miles from Caesarea. This information points to Arsuf. The Phoenician god Reshef, from whom the toponym was derived, was equated with the Greek god Apollo.[1] Apollonia is first mentioned (by Josephus [*AJ* 13.395], who lived in the latter part of the first century A.D.) as being among the cities held by Alexander Jannaios.[2] We do not know the founder.[3] In the Byzantine period Apollonia was known as Sozousa, that is, the city of Apollo Soter.[4]

Apollonia was located 15 kilometers north of Jaffa at the site of Arsuf.[5]

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In general see Stark, *Gaza,* 452; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 60; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 23; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 247; Tcherikover, *HS,* 78f.; id., *HCJ,* 93; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 30; id., *EJ* s.v. "Apollonia"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 21; Schürer, *History*², 2: 114; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 38f. and passim; Arav, *Palestine,* 32–36; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 65; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 60; I. Roll and E. Ayalon, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Apollonia-Arsuf."

For the results of excavation at the site see I. Roll and O. Tal, *Apollonia-Arsuf,* vol. 1 (Jerusalem, 1999).

1. The **identity of Apollonia and Arsuf** was first noted by Clermont-Ganneau, *RA* 32 (1876) 374–75; cf. T. Nöldeke, *ZDMG* 42 (1888) 473; see also, for example, Jones, *CERP*², 230. On the other hand, Arsuf should not identified with the Canaanite city of Rishpon (S. Izre'el in *Apollonia-Arsuf,* 1: 63–75; Avi-Yonah, *EJ* s.v. "Apollonia"). For Arsuf in the Arabic geographers see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 399. On the god **Reshef** see Schürer, *History*², 2: 114 n. 152 and literature cited there.

2. Kasher (*Hellenistic Cities,* 121 and n. 18) has suggested that evidence for the existence of Apollonia may be pushed back to the time of John Hyrkanos I. He bases this claim on the fact that Apollonia appears "in the list of places conquered by the Hasmonaeans . . . relating to the days of Simeon, John Hyrcanus I, and Jannaeus." The list that Kasher is referring to is the one in Jos. *AJ* 13.395–97. As far as I can see, however, Josephus is there enumerating the cities that were under Jewish control in the time of Jannaios. It is not clear whether Josephus means the cities were captured during or before Jannaios's reign.

3. Hölscher (*Palästina,* 60; see also Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 25") thought the **founder** was Seleukos I Nikator. He based this suggestion on Appian (*Syr.* 57), who includes an Apollonia among the foundations of Seleukos I (actually Hölscher cited *Syr.* 62). N.b., however, that Seleukos never controlled this region. Avi-Yonah (*EJ* s.v. "Apollonia") speculated that the founder was Seleukos IV. G. A. Smith (*Holy Land*²⁵, 127 n. 2) suggested the founder was Apollonius, the Seleucid general. Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 93) and Schürer (*History*², 2: 115) correctly dismissed the attribution to either Seleukos or Apollonios; they suggested that the city was named for the god Apollo. In general, for the founder see Roll in *Apollonia-Arsuf,* 1: 6 n. 4.

4. It was Stark (*Gaza,* 452) who suggested that **Sozousa** in Hierokles 719.5 was identical with Apollonia. In Cyrenaica, APOLLONIA and Sozousa were probably identical; cf. also APOLLONIA/Sozopolis in Pisidia and Apollonia/Sozopolis in Thrace.

5. Avi-Yonah suggested that the **territory of Apollonia** was relatively small, bordered on the north by the Bdellopotamos, on the east by the Plain of Capharsaba, and on the south by the "Waters of Pegai" (*Geography,* 145 and map 12 on p. 144). Contra: B. Isaac, who has correctly criticized Avi-Yonah's assumptions and claims regarding city territories (in *Roman Army,* ed. Kennedy, 162–65 = Isaac, *Near East,* 296–301 and postscript, 307–9).

APOLLONIA IN COELE SYRIA

Stephanos (s.v. "Apollonia 12") mentions an Apollonia that was *περὶ τὴν κοίλην Συρίαν.* We know nothing else about this town.

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 24"; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 60; Tcherikover, *HS,* 67.

ARETHOUSA

According to Josephus (*AJ* 14.75–6, *BJ* 1.156), among the cities that Pompey "restored to their inhabitants" was Arethousa.[1] The citation in Josephus is the only extant reference to Arethousa. We do not know whether the town was (a) named for the like-named place in Macedonia or Syria,[2] (b) a native toponym that was Hellenized, or, most probably (c) given this name because it was near a stream or spring of water. We do not know the founder.

The location is also not definitely known. Speculation about its site is often tied to the suggestion that it was previously known as Pegai and subsequently renamed Antipatris. Pegai/Antipatris is usually placed at Rosh ha-Ayin, 5 kilometers east of the modern Petach Tikvah.[3]

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In general see Hölscher, *Palästina,* 61; Tcherikover, *HS,* 79; id., *HCJ,* 104; Avi-Yonah, *BJPES* 10 (1942) 18–19 (Hebrew); id., *Geography,* 145–47; id., *Gazetteer,* 29; and id., *EJ* s.v. "Arethusa"; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 13; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 23; Schürer, *History*², 2: 167f.; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 63–64; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 176f. and n. 161, 207f.; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 63.

For the results of excavation see *NEAEHL* s.v. "Aphek (in Sharon)" and literature cited there.

1. **Founder.** Hölscher (*Palästina,* 59, 61), citing Appian (*Syr.* 57), suggested Seleukos I Nikator might have founded Arethousa in southern Syria as well as the like-named city in northern Syria. Appian did include an Arethousa among the colonies founded by Seleukos that were named for cities in Greece and Macedonia. However, since Seleukos never controlled southern Syria, Appian cannot have been referring to this town; most likely the reference is to ARETHOUSA in northern Syria. Avi-Yonah (*Gazetteer,* 29) tentatively suggested that Pompey refounded Pegai as Arethousa. The text of the *AJ* (14.75) explicitly says that Pompey gave back various cities to their inhabitants; the text of the *BJ* (1.156–57) says that Pompey "freed" these cities and adds that he restored the cities to their "legitimate citizens." There is nothing in either text that says Pompey actually refounded any of these cities. In any event, R. D. Sullivan's suggestion (*ANRW* 2:8 [1977] 210) that the Arethousa mentioned by Josephus is the city in northern Syria (rather than the one in southern Syria) is not convincing.

2. In addition to the city of Arethousa in Macedonia, there were many springs with that name in Greece; see further Hirschfeld and Wagner, *RE* s.v. "Arethusa." Avi-Yonah (*EJ* s.v. "Arethusa"; see also s.v. "Antipatris"; and *Geography,* 146) claimed Arethousa in southern Syria was named for the ARETHOUSA in northern Syria. On the

other hand, Benzinger (*RE* s.v. "Arethousa 10") equated the latter two settlements; Schmitt (*Siedlungen,* 64) raised the possibility of confusion of the two settlements.

3. Avi-Yonah remarked (*Gazetteer,* 29; id. in *Jewish People,* 93; cf. *Geography,* 145): "There is hardly another place in Palestine which changed its name so many times." He suggested the following sequence: Aphek (biblical) → Pegai (Hellenistic) → Arethousa (founded by Pompey)? → Antipatris (founded by Herod); and identified Rosh ha-Ayin as the site. Jones (*CERP*[2], 257, 275) and Kasher (*Hellenistic Cities,* 176 n. 161, 207f.), among others, also suggested that Antipatris might have been the refounded Arethousa and that the latter could also have been known as *Πηγαί,* i.e., "The Springs." If this equation is valid and if we definitely know the location of Pegai/Antipatris, then we would, of course, know the location of Arethousa. Unfortunately, there is no extant information that can prove this line of reasoning.

W. F. Albright (*BASOR* 11 [1923] 6–7; *JPOS* 3 [1923] 50–53; see also A. Alt, *ZDPV* 45 (1922) 220–23) apparently did not believe Pegai was refounded as Arethousa; in any event, he suggested the sequence was Aphek → Pegai → Antipatris. (On Aphek [Hebrew, "riverbed, stream"] see, for example, Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 146; id., *EJ* s.v. "Aphek 1"; P. Beck and M. Kochavi, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Aphek" and literature cited there; *AEHL* s.v. "Aphek; Antipatris"; M. Kochavi, *BA* 44 (1981) 75–86.) Hölscher speculatively associated Arethousa with Ekron (*Palästina,* 61).

Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 104) noted that since Arethousa was the name of "a source-goddess or water nymph," we should "seek the town near some stream or spring." Nevertheless, he noted that the precise location of Arethousa was a matter of conjecture and declined to offer a specific suggestion.

As for Pegai and Antipatris we may note the following:

Pegai. Pegai is mentioned along with Joppe and Gazara (Gezer) by Josephus as being among the cities of the coastal plain that had been captured by Antiochos VIII (*AJ* 13.261; cf. 246); cf. also *M. Parah* 8.10 ("the waters of Pegai"); *TB Sanhedrin* 5b; *TB Baba Bathra* 74b. *PSI* IV 406 (= Scholl, *Sklaverei,* no. 6 = D. F. Graf and H. I. MacAdam, *Aram* 2 (1990) 69, 75 [bibliography] = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 27), a papyrus from the Zenon archive, mentions Pegai, PTOLEMAIS, and Joppe in connection with the slave trade from Amman, ancient Hauran, and the land of the Nabataeans. The precise location of this Pegai is not definitely known, though most suggestions would place it at Rosh ha-Ayin; see, for example, Alt, *ZDPV* 45 (1922) 220–23; Albright, *JPOS* 3 (1923) 51; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 433; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 207–8 and notes; Graf and MacAdam, *Aram* 2 (1990) 72.

Antipatris. Josephus indicates that Herod built Antipatris in the Plain of Kefar Sava and named it for his father (*AJ* 13.390, 16.142–43; *BJ* 1.99, 417). Antipatris was located at an important junction of the roads connecting Joppe, Caesarea, and Jerusalem (Acts 23.31; see also Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 167 n. 441 and sources cited there) and was considered to be the northern boundary of Judaea (*M. Gittin* 7.7; see also *Derekh Erez Rabbah* 6). The location of Antipatris is also not definitely known; again, most scholars locate it near the source of the Yarkon River and associate it with the modern Rosh ha-Ayin (see literature cited in previous paragraph as well as in *NEAEHL* s.v. "Aphek [in Sharon]"; and *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 63).

I might mention, incidentally, that according to the Babylonian Talmud (*Yoma* 69a) it was at Antipatris *(sic)* that Alexander the Great allegedly met the Jewish high priest. The literature on Alexander's supposed meeting with the high priest—either at Jerusalem or at (the site of the later) Antipatris—is quite large; see, for example, R. Marcus in the Loeb Classical Library edition of Josephus, 6: 512–32; I.J. Kazis, *The Book of the Gests of Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1962) 4–8; J. Goldstein, *Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research* 49 (1993) 59–101; D. Golan, *Berliner theologische Zeitschrift* 8 (1991) 19–30; and other discussions cited in each of these.

ARSINOE

Under "Arsinoe 4" Stephanos says it was *τῆς κοίλης Συρίας*. Under "Arsinoe 3" he mentions a *πόλις Συρίας ἐν Αὐλῶνι ἡ περίμετρος αὐτῆς στάδια ή*. It is not clear whether these are one and the same or two different towns. For further discussion see ARSINOE in Northern Syria.

BIRTA OF THE AMMANITIS

A papyrus from the Zenon archive (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59003) dated to 259 B.C. records the sale at "Birta of the Ammanitis" of a [Sid]onian (?) girl named Sphragis to Zenon. Among the guarantors and witnesses were men who are identified as "*klerouchoi* . . . of Tobias" (ll. 6,7; cf. ll. [14], 17, 19). Tobias was a member of a family prominent in Judaea and Transjordan and, as we learn from this papyrus, the head/commander of the klerouchy.[1] The members of the klerouchy included cavalrymen, one identified as a Greek from Knidos, a Macedonian, and two "Persians," one of whom was apparently a Jew. We do not definitely know where Birta of the Ammanitis was located. Two main sites have been proposed, Iraq el-Emir and the acropolis of Rabbat Amman.

i. Birta of the Ammanitis has been identified with the ruins of Qasr el-Abd at Iraq el-Emir; the latter is c. 20 kilometers west of Amman.[2] In fact, according to Josephus, the Tobiad Hyrkanos son of Joseph established himself in Transjordan as an (apparently) independent ruler, built a palace *(baris)* that he called Tyros (not Birta), and lived there from c.187 to c.175 B.C. (*AJ* 12.229–36).[3] This has prompted the identification of Qasr el-Abd with the palace of Hyrkanos that Josephus describes. Note, however, that no archaeological evidence has yet been found for significant occupation at Iraq el-Emir between the eleventh and the second century B.C.[4] The argument is *ex silentio:* since the sale of the slave girl recorded in the Zenon papyrus took place at Birta of the Ammanitis in 259 B.C., and since there is no extant evidence for occupation at Iraq el-Emir in the third century B.C., Birta of the Ammanitis cannot have been located at Iraq el-Emir.
ii. The suggestion has therefore been made that the phrase "Birta of the

Ammanitis" should be understood as the "Citadel of Amman." In short, Birta of the Ammanitis will have been the fortress on the acropolis of Rabbat Amman.[5] This means, of course, that there will have been a klerouchy there. If that is so, does the deed of sale date to before or after the founding of Philadelpheia? In other words, did the klerouchy at Rabbat Amman precede the founding of Philadelpheia, or did it exist along with the newly founded settlement? We can only speculate about this, but the likelihood would be that the klerouchy preceded the founding of the settlement. Two reasons suggest this was probably the case: (a) in the developmental progression of Hellenistic settlements, a (military) colony often represented the first or very early stage in a foundation's history;[6] (b) the founding of a military colony on the acropolis of the new settlement would have been redundant and undoubtedly would have been seen as a hostile presence—as was the case with the *katoikia* at the akra of JERUSALEM—to the Philadelpheians.

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1. On ***P. Cairo Zen.*** I 59003 (= *CPJ* 1 = Scholl, *Sklaverei,* no. 1 = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 3) **and Tobias** see, for example, Tcherikover and Fuks, *CPJ,* 1: 115–18; Bagnall, *Ptol. Poss.,* 17; C. Orrieux in *Hellenica et Judaica,* 321–33; and Durand, *Palestine,* 45–55. On eponymous commanders in the klerouchic system see the introductory comments to *P. Yale* 27.

2. On **Iraq el-Emir** see, for example, E. Will and F. Larché, *Iraq al-Amir* (Paris, 1991); A. Negev, *PECS* s.v. "Araq el-Emir"; P. W. Lapp and N. L. Lapp, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Iraq el-Emir"; F. Larché in *CFAJ,* 60–63; F. Villeneuve in *CFAJ,* 49–59; id., *GHPO,* 257–88; F. Zayadine, *MB* 22 (1982) 20–27; Arav, *Palestine,* 107–10; E. Will, *ABD* s.v. "Iraq el-Emir"; id. in *Basileia,* 221–25; F. Zayadine, *OENEA* s.v. "Iraq el-Amir"; and the literature cited in each of these.

For the **identification of Birta of the Ammanitis with the ruins at Iraq el-Emir** see, for example, Vincent, *RB* 29 (1920) 197–98; Tcherikover and Fuks, *CPJ,* 1: 116–17; A. Momigliano in *Quinto contributo alla storia degli studi classici e del mondo antico* (Rome, 1975) 1: 615–17; B. Mazar, *IEJ* 7 (1957) 139–43; D. Gera in *GREI,* 24–26. The ruins have been variously identified as, among other things, a temple (e.g., P. W. Lapp, *BASOR* 171 [1963] 27–31; P. W. Lapp and N. L. Lapp, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Iraq el-Emir"; Hengel, *Judaism*², 1: 273–74, 2: 180–82), a fortified villa (E. Will, *MB* 22 [1982] 17; E. Will, *ABD* s.v. "Iraq el-Emir"; J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1982] 464), and a fortress (Arav, *Palestine,* 109); see, in general, Arav, *Palestine,* 106–10.

For a **hoard of Ptolemaic coins** dating to the mid-third century B.C. that was found at Iraq el-Emir see C. Augé, *ADAJ* 45 (2001) 483–85.

3. On **Hyrkanos in Transjordan** see, for example, Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 137–38; Hengel, *Judaism*², 1: 272–77. On the term *baris* see E. Will, *Syria* 64 (1987) 253–59.

4. There is some **scattered evidence for occupation in the third century B.C.,** but, as P. W. Lapp observed, "as yet it cannot be isolated as a separate stratum" (*NEAEHL* s.v. "Iraq el-Emir"). In addition, we may note that the name Tobiah has been found

inscribed above two cave entrances at Iraq el-Emir (E. Littmann, *Syria: Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909, Division III, Greek and Latin Inscriptions, Section A, Southern Syria* [Leiden, 1921] 1–7). However, the (palaeographic) dating is not secure; suggestions have ranged from as early as the fifth to as late as the third century B.C.; see for example, J.-M. Dentzer et al., *AASOR* 47–48 (1983) 147; F. Villeneuve in *GHPO,* 261 and n. 8; Gera in *GREI,* 25 and n. 17.

5. For the suggestion that **Birta of the Ammanitis was the fortress on the acropolis of Rabbat Amman** see, for example, S. Mittmann in *Festschrift Galling,* 208–10; Orrieux in *Hellenica et Judaica,* 324–25; id., *Les papyrus de Zenon* (Paris, 1983) 42; E. Will, *Syria* 64 (1987) 254; Villeneuve in *GHPO,* 263, 278; MacAdam in *Amman,* 1: 29; F. Zayadine in *Iraq al-Amir,* 11. On the term *birta* see A. Lemaire and H. Lozachmeur, *Syria* 64 (1987) 261–66.

6. On the **developmental progression of Hellenistic settlements** see, for example, Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies,* 37–41.

CAPITOLIAS

A coin of Capitolias minted under Commodus bears the legend *Καπι(τωλιέων) Ἀλέξ(ανδρος) Μακε(δὼν)* or *Μακε(δόνων) γενάρ(χης)*;[1] in the late second/early third century A.D., claims of having been founded by Alexander the Great were made by a number of cities in Transjordan and elsewhere in the Middle East.[2] The toponym, of course, reflects Roman influence.[3]

In the absence of other evidence that would corroborate its claim of Alexander as progenitor I would not consider Capitolias a Hellenistic settlement.

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In general see H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 66, 76–77; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 96–107; C. J. Lenzen and E. A. Knauf, *Syria* 64 (1987) 21–46; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 535–36.

1. H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 66; see also Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* p. 102, no. 15; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 4: 20, no. 11; Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 232; *SNG ANS* 6: 1274. The era on the coins begins in 97 or 98 A.D.; see M. Sartre, *Trois ét.,* 45 and n. 150; Lenzen and Knauf, *Syria* 64 (1987) 25.

2. For the claims to **Alexander as founder** by various settlements see GERASA, nn. 2–3 and SELEUKEIA Abila, n. 2. Rigsby (*Asylia,* 535) observed that the claim of Alexander as founder supported the idea that Capitolias was "a new name for an older community, which claimed a Hellenistic past that is unknown to us."

3. The toponym, of course, is Roman, and the extant evidence reflects this; see, for example, Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 47; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 208–9 and literature cited there.

CHALKIS UNDER LIBANOS

Strabo mentions the existence of a Chalkis that was near Heliopolis and that controlled the Massyas Plain (16.2.10, 18).[1] The toponym Chalkis recalls the

name of a number of cities in Greece as well as the Chalcidic peninsula. It is therefore probable that Chalkis under Libanos was named for one of these.[2]

We know neither the founding date nor the founder. Polybius, in describing Antiochos III's movements during his campaign against Molon (222–220 B.C.), mentions the fact that the king tried to capture Gerrha.[3] If Chalkis is to be equated with Gerrha (see below) and if Polybius is referring to Gerrha by the name it had in the late third century B.C., this would, of course, indicate that at the time Gerrha had probably not been refounded. In fact, Stephanos (s.v. "Chalkis 4") describes Chalkis as a city in Syria that was founded by Monikos the Arab. It is not clear whether Stephanos was referring to this city or to CHALKIS on Belos. In support of the identification with Chalkis under Libanos is the possible identification of Monikos with Mennaios, the ruler of the Iturean principality (Strabo 16.2.10)—which included Chalkis—in the early first century B.C.[4] Tcherikover objected to Stephanos's reference to Monikos as the founder of Chalkis on the grounds that an Arab would not have founded a city with the Greek name Chalkis. This objection is perhaps too strong. Mennaios was a philhellene: we know, for example, that he named his son Ptolemaios (Strabo 16.2.10 and Jos. *BJ* 1.185). In short, it is conceivable that an Arab sheik—Monikos = Mennaios?—demonstrated his philhellenism by refounding a city and giving it a Greek name. But this is speculation.[5]

The location is not definitely known. According to Josephus (*AJ* 14.40), in the course of his march to Damascus, Pompey passed the cities of Heliopolis and Chalkis [and Abila].[6] Chalkis was in the Massyas Plain; furthermore, Strabo (16.2.18) describes it as the "akropolis" of the Massyas. Polybius (5.45) says that Brochoi and Gerrha commanded the defile called the Marsyas (Massyas). Two locations have been suggested: (a) Gerrha (the modern Anjarr), at the southern end of the Massyas Plain, and (b) a site farther north, close to HELIOPOLIS.[7]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Chalkis 15"; Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 136a; Tcherikover, *HS,* 56, 64; Jones, *CERP*², 233, 254; Grainger, *Hellenistic Phoenicia,* 113; W. Schotroff, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 130–49.

1. For **other literary references to Chalkis** see, for example, Jos. *AJ* 19.277, *BJ* 2.217; Eusebius *Chron.* 79.6 (ed. Karst); and Honigmann, "Hist. Topog.," no. 136a.

2. The **name of the city** was *ἡ ὑπὸ τῷ Λιβάνῳ Χαλκίς* (Jos. *BJ* 1.185; see also *AJ* 14.126). According to Stephanos (s.v. "Chalkis 4") the **ethnic** was *Χαλκιδηνός*.

Grainger dismissed the possibility that the town was a Hellenistic settlement on the—unconvincing—claim that in the second century B.C. Greek settlements were not being created. As a result he suggested the toponym reflected the likely presence of a copper mine in the vicinity (*Hellenistic Phoenicia,* 149–50).

3. For the **identification of Chalkis with Gerrha and for the location** see, for example, Dussaud, *Topographie,* 399–401 and map III; and n. 7, below.

4. On the **Iturean principality** see, for example, Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 46–49; Schürer, *History*², 1: 563–73; W. Schottroff, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 130–47. For **coins of rulers of Chalkis from c. 85 B.C. to 48 A.D.** (Ptolemaios son of Mennaios, Lysanias, Zenodoros, Herod of Chalkis) see, for example, Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 145, nos. 16–19; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 279ff., nos. 2–7; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 413–18; *RPC* 1: p. 662 and nos. 4768–70, 4774–80; and Seyrig, *Syria* 27 (1950) 47–49 (the earliest extant coinage dates to 73/2 B.C.). For coins of Cleopatra from Chalkis see *RPC* 1: 4771–73 and DEMETRIAS by the Sea, n. 6.

Niese (*GMS,* 2: 125) attributed Chalkis under Libanos to Seleukos I Nikator. However, Beloch correctly objected that there is no evidence to support this claim; the Chalkis that Appian includes among Seleukos's settlements is most probably "on Belos" (*GG*², 4.2: 325 n. 2).

5. A **coin dated to the first century B.C. with the ethnic *ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ*** has been tentatively assigned by Wroth to Chalkis under Libanos (*BMC Galatia, etc.,* 279, no. 1; n.b. that the assignment of the coin to Chalkis under Libanos is not definite. In ascribing the coin to this Chalkis, Wroth followed Head, *HN,* 655. However, the latter placed a question mark next to this attribution and, in fact, deleted the attribution from the second edition of *HN*). Leake (*Num. Hell.* 41) assigned a similar coin to CHALKIS on Belos.

Wroth claimed (*BMC Galatia, etc.,* 281n) that Chalkis used an era beginning either in 117 or 114 B.C. He based his argument on a coin of Chalkis (*BMC Galatia, etc.,* 281, no. 7) bearing the head of Zenodoros with the legend *ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ-*[*Τ*]*ΕΤΡΑ*[*ΡΧΟΥΚΑΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ*?] on the obverse, a head of Octavian and the letters [*Ν*]*Ε ΚΑΙ* and L*ΖΠ* on the reverse. According to Wroth, the coin was struck between 30 B.C. and 27 B.C., when Octavian—*Νέος Καῖσαρ*—assumed the title Augustus. Furthermore, L*ΖΠ* stood for "year 87," indicating an era beginning in 117 or 114 B.C. Seyrig (*Syria* 27[1950] 46f.) called attention to another example of the coin for which the readings are quite clear: *ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΕΙΚΑΙΑΡΧΗΡΕΩΣ* on the obverse, the letters *ΝΕ* and L*ΒΠΣ* on the reverse. As a result, he correctly objected that (a) the letters *ΝΕ* alone, without *ΚΑΙ,* are the initials of a magistrate, and (b) the date L *ΒΠΣ,* i.e., "year 282," is the Seleucid era (rather than an era of Chalkis) and yields a date of 26/5 B.C.

It is not clear whether coins from the early second century A.D. and inscribed *ΦΛ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ* should be assigned to Chalkis under Libanos or CHALKIS on Belos; see the latter entry, n. 8.

6. For the suggested reading "**Abila**" rather than "Pella" in the text of Josephus, *AJ* 14.40 see Dussaud, *Topographie,* 289 n.2.

7. For Gerrha as **the probable site of Chalkis** see, for example, Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 131; Dussaud, *Topographie,* 399–401; Jones, *CERP*², 254; Schottroff, *ZDPV* 98 (1982) 136–44 and map on p. 131; Honigmann ("Hist. Topog.," no. 136) also equated Chalkis with Anjarr, but on the accompanying map he placed it farther east, closer to the Anti-Lebanon. See also E. Will (*ZDPV* 99 [1983] 141–46), who denied the equation of Gerrha with Chalkis and placed Chalkis closer to HELIOPOLIS.

On Brochoi see, for example, Dussaud, *Topographie,* 44 n. 3, 402; Rey-Coquais,

MUSJ 40 (1964) 289–96. On the Massyas Plain see, for example, Rey-Coquais, *IGLS* 6: p. 22.

DEMETRIAS DAMASCUS

In his commentary on the book of Isaiah, Hieronymus remarks that Damascus "donec sub Macedonibus et Ptolemaeis rursum instauraretur" (*In Esaiam* 5.17 5.6 [*CCL* 73: 185 = *PL* 24: 175]). We know that in the decade c. 330–320 B.C. there was a very active mint at Damascus that produced Alexander coinage. It may be, therefore, that under Alexander and the Diadochoi Damascus experienced some urban revitalization. There is no evidence, however, that Alexander or the Diadochoi actually established a new foundation there.[1] In any event, Ptolemy II Philadelphos was in possession of the city in c. 274 B.C. and probably in 259. In between and subsequently in the third century B.C. the city passed to Seleucid control. Tcherikover has suggested that as a result of Philadelphos's control of Damascus the Egyptian king refounded it as an Arsinoe. The evidence that he brings in support of this is Stephanos, who mentions an ARSINOE (no. 3) in Syria and another (no. 4) in Coele Syria.[2] Unfortunately it is not clear (a) whether Stephanos has confused (and conflated?) two cities of the same name or (b) whether Stephanos's reference to Arsinoe may be taken as evidence for the refounding of Damascus.

It is possible that Damascus was renamed Demetrias for a short time toward the end of the second century/beginning of the first century B.C. The evidence is numismatic, based in part on the similarity of coin types—(1) Tyche of Damascus seated on a rock with right hand extended to the front and holding a cornucopia in left; below, a river god swimming (e.g., *LSM* 147); (2) Tyche, winged, in the guise of Nike standing holding a wreath in right hand and palm branch in left (e.g., *LSM* 144); (3) Tyche, wingless, right hand extended and left hand resting on a scepter (e.g., *LSM* 145)—found on coins with either (a) the head of Demetrios III on the obverse and on the reverse the inscription *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ*, (b) the head of Aretas on the obverse and on the reverse *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ,* (c) the head of Tigranes on the obverse and on the reverse *ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ,*[3] and, beginning in the latter part of the first century B.C., (d) the head of Cleopatra etc. on the obverse and on the reverse *ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΩΝ*.[4] In addition, Newell remarked that the monogram  on coins of Demetrios III from the mint at Damascus may represent the initial letters of *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ*. Significantly, the same monogram also occurs on coins of Demetrios II, Antiochos VIII, and Tigranes.[5]

The founder is not definitely known.[6] In any event, the new name—if it was adopted—did not gain widespread use or last long. A coin recorded by Mionnet (*Supplément,* 8: 193, no. 3) and dated to 68 B.C.—if correctly

described—bears the inscription *ΔΑΜΑΣΚ*. And a demotic letter of 103 B.C. refers to "Damascus," as do the extant literary sources.[7]

If Damascus was refounded as Demetrias, we may ask if there is any archaeological evidence for this. In fact, various attempts have been made to demonstrate the existence of a Hellenistic, Hippodamian grid system underlying the modern city. Unfortunately, none is convincing, and none can be definitely linked to the possible refounding of Damascus as Demetrias.[8] The only building firmly attested for Hellenistic Damascus is the hippodrome (Josephus *AJ* 13.389).[9] Josephus also mentions a gymnasium and theater that Herod built for the Damascenes; this, of course, would have been at the end of the first century B.C. (*BJ* 1.422). The Arab writer al-Baladuri mentioned the presence of a *baris* in the area of Damascus called al-Maqsallat (*Fatah* 122). J. Sauvaget and E. Will have suggested this was a reference to the royal palace there.[10] A dedication to Athena records the existence of an *ἄμφοδον Σαουαρηνῶν* (*SEG* 2: 839).[11]

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In general see C. Watzinger and K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die antike Stadt* (Berlin-Leipzig, 1921); J. Sauvaget, *Syria* 26 (1949) 351–58; D. Sack, *Damaskus* (Mainz am Rhein, 1989) 1–18 and maps, plans, and photographs; M. Dodinet et al., *Syria* 67 (1990) 343–54; E. Will, *Syria* 71 (1994) 1–43; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 511–13; M. Sartre, *Alexandre,* 145–46.

1. For **Alexander coins with the letters *ΔΑ*** minted at Damascus see, for example, Price, *Alexander and Philip,* pp. 398f., nos. 3197ff. On Hieronymus's comment see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 736; and Tcherikover, *HS,* 65.

2. For the suggestion that **Damascus was refounded as an Arsinoe** see Tcherikover, *HS,* 66–67; id., *HCJ* 106, 442; and ARSINOE in northern Syria. For **Damascus in the third century B.C.** see, for example, C. G. den Hertog, *ZDPV* 111 (1995) 170–76. On the question of the frontier between Seleucid and Ptolemaic territory in the third century B.C. see CHALKIS on Belos, n. 2.

3. For coins with the inscription ***ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ*** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 57–58; Babelon, *RdS* 1578; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 115, no. 9 (see also 117, no. 11); *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 289, nos. 1–3. For coins with ***ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΡΕΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΕΛΛΗΝΟΣ*** see, for example, Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins,* pp. 86–87, nos. 5–8; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 297, nos. 1–3; *LSM* 144–46. For coins with ***ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΤΙΓΡΑΝΟΥ*** see, for example, *LSM,* 147–53 (dated to between 72/1[?] and 70/69 B.C.). For the unique details of the seated Damascus Tyche that allow it to be differentiated from the Tyche of Antioch and of other cities see, for example, R. Dussaud, *Journal asiatique* (Mars–Avril 1904) 199; Newell, *LSM,* 93–94; Meshorer, *Nabataean Coins,* 13.

On the **renaming of Damascus as Demetrias** see Dussaud, *Journal asiatique* (Mars–Avril 1904) 198; Babelon, *RdS,* CLXXI–CLXXII; Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxxv–lxxvi; Newell, *LSM,* 78–84; Augé in *Archéologie,* 161; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 511. For **coins of Aretas III at Damascus** see, for example, Newell, *LSM,* 92–94, and Meshorer,

Nabataean Coins 12–15. On Aretas and Damascus see also Bellinger, "End of the Seleucids," 77–79.

There are a number of attestations for **Damascenes in Rhodes, Delos, and Athens at the end of the second/beginning of the first century B.C.** See, for example, *SEG* 42: 746.22 (= C. P. Jones, *Tyche* 7 [1992] 124–25); *I. Delos* 1925.6, 2286.1, 2287.1–2; M. T. Couilloud, *Exploration archéologique de Délos* (Paris, 1974) 1.2 (= *IG* II^2 8467); *IG* II^2 8466, 8468–70. In general, see Couilloud, *Exploration,* p. 59 (additional examples); Jones, *Tyche* 7 (1992) 129. That these persons refer to themselves as Damascenes is not necessarily evidence for or against the renaming of the city; the inscriptions in question record the names of individuals who identified themselves as Damascenes, rather than official lists of cities.

In 81 B.C. a Demetrias was among the cities that recognized the inviolability of the temple of Hekate at STRATONIKEIA in Caria (*I. Strat.* 508.74). The editor, M. Çetin Sahin, identified the city as Damascus. This identification is possible, but not entirely secure. If Damascus was refounded as a Demetrias by either Antiochos VIII or Demetrios III, we may question whether the new name was likely to have continued in use after their reigns. In support of the identification of Damascus with the Demetrias recorded in *I. Strat.* 508 one may argue that it is not likely the reference would have been to one of the other two cities of this name in the region, DEMETRIAS in the area of the medieval Krak des Chevaliers and DEMETRIAS by the Sea; neither of these was as large or prominent as Damascus. Against the identification is the fact that the Demetrias in *I. Strat.* 508 was listed along with the coastal cities of SELEUKEIA on the Bay of Issos and Kelenderis. This raises the possibility that this Demetrias was also a coastal city. If so, the logical candidate would be Demetrias by the Sea; see further SELEUKEIA on the Bay of Issos, n. 4.

4. For **coins of the late first century B.C. and later with the legend *ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΩΝ*** see, for example, *RPC* 1: 4781–4806. M. Grant (*From Imperium to Auctoritas* [Cambridge, 1946] 331 and n. 8) claimed that a coin with the head of Tiberius (or Caligula?) with the inscription *ΔΗ*[ ]*ΕΩΝ* on the reverse (see *RPC* 1: p. 644, no. 4500, and Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 56, no. B; note that Sestini, followed by Mionnet [*Description,* 5: 359, no. 147] and Seyrig, gave the legend as *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ*) invalidated the identification of Demetrias with Damascus because in the early principate the latter had its own ethnic (see M. Dodinet et al., *Syria* 67 [1990] 352). But, as Seyrig noted (*Syria* 27 [1950] 50 n. 2), the firm attribution of this coin to any particular city remains to be established; see further DEMETRIAS in northern Syria.

5. For **coins with the monogram** [monogram] see, for example, Newell, *LSM,* pp. 50ff., nos. 71–77 (Demetrios II, second reign), 114 (Antiochos VIII), 115–16, 118–19, 123, 126, 128, 130 (Demetrios III), 148–49, 152 (Tigranes); *CSE* 841 (Demetrios II, second reign), 857 (Antiochos VIII), 858, 860 (Demetrios III); *SNG Spaer* 2269 (Demetrios II, second reign), 2658–63 (Antiochos VIII).

6. Babelon suggested the **founder** was Demetrios III Eukairos, who ruled in Damascus from 96 to 87 B.C. (*RdS,* CLXXI; followed by Wroth, *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxxvi; and M. Dodinet et al., *Syria* 67 [1990] 352). On the other hand, if the monogram [monogram] on the coin of Demetrios II does represent the initial letters of *ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΣ* (see above, n. 5), it would point back to him as the likely founder.

7. For the **demotic letter** dated to September 103 B.C. see W. Clarysse and J. K. Winnicki in *Conflict,* ed. Van 't Dack et al., 52, l. 19.

8. Sauvaget argued that Damascus was laid out on a **grid plan** similar to that found, for example, at ANTIOCH near Daphne and APAMEIA on the Axios; hence Damascus was refounded in the Hellenistic period (*Syria* 26 [1949] 314–58); see also F. E. Peters, *DM* 1 (1983) 272. In fact, D. Sack has demonstrated that the alignment of streets dates from the reconstruction of the city after the massacres of 1860 (*Damaskus,* 39–40).

9. On the **hippodrome** see Watzinger and Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die antike Stadt,* 63 n. 106; and Will, *Syria* 71 (1994) 34.

10. For the ***baris*** at Damascus see Sauvaget, *Syria* 26 (1949) 351–55; Will, *Syria* 71 (1994) 13. Note that, according to Yakut (1.600) and the *Marasid* (1.149; see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 420) there was a river named al-Baris near Damascus; furthermore, the Gate of al-Baris in Damascus took its name from the river, and the whole area around the city was sometimes called al-Baris.

Note that the term *baris* normally referred to a (fortified) manor house; see, for example, *RC* 18.2, 25; 20.5, 11, 16; and Welles's discussion, *RC,* pp. 321f. For the Aramaic *birta* see, for example, *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59003.13 (= Durand, *Palestine,* no. 3).

11. For the ethnic ***Σαουαρηνός*** and the ***ἄμφοδον Σαουαρηνῶν*** see also M. Sartre, *Syria* 59 (1982) 82 and n. 69d; E. Will, *Syria* 71 (1994) 32. For ***amphoda*** in other settlements see, for example, STRATONIKEIA in Caria, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, and SKYTHOPOLIS.

DION

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Dion 7"), Dion in Coele Syria and PELLA were founded by Alexander the Great.[1] There is no other extant evidence to indicate he was the founder of this settlement.[2] In any event, Synkellos (558–59, ed. Mosshammer) included a Lian (= Dion?) among the Macedonian colonies in southern Syria. Dion was the name of an important Macedonian city as well as a number of cities in northern Greece.[3] It is possible, therefore, that the settlement in Coele Syria was named for one of these cities. Stephanos also adds the comment that the water at Dion in Coele Syria was unhealthy. We know little about the history of Dion. According to Josephus it was one of the cities captured by Alexander Jannaios; later it was liberated by Pompey and incorporated into the Decapolis (Josephus *AJ* 13.393, 14.75; Pliny *NH* 5.74).

Coins of Dion from the early third century A.D. are extant. On the coinage the **ethnic** is *ΔΕΙΗΝΩΝ* or, occasionally, *ΔΙΗΝΩΝ*. One of the coin types (similar to that found at ABILA) has on the reverse a hexastyle temple within which is a flaming altar and the legend *ΔΕΙΗΝΩΝ ΚΟΙ*(*ΛΗΣ*) *ΣΥΡ*(*ΙΑΣ*) and variants thereof. The coins are dated by an era beginning in 64 B.C.[4]

The precise location is not known. Pliny (*NH* 5.74) mentions it between HIPPOS and PELLA. Ptolemy (5.14.18) includes it among the cities of Coele Syria and records it between PELLA and GADARA. Most conjectures place

it in northern Transjordan at Tell Ash'ari, 24 kilometers northwest of Adraa (biblical Edrei).[5]

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In general see de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 378–82; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 63; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 55–56; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Dion 5"; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 306–7; Tcherikover, *HS,* 76; id., *HCJ,* 99; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 38; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 40, 173; id., *Gazetteer,* 52; id., *EJ* s.v. "Dium"; Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 148–49; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* passim; M. Sartre in *Decapolis,* 149–51.

1. For **other literary references to Dion** see, for example, Josephus, *AJ* 14.47, *BJ* 1.132. Hierokles 722.4, George of Cyprus 1061, *ND* 81.23 (ed. Seeck), and Damaskios in Photius *Bibl.* 347b (ed. Henry) have "Dia"; cf. H. Gelzer, *Julius Africanus,* 1: 257. For variant versions of the toponym in the manuscript tradition of Josephus see Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 148 n. 333; and Sartre in *Decapolis,* 149.

2. Avi-Yonah has suggested the **founder** may have been Perdikkas *(Geography,* 40); M. Hengel thought it was Antigonos (*Judaism*[2], 1: 14). Hölscher's suggestion (*Palästina,* 63) that Seleukos I Nikator might have given Dion a Greek city constitution is unlikely because, as far as we know, Seleukos never controlled this area.

3. On **Synkellos's list** see G. Schmitt, *ZDPV* 103 (1987) 24; and PHILOTERIA, n. 1. For **Dion in Macedonia** see Papazoglou, *Villes,* 108–11.

4. For the **coinage** of Dion see, for example, Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 322; id., *Supplément,* 8: 226; de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 378–83; *BMC Arabia,* xxxi–ii, 28, nos. 1–4; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* lxxxv–vi, 303, nos. 1–2; Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 68, 77, nos. 15–17; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 449; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 116–17, 118–21, nos. 1–13; *SNG ANS* 6: 1277–82; *SNG Schweiz* II 2196–97; Y. Meshorer, *Atiqot* 11 (1976) 70, no. 151; and Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 100–103. For the hexastyle temple on the coinage see, for example, *SNG ANS* 6: 1277–80.

For the ethnic *ΔΙΗΝΩΝ* see also Stephanos s.v. "Dion." For the **era** in use at Dion see Stein, "Studies," 30–33.

I should mention a group of bronze coins bearing a head of Tyche and on the reverse the legend *ΔΚΣ ΔΙΟΥ Α.* (e.g., *BMC Arabia,* 143–45, nos. 19–40; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 320, nos. 1–4; *SNG* [Cop] *Palestine-Characene* 270–71). De Saulcy (*Numismatique,* 378–80) identified this as an autonomous emission of Dion dated according to the Seleucid era, i.e., year 224 (= 89/8 B.C.). The *Α* would have referred to the first year of the city's autonomy. This attribution has not been accepted. Most scholars assign the coins to a mint farther east and suggest (a) *ΔΙΟΥ Α* refers to the first day of the Macedonian month of Dios, and (b) *ΔΚΣ* refers either to the Seleucid era (i.e., 89/8 B.C.) or the Parthian era (i.e., 24 B.C.). Thus W. Wroth (*BMC Parthia,* xlvi–xlvii n. 2), G. F. Hill (*BMC Arabia,* xxxi n. 3) and Mørkholm (*SNG* [Cop] *Palestine,* 270–71) assigned the coin to SELEUKEIA on the Tigris. D. Sellwood (*An Introduction to the Coinage of Parthia,* 2d ed. [London, 1980] no. 92.3) and C. Augé (*GHPO,* 325) suggested Ekbatana. E. T. Newell (cited in McDowell, *CST,* 155 n. 12) and Le Rider (*Suse,* 43 n. 2, 416: "possibly Ekbatana") pointed to a mint in Iran. In general see C. Augé in *GHPO,* 325 and n. 3.

5. On the probable **location** of Dion at Ash'ari see, for example, E. Schwartz,

Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen (1906) 359–61; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 306–7; Honigmann's comment. on Hierokles 722.4; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 173; H. Bietenhard, *ZDPV* 79 (1963) 27; Sartre in *Decapolis,* 149–51. In support of this identification Sartre called attention to the discovery of a number of funerary stelae at the village of Tafas, 5 km east of Ash'ari; the stelae were dated, apparently by an era beginning in 64 B.C. (on the era see above, n. 4). This lends support to the suggestion that there was an ancient settlement at Ash'ari that used this era. See also Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 169, map 19; *Atlas of Israel,* map IX/6. In general see Bietenhard, *ZDPV* 79 (1963) 27; and Sartre in *Decapolis,* 149–51.

DIONYSIAS

It is likely that Dionysias in the ancient Hauran was a Hellenistic settlement. Following a suggestion of Ernest Will, Glen Bowersock called attention to the fact that in the *Dionysiaca* Nonnos says that Dionysos went to Tyre by way of Byblos and Beirut, crossed the Lebanon Mountains, and descended into Arabia. Thence he went to a forested city on a mountainous site; the city was called Nysa (20.143–48).[1] Bowersock noted that the city of Suweida was called Dionysias in the Roman period and that among the cities named Nysa, Stephanos mentioned one (no. 4) that was in Arabia.[2] Hence he reasonably suggested that tradition brought Dionysos to Suweida, that Nysa was an early name for the city, and that it was bestowed on the city by the Seleucid kings as a counterbalance to the Nabataean Bostra. He also called attention to excavation at Suweida that has uncovered evidence for a sanctuary and other artifacts dating to the end of the second century/beginning of the first century B.C.[3]

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In general see G. Bowersock in *Syrie,* 341–48; Waddington, comment. on *I. Syrie* 2309; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Dionysias 3."

1. See E. Will in Chuvin, *Mythologie,* 264 n. 49; and Bowersock in *Syrie,* 344–46. Cf., however, P. Chuvin who objected that, according to Nonnos (*Dionysiaca* 20.298), Dionysos's retinue was said to have been assembled on Mount Carmel (*Mythologie,* 264 n. 49). This would point to SKYTHOPOLIS, which, of course, was also known as Nysa. But Bowersock correctly pointed out that Skythopolis was in Palestine, not Arabia, and is not mountainous (in *Syrie,* 345).

For the association of Dionysos and his nurse, Nysa, in the mythology and iconography of NYSA in Caria see R. Lindner, *Mythos und Identität* (Stuttgart, 1994) 109ff.; and U.W. Gottschall, *LIMC Suppl.* I, s.v. "Nysa."

2. For references to **Dionysias** see, for example, Photius *Bibl.* 242 [196] (ed. Henry) = Damaskios *Vit. Isid.* frag. 196 (p. 270, ed. Zintzen); Hierokles 723.3; George of Cyprus 1072; *I. Syrie* 2299; *IGR* 3: 1277–78.

3. For the results of **excavation at Suweida** see M. Kalos, *Topoi* 9 (1999) 777–94.

GERASA ANTIOCH ON THE CHRYSORHOAS

Remains from the Bronze and Iron ages have been found at and near the site of Gerasa; however, the extant archaeological evidence does not allow definite conclusions about the site and its importance prior to the Hellenistic period. At a minimum, the toponym Gerasa is probably Semitic and thus suggests pre-Hellenistic habitation at the site.[1] Evidence from late antiquity and the Byzantine period associated the founding of Gerasa with Alexander the Great. According to a late tradition recorded in a gloss of Iamblichus's commentary on the *Arithmetica* of Nicomachus (L. Holsten et al. in their edition of Stephanos, 3: 543), the toponym was derived from the fact that Alexander settled a group of veterans (*γέροντες*) at the site. According to the *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. "Gerasenos"), after Alexander took the city and killed the "young men," he discharged the "old men" who founded the settlement. Dismissing the fanciful etymology for the toponym, we are left with a (late) association of Alexander with the founding of a settlement at Gerasa. Some coins of Septimius Severus and Caracalla have a bust of Alexander and the legend *ΑΛΕΞ(ΑΝΔΡΟΣ) ΜΑΚ(ΕΔΩΝ) ΚΤΙ(ΣΤΗΣ) ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ* on the reverse; other coins minted under Elagabalus have a bust of Alexander and the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ*. And an inscription, dated palaeographically to the second half of the second century A.D., mentions certain "Macedonians." On the other hand, a pedestal that bore a statue of Perdikkas, Alexander's general, had a dedication that is dated palaeographically to the first half of the third century A.D. The claim of both Alexander and Perdikkas as founder is similar to the situation found at SAMAREIA.[2] There is, however, no inherent contradiction between the claims of both Alexander and Perdikkas as "founder" of either Gerasa or Samareia. After all, it is possible that Perdikkas founded the colony at Gerasa on orders from the king. It is worth noting that the extant evidence for Alexander as founder of Gerasa is late: the literary evidence is Byzantine, and the numismatic evidence dates to the early third century, as does the epigraphic evidence relating to Perdikkas. Furthermore, the epigraphic evidence for Macedonians at Gerasa dates to the latter part of the second century. This is similar to the situation for various cities in Asia Minor that first laid claim to Alexander as their founder or discovered their "Greek" or "Macedonian" ancestry in the Imperial period.[3]

A coin of Ptolemy II Philadelphos found at Birketein, north of Gerasa, is the only evidence available that might indicate a Ptolemaic commercial presence in the region.[4]

During the Seleucid period the city was renamed Antioch on the Chrysorhoas. The name obviously indicates a Seleucid foundation. We do not definitely know, however, who was the founder or when the renaming took place. However, the presence of a temple of Olympian Zeus in the (Roman)

city and the well-known interest of Antiochos IV in promoting the cult of Zeus during his reign prompted Kraeling to suggest Antiochos IV was the founder.[5] In any event, the oldest extant attestation for the ethnic "Antiochenes on the Chrysorhoas" is found on a lead weight dated to 143/2 B.C. The new name—often along with the old—is also attested on coins and inscriptions in the Imperial period: *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΕΡΑΣΗΝΩΝ*.[6] However, the old name, Gerasa, continued to be used.[7] It is also found—by itself—on coins, as well as in the literary sources.[8] The Chrysorhoas is generally identified as the modern Wadi Jerash.[9]

Stamped Rhodian amphora handles dated to c. 210–180 B.C. that were found at the site provide evidence for trade with the Aegean world.[10] The first extant literary notice of the city relates to its conquest by Theodoros son of Zenon Kotylas, the tyrant of PHILADELPHEIA (Jos. *BJ* 1.86–87,104). In the last years of his reign Alexander Jannaios conquered the city and seized the treasure that Theodoros had kept there (Josephus *BJ* 1.104 ["Gerasa"]; cf. the parallel passage in *AJ* 13.393 ["Essa"]; on this see Schürer, *History*², 2: 150 n. 345 for the MSS reading of the city in question). Pompey probably brought it under Roman rule and integrated it in the province of Syria (Jos. *AJ* 14.74–76, *BJ* 1.155–57). Gerasa was part of the Decapolis. In the Roman period it used an era beginning in 63 B.C.[11]

The archaeological remains of the city are quite impressive and indicate that in Roman times Gerasa was a very prosperous city.[12] On the other hand, the excavators of the site could not identify a distinctly Hellenistic level. At the very least, it appears that the Hellenistic settlement was located on the southern hill, around the later temple of Zeus. The plan of the Roman city, with the main street intersected at right angles by side streets, reflects the typical Roman adaptation of the Hippodamian town plan found throughout the Near East.

There is extensive epigraphic evidence relating to the civic life of Gerasa under the empire.[13] Under the empire, the worship of Artemis, the patron goddess of the city, and Zeus was especially important.[14]

An inscription found at Gerasa and dated to the first half of the third century A.D. mentions that Marcus Aurelius Maro, apparently a Gerasene, was, among other things, a Phoenicarch. This office is not completely understood, but the parallel with Lyciarch, Asiarch, Cretarch, and so on suggests it was the presidency of a provincial diet. If this is so, and if Maro was a Gerasene, then we may see in this inscription evidence for ties between Gerasa and Phoenicia in the third century A.D.[15] The ethnic makeup of Hellenistic Gerasa is not completely known. Nevertheless, the extant evidence for, among others, Macedonians, Greeks, Jews, and Nabataeans in Roman Gerasa may reflect the population of the Hellenistic city as well.[16] The Nabataean presence undoubtedly reflects the city's connection with the trade routes between

southern Arabia, Damascus, Phoenicia, and Judea. The surviving coinage dates to the Imperial period.[17]

In the fourth century A.D. Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 64.3, ed. Klostermann) described Gerasa as a "remarkable" (ἐπίσημος) *polis* of Arabia, and Ammianus (14.8.13) mentioned the strength of its walls. Yakubi, writing in 891 A.D., described the town as half Greek, half Arab (*Geography* 115). Gerasa was located at the modern Jerash, 34 kilometers north of Amman.[18]

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In general see Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 51–52; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Gerasa 2"; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 63–64; Tcherikover, *HS,* 76–77; id., *HCJ,* 100; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 331–32; Rostovtzeff, *Caravan Cities,* 55–90; Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa;* Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 34; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 61; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 71–72; Schürer, *History*², 2: 149–55; I. Browning, *Jerash and the Decapolis* (London, 1982); R. G. Khouri, *Jerash: A Frontier City of the Roman East* (London and New York, 1986); various articles in *Syria* 66 (1989); articles in *MB* 62 (1990); Arav, *Palestine,* 113; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 147–51; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 169–70; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 538–39; J. Seigne, "Gerasa de la Décapole et le sanctuaire de Zeus Olympien" (Thèse de doctorat, Univ. de Versailles, Saint-Quentin-en-Yvelines, 1996) *[N.V.].*

For the results of archaeological excavation see, for example, Kraeling, ed., *Gerasa;* J. Seigne in, *Archaeology of Jordan,* 316–37; S. Applebaum and A. Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gerasa"; M. M. Aubin, *OEANE* s.v. "Jerash"; F. Zayadine, ed., *Jerash Archaeological Project,* vols. 1 and 2 (Amman, 1986, 1988); *Syria* 66 (1989); F. Braemer, *Archaeology in Jordan* s.v. "Jerash"; Seigne, *ADAJ* 37 (1993) 341–51.

1. For the **evidence for a Bronze and Iron Age presence at and near the site of Gerasa** see S. Applebaum and A. Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gerasa." For the likelihood that Gerasa is a Semitic name see Kraeling, *Gerasa,* 27. For the form "Garasa" instead of "Gerasa" see *CIL* XVI 15; see also Pliny *NH* 5.74, where "Galasa" should be emended to "Gerasa." For the name Gerasa (in its West Semitic form, *grsw*) in a Nabataean inscription from Petra see J. Starcky, *RB* 72 (1965) 95–96.

2. For the **coins of Septimius Severus and Caracalla** with a bust of Alexander and the legend *ΑΛΕΞ*(*ΑΝΔΡΟΣ*) *ΜΑΚ*(*ΕΔΩΝ*) *ΚΤΙ*(*ΣΤΗΣ*) *ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ* see Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 165, nos. 29, 31; id., *Liber Annuus* 25 (1975) 81f., nos. 28, 30; Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965), 25–28. For **coins of Elagabalus** with a bust of Alexander and the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ* see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 166, nos. 34–35; id., *Liber Annuus* 25 (1975) 83, nos. 33–34; *SNG Schweiz* II 2537. See also Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 218–20. Other cities in the region also claimed Alexander as founder or progenitor: e.g., CAPITOLIAS, DION, and, possibly, PELLA and SELEUKEIA Abila.

For the **inscription mentioning the Macedonians** see *Gerasa,* 410, no. 78. For the **dedication** see *Gerasa* 423, no. 137. For the possibility that Perdikkas might have founded Gerasa on the orders of Alexander see SAMAREIA and Schürer, *History*², 2: 150; for Perdikkas as founder of a Macedonian colony at Gerasa see Jones, *CERP*², 251. Hammond (*GRBS* 39 [1998] 262) suggested that Alexander founded the settlement but left Perdikkas to supervise the construction.

3. For the "**Alexandrolatry**" under the Severan emperors see THESSALONIKE

and OTROUS; see also J. M. Blaquez and U. Espinosa in *Neronia IV: Alejandro Magno, modelo de los emperadores romanos,* ed. J. M. Croisille (Brussels, 1990) 25–36, 37–51. For the **discovery of a "Greek" or "Macedonian" ancestry by cities of Asia Minor** in the Imperial period see EUMENEIA in Phrygia. See also Appendix III.

4. For the **coin of Ptolemy II found at Birketein** see Kraeling and Bellinger in *Gerasa,* 30, 500.

5. For **Antiochos IV Epiphanes as the founder** see Kraeling in *Gerasa,* 30–31, followed by J. Seigne. The latter observed that the earliest extant material remains also support this suggestion (in *Decapolis,* 190; in *Archaeology of Jordan,* 321; see also A. N. Barghouti, *SHAJ* 1 [1982] 220; Barghouti noted that the earliest evidence for occupation dates to the second century B.C. Note, however, that in his report in the *Jerash Archaeological Project,* 1: 53, Seigne remarked that the oldest traces of Hellenistic occupation date to the *second half* of the century B.C. [italics mine]). For Epiphanes' interest in Olympian Zeus see Mørkholm, *Antiochus IV,* 130ff.

6. For the **lead weight** with the ethnic *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΧΡΥΣ*(*ΟΡΟΑΙ*) see *Gerasa,* 461, no. 251; and Seyrig, *Syrian Coins,* 33 n. 45. For the **coins of the latter half of the second century A.D. with the (often abbreviated) legend *ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩ*(*Ν*) *ΠΡ*(*ΟΣ*) *ΧΡ*(*ΥΣΟΡΟΑΙ*) *ΤΩ*(*Ν*) *ΠΡ*(*ΟΤΕΡΟΝ*) *ΓΕ*(*ΡΑΣΗΝΩΝ*)** see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 160–63, nos. 9–12, 16–17, 21–23: id., *Liber Annuus* 25 (1975) 77ff., nos. 10–12, 16–17, 21–23b; N. Van der Vliet, *RB* 57 (1950) 250–52; *SNG ANS* 6: 1347–48. For inscriptional evidence see *Gerasa,* 401–2, no. 58 (130 A.D.): *ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρ̣ὸ̣ς τῷ Χρυσορό̣ᾳ̣ τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν*; similar ethnics in *Gerasa,* 401, no. 56/7 (115 A.D.); 426, no. 147 (179–80 A.D.?); 406, no. 69 (= *IGR* 3: 1345 and 1357, 191 or 190 A.D.); 428, no. 153 (209–211 A.D.). See also a Latin inscription from 130 A.D. (G. L. Cheesman, *JRS* 4 [1914], 13–16; and Welles, *Gerasa,* 390–91, no. 30): Antioch[i]ae ad Chrysorhoan quae et Gerasa. At Pergamon an inscription from the early first century A.D. records a dedication by *Ἀντιοχέων τῶν* [*ἐπὶ τ*]*ῷ Χρυσορόᾳ τῶν πρότερο*[*ν Γε*]*ρασηνῶν ἡ* [*β*]*ουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμ*[*ος*] (*I. Perg.* 2: 437 = *IGR* 4: 374). It is interesting to note that the designation for the city in the Imperial period made specific reference to the earlier toponym as well. Finally, an epitaph on a funerary stele (i.e., a private document) from the mid-third century A.D. found at Jerash refers simply to "Antioch" (*Gerasa,* 456, no. 232.7–8, 11).

7. For the **persistence of the old, native name alongside the new toponym** see, for example, PHILADELPHEIA Rabbat Amman and APAMEIA Kelainai.

8. For the **ethnic "Gerasene"** on coins see, for example, *BMC Arabia* 31–32; *SNG ANS* 6: 1349 (*ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ*), 1350 (*ΓΕΡΑΣΗΝΩΝ*); Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 158, nos. 3–7 (*ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ*). For the ethnic "Gerasene" in inscriptions see, for example, *Gerasa,* 401ff., nos. 56/7, 58, 69, 143–45, 147, 153 (*ἡ πόλις Ἀντιοχέων τῶν πρὸς τῷ Χρυσορόᾳ τῶν πρότερον Γερασηνῶν*). Quasi-autonomous coinage minted in the first century A.D. has the legend *ΓΕΡΑΣΑ*: e.g., *SNG ANS* 6: 1342; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 158, nos. 1–2. For the toponym Gerasa in a Latin inscription see *Gerasa,* 390, no. 30. For the name Gerasa (in its West Semitic form, *grsw*) in a Nabataean inscription see above, n. 1.

For **Gerasa in the literary sources** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 13.398, *BJ* 2.458, 3.47; Ptolemy 5.14.18; Origen *In Joan.* 6.24 (ed. Preuschen [= *PG* 14.269]); Epiphanios *Panarion* 73.26 (ed. Holl); Hierokles 722.7; Georg. Cyp. 1063; Mark 5.1 and Luke 8.2 (on which see below, n, 16); *Midrash Samuel* on 2 *Samuel* 24.6; *Ginzey Schechter,* 1: 111–12. See also Dessau, *ILS* 1990.

9. For the identification of the modern Wadi Jerash with the Chrysorhoas see, for example, Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Chrysorhoas 9"; Khouri, *Jerash,* 9.

10. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see Welles in *Gerasa,* 460, nos. 241–42; see also nos. 243–47.

11. Stephanos (s.v. "Gerasa") mentions that Gerasa was in "Coele Syria" and was part of the Decapolis; Pliny (*NH* 5.74, "Galasa") includes it in his list of cities in the Decapolis. On the **Decapolis** see PELLA/BERENIKE, n. 9. Although Gerasa originally belonged to the province of Syria, under Trajan it was assigned to the (new) province of Arabia; see Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 153, 157–58; Bowersock, *ZPE* 5 (1970) 37–39. Despite this, Ptolemy, who was writing in the mid-second century A.D. but did not record places by Roman provinces, reckoned Gerasa among the other cities of the Decapolis in Syria (5.14.18); see SELEUKEIA Gadara, n. 1.

For the **era** at Gerasa see Stein, "Studies," 46–49.

12. For the **archaeological remains at Gerasa** see Fisher, Kraeling et al. in *Gerasa,* 11–25, 73–158; S. Applebaum and A. Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gerasa"; W. L. MacDonald, *PECS* s.v. "Gerasa"; Khouri, *Jerash.* For the **Hippodamian town plan** at Gerasa see Kraeling in *Gerasa,* 41.

13. For the **civic life in Gerasa under the empire** see, for example, the following: ***boule*** **and** ***demos,*** I.Perg. 2: 437; *Gerasa,* pp. 371ff., nos. 15, 46, 141, 181; ***boule***, no. 189; ***demos***, nos. 3, 4; ***bouleutes***, nos. 26, 62, 170; ***archon***, nos. 45, 74; **gymnasiarch,** nos. 3, 4, 192.17; ***archontes,*** no. 45; ***dekaprotos,*** nos. 45, 46; ***grammateus***, nos. 45, 46, 181 (?); ***proedros,*** nos. 45, 46, 73, 190; ***agoranomos***, nos. 53, 134, 188; ***epimeletes,*** nos. 40, 46, 114, 146, 150–52, 154–59, 168, 172, 186; ***dioiketes***, no. 74; ***strategos,*** nos. 62, 161 (see Welles's note). See further Kraeling in *Gerasa,* 39–67; and indices to inscriptions in *Gerasa.* Under the empire the **era** of Pompey was used (C. C. McCown, *TAPA* 64 [1933] 77–88).

14. For the sanctuary of **Artemis** see, for example, C. C. McCown, *AASOR* 13 (1931–1932) 131–37; C. S. Fisher in *Gerasa,* 125–38; R. Parapetti, *Syria* 66 (1989) 1–39; Browning, *Jerash,* 33–36, 86–93,159–67; Applebaum and Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gerasa," 473. In inscriptions Artemis is called *θέα πατρῴα* (*Gerasa,* 388, no. 27) and *κυρία* (*Gerasa,* nos. 28, 62); for other epigraphic references to Artemis see *Gerasa,* nos. 32, 43, 50. On the coinage of Gerasa, the prevailing type is the bust of Artemis as Tyche, with the legend *ΑΡΤΕΜΙΣ ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ/ΤΥΧΗ ΓΕΡΑΣΗΝΩΝ* (e.g., de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 384–85; *BMC Arabia,* xxxiii–xxxv, 31–32, nos. 1–9; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 159–65, nos. 4–9, etc.; *SNG ANS* 6: 1343–46, 1349–50). For Artemis and Tyche at Gerasa see Vry, "Zeus und Tyche," 135–37. For other goddesses worshipped at Gerasa see McCown, *AASOR* 13 (1931–1932) 137–64.

The Sanctuary of **Zeus** was situated on a slope, adjacent to the city's southern theater. It was built in c. 163 A.D.; however, it appears that a series of sanctuaries dating to the early first century B.C. and earlier may already have been built at the site. See, for example, J. Seigne, *Syria* 62 (1985) 287–95; id., *Dossiers histoire et archéologie* 118 (Juillet–Août 1987) 56–61; id. in *Archaeology of Jordan,* 319–23; id., *MB* 62 (1990) 12–13, id., *Topoi* 7 (1997) 993–1004; A.-M. Rasson-Seigne and J. Seigne, *Syria* 66 (1989) 118; see also Kraeling in *Gerasa,* 54; Browning, *Jerash,* 35–37, 114–27; Applebaum and Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gerasa," 472–73. Inscriptions relating to the cult of Zeus reflect its importance in the religious life of the city (e.g., *Gerasa,* pp. 373ff., nos. 2–7, 9–10, 13–14, 26, 42).

15. For the office of **Phoenicarch** see *Gerasa,* p. 441, no. 188.12–13; cf. *OGIS* 596; *Cod. Just.* 5.27.1 (ed. P. Krueger); *Novell.* 89.15 (ed. R. Schoell and G. Kroll). See also Welles's commentary on no. 188; P. Perdrizet, *RA* (1899) 36–42; M. Sartre in *Mélanges Balty,* 168–69. For ties between other cities in Phoenicia and southern Syria in the Hellenistic period see PHILADELPHEIA Rabbat Amman, n. 3.

16. For **Macedonians,** see above, n. 2. The widespread evidence for the worship of the gods of the Greek pantheon (e.g., in addition to Zeus, and Artemis [above, n. 14], also Apollo [*Gerasa,* no. 38], Hera [no. 17], Nemesis [no. 40], and Poseidon [no. 39]; see also J. D. Wineland in *Decapolis,* 311) suggests that there were **Greeks** living in Gerasa or, at least, that (part of) the population was quite Hellenized.

According to Josephus (*BJ* 2.458, 479–80, 4.487–8) there were **Jews** living in Gerasa at the time of the Jewish Revolt. The likelihood that this community already existed in the late Hellenistic period is enhanced by the discovery of Jewish and procuratorial coins in Roman levels. The earliest of these coins were issued by Hyrkanos (135–104 B.C.); see Kraeling in *Gerasa,* 34, 45, 500. Note, on the other hand, B. Isaac, who has argued that the text of Josephus *BJ* 4.487 is corrupt and that we should read "Gesara = Gezer" rather than "Gerasa" (in M. Fischer, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea* [Oxford, 1996] 2: 162–63; as Isaac noted, this was first suggested by H. Reland in 1714 in *Palaestina ex Monumentis Veteribus Illustrata,* 2: 808). For a similar phenomenon see Mark 5.1: the best MSS read "Gerasenes," but it seems clear that the original read "Gergesenes." See, for example J. Marcus, *Mark 1–8* (New York, 1999) 341–42; and J. A. Fitzmyer, *Luke (I–IX)* (New York, 1981) 736.

Regarding **Nabataeans** at Gerasa, Kraeling noted (in *Gerasa,* 36) that of fifty-one extant coins for the period from the reign of Ptolemy II to the beginning of the reign of Trajan, i.e., from the mid-third century B.C. to the end of the first century A.D., twenty-four were Nabataean (twenty-one of these were issues of Aretas IV, 9 B.C.–40 A.D.). From the first century A.D. onward inscriptions mention the god Pakidas and an Arabian god (*Gerasa,* nos. 17–18). In general on the Nabataeans at Gerasa see Kraeling in *Gerasa,* 36–39; Millar, *Near East,* 398; and D. F. Graf, *Rome and the Arabian Frontier* (Aldershot, 1997) 787–96.

17. For the **coinage** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 384–85; G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia,* xxxiii–xxxv, 31–32; A. R. Bellinger, *Coins from Jerash, 1928–1934* (*ANS NNM* 81 [1938]); Spijkerman, *Liber Annuus* 25 (1975) 73–84; id., *Coins of Decapolis,* 156–67.

18. On **Roman Gerasa** see, for example, D. Kennedy, *MedArch* 11 (1998) 39–69; and id., *The Roman Army in Jordan,* 106–11. For Gerasa in the Arabic geographers see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 462.

For a **description of the site** see, for example, C. S. Fisher in *Gerasa,* 11–25; Browning, *Jerash;* Harding, *Jordan,* 79–105; S. Applebaum and A. Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gerasa"; Khouri, *Jerash; MB* 62 (1990). Most of the above contain photographs, maps, and site plans. For a revised plan see J.-P. Braun et al., *ADAJ* 45 (2001) 433–36.

HELENOUPOLIS

Hierokles (720.8) and George of Cyprus (1038) record the existence of a Helenoupolis in Palestine. Sozomenos (*Hist. Eccl.* 2.2 [ed. Bidez and Hansen]

= *PG* 67: 936) noted that two cities were named in honor of Helena (Constantine's mother), one in Bithynia and one in Palestine.[1]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 81; Honigmann comment. on Hierokles 720.8; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 64; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 181–82; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 142.

1. Tcherikover (*HS,* 81) mentioned, "with great reservation," Hellenoupolis *(sic)* but raised the possibility that it was named in honor of Constantine's mother, Helena. This is certainly the case.

HELIOPOLIS BAALBEK

Under the Roman Empire Heliopolis was an important religious center. What we do not know is whether it was (re)founded during the Hellenistic period. The earliest literary attestation for Heliopolis is Josephus (*AJ* 14.40), who says that in 63 B.C. Pompey the Great passed through Heliopolis. Josephus lived in the latter half of the first century A.D. If the town name was Heliopolis in 63 B.C.—that is, if Josephus was referring to the town by the name it actually had in 63 B.C. rather than using the toponym retrospectively—this would suggest the town had previously been renamed. How much earlier, by whom, and under what circumstances we do not know. However, the discovery of two inscriptions of Roman and Byzantine date—one Latin and one Greek—referring to a Macedonian quarter suggests that there had been a Hellenistic settlement at the site.[1] It may have been at the time of its establishment that the settlement received the name Heliopolis.[2]

Heliopolis was located at the site of the modern Baalbek. The latter name, incidentally, may be the old (original) toponym.

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In general see W. B. Donne, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Heliopolis"; Beer, *RE* s.v. "Heliopolis 2"; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *IGLS* 6: pp. 15–44; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 48 (1971) 345–48; R. H. Smith, *ABD* s.v. "Baalbek"; Millar, *Near East,* 281–85; Lightfoot, *Lucian,* 303–5.

1. Donne (*Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Heliopolis") claimed that the name Heliopolis was "imposed by the Seleucid sovereigns of Syria"; Smith (*ABD,* s.v. "Baalbek") said the shrine and town were renamed in the third or second century B.C. Neither Donne nor Smith cited any evidence to support their claim.

For the two inscriptions referring to **a Macedonian quarter** see R. Mouterde, *MUSJ* 36 (1959) 67–68: *Uic(i)n[i]a Macedonum;* and C. S. Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale* 2 (1897) 147 (635/6 A.D.): *γι(τονία) Μακεδ(ό)νων.*

2. P. Bordreuil (in *GHPO,* 309–10; see also H. I. MacAdam, *Topoi* 3 [1993] 341) has suggested that the native place-name for the site may have been Shamsimuruna (i.e., "Shamash is our Lord"). The Greek toponym Heliopolis would then have

reflected the importance of the sun-god at the site. Earlier, H. Seyrig suggested that the Ptolemies identified the Baal of Baalbek with their sun-god and probably changed the name of the town to Heliopolis (*Syria* 48 [1971] 347–48). F. Ragette (*Baalbek* [London, 1980] 28–29) followed Seyrig and also suggested that after the Seleucids conquered the area they probably built the podium on which the later temple of Jupiter was erected. The podium was still unfinished when Pompey conquered the region. See also N. Jidejian, *Baalbek* (Beirut, 1975) 15–18.

HELLAS

Stephanos (s.v. "Hellas") mentions a Hellas in Coele Syria. This is all we know about the town. We may, however, speculate further. Presumably it was a Hellenistic settlement. Under the entry "Hellas" Stephanos also mentions a city in Thessaly.[1] LARISA Sizara in Syria (the modern Qal'at Sêzâr) was settled, according to Diodorus (33.4a), by colonists from the like-named city in Thessaly. This raises the possibility that the settlers at Hellas were also from Thessaly.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 67.

1. In fact, "Hellas" was also used to indicate (districts of) northern and central Greece (as opposed to the Peloponnese); see, for example, LSJ[9] s.v. "Hellas"; H. T. Wade-Gery, *JHS* 44 (1924) 61, 64 n. 34; G. W. Forrest, *Historia* 6 (1957) 167; R. H. Simpson and J. F. Lazenby, *The Catalogue of the Ships in Homer's "Iliad"* (Oxford, 1970) 128–29.

JERUSALEM (THE AKRA)

In 168/7 B.C. Apollonios, the officer of Antiochos IV Epiphanes, captured Jerusalem. We learn about this from 1 Maccabees, Josephus, and the book of Daniel.[1] 1 Maccabees 1.31–33 relates: "He plundered the city, burned it with fire and tore down its houses and its surrounding walls. . . . Then they built up the City of David with a great strong wall and strong towers and it became their citadel" (*καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ τείχει μεγάλῳ καὶ ὀχυρῷ πύργοις ὀχυροῖς, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοὶς εἰς ἄκραν*, 1.33).[2] According to Josephus (*AJ* 12.252), Apollonios "burnt the finest parts of the city, and pulling down the walls built the *Akra* (citadel) in the Lower City; . . . he fortified it with high walls and towers (*ἐνέπρησε δ' αὐτῆς τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ καταβαλὼν τὰ τείχη τὴν ἐν τῇ κάτω πόλει ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν . . . αὐτὴν ὀχυρώσας τείχεσιν ὑψηλοῖς καὶ πύργοις*, trans. Marcus).

As for the population of the Seleucid Akra, the author of 1 Maccabees 1.34 says: "And they stationed there a sinful people, lawless men" (*καὶ ἔθηκαν ἐκεῖ ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλὸν, ἄνδρας παρανόμους*),[3] while Josephus (*AJ* 12.252) says:

"He [Apollonios] stationed a Macedonian garrison therein. Nonetheless, there remained in the *Akra* those of the people who were impious and of bad character" (*φρουρὰν Μακεδονικὴν ἐγκατεστησεν. ἔμενον δ' οὐδὲν ἧττον ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ καὶ τοῦ πλήθους οἱ ἀσεβεῖς καὶ πονηροὶ τὸν τρόπον,* trans. Marcus). Daniel 11.39 says: "Into the fortresses of the pious ones he will bring over soldiers of a strange god" (trans. A. A. Di Lella).

While there has been much discussion regarding the precise meaning of various words and phrases in these passages, it will be clear that the population of the Akra consisted of both Jews (e.g., *AJ* 12.362, 364) and non-Jewish settlers (e.g., 1 Macc. 3.45) brought in by the Seleucid authorities.[4] The ethnic background of the foreign settlers in the Akra is not fully known, although 2 Maccabees does mention the presence of Cypriots there (4.29) as well as Phrygians (5.22) and Mysians (5.24) among the Seleucid forces in Jerusalem.[5] Of course, the "Macedonian" garrison in the Akra did not necessarily consist of ethnic Macedonians.[6]

Daniel 11.39 adds that the land was divided "for a price" to the "people of a foreign god." Porphyry, in his comments on this passage (*FGrH* 260 F50), says that it referred to the distribution of land to the Macedonian garrison. He was undoubtedly correct.[7] The result was that the inhabitants of Jerusalem (*οἱ κάτοικοι Ἰερουσαλημ,* 1 Macc. 1.38) fled and the Akra became a settlement of strangers (*κατοικία ἀλλοτρίων,* 1.38). 1 Maccabees refers to the inhabitants of the Akra as, for example, *οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐν Ἰερουσαλημ* (13.49).[8] Dan Barag attributed a hoard of 16 bronze coins with the radiate head of Antiochos Epiphanes on the obverse and a female deity on the reverse to a mint he suggested the king maintained in the Akra between 167 and 164 B.C.[9]

There are a number of important questions regarding the Seleucid Akra: Was it a *katoikia,* a garrison, or a *polis?* If it was a *polis* or *katoikia,* what was its name (if any), and what was its relation to the presumed *polis* of Antioch in Jerusalem?[10] And, finally, where was the Akra located?[11]

The Hasmoneans did not get full control of the Akra until 141 B.C. when Simon finally expelled its occupants.[12]

* * * *

In general see Bickerman, *GM,* 66–80; J. Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament* (Leiden, 1952) 131–57; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 189–90, 211; Hengel, *Judaism*², 1: 277–83, 2: 186–89; Goldstein, *I Maccabees,* 123–25, 214–19; Y. Tsafrir, *RB* 82 (1975) 501–21; Fischer, *Seleukiden,* 31–33; Bar-Kochva, *JM,* 438–65; L. Dequeker in *The Land of Israel,* ed. E. Lipinsky (Louvain, 1985) 193–210; J. Sievers in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* ed. F. Parente and J. Sievers (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1994) 195–209.

1. On the date of Apollonios's mission see Schürer, *History*², 1: 152 and n. 36.

In any investigation of the term ***akra*** in the account of Hellenistic Jerusalem in Maccabees and Josephus, it is important to bear in mind several points:

i. 1 Maccabees was originally written in Hebrew; this original version has long been lost. What survived was a Greek translation. Furthermore, it is likely that Josephus, who paraphrased 1 Maccabees for his account, probably relied primarily on the Greek translation rather than on the Hebrew original. In short, it is salutary to bear in mind that for their discussions scholars are reliant upon literary evidence that has been brought down in translation.

ii. *Akra* is used with both minimalist and maximalist meaning; i.e., it can be used to refer to a fortress or to a fortified area of the city For example, in relating the events of the Hasmonean revolt, Josephus says that Antiochos built an *akra* in the Lower City (*AJ* 12.252). However, in his recapitulation of these events in the *BJ* (1.39, 137) he says that the Lower City was called "Akra" (see also 6.354; *AJ* 12.252). Tsafrir (*RB* 82 [1975] 509–21) and Bar-Kochva (*JM,* 451), among others, remarked that in sources connected with the Hasmonean revolt, the term *akra* was used in its minimal sense, i.e., the fortress only (see also W. A. Shotwell, *BASOR* 176 [1964] 10–19), but that in the sources relating to the Great Revolt the term was applied to the whole Lower City.

With regard to 1 Macc. 1.33 Goldstein remarked (*I Maccabees,* 217): "'Citadel' and 'City of David' are thus ambiguous terms, the interpretation of which depends on the context. In our passage [i.e., 1 Macc. 1.33], the Akra, the fortified City of David, could easily mean a citadel to the north of the temple area." Goldstein translated 1 Macc. 1.33 as follows: "They fortified the City of David with a high strong wall and strong towers so as to have a citadel, the Akra." This is somewhat misleading. Thus Bar-Kochva explained (*JM,* 463–64): "Conventional exegesis assumes that the second half of the verse [i.e., 1 Macc. 1.33] means that the area described became a fortress called 'Akra'. But that raises a further difficulty. It would mean that the Akra included the entire territory of the City of David, and indeed some scholars have described the Akra as a fortified zone occupying all of the south-eastern hill." Bar-Kochva then called attention to the fact that at 1.33 the author of 1 Macc. used *akra* as a common noun rather than as a place-name, and suggested it should be understood in the sense of a fortified zone. He also noted that at 1.33 the author of 1 Macc. did not use the definite article with *akra* (nor at 14.36, on which see below) as he did in more than twenty other instances of the word (see, for example, 3.45; 4.2, 41; 6.18, 26, 32; 9.52, 53; 10.6, 7, 9, 32; 11.20, 21, 41; 12.36; 13.21, 49, 50, 52; 14.7; 15.28). Thus he explained that the author's intention was "only to say that the entire area of the City of David was encircled by a large, strong wall. Towers were added and the entire hill became a stronghold for the enemy and his backers" (*JM,* 465; see also Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament,* 146, 157).

In this connection we may also note the following. The term *akropolis* was often used without an article (e.g., Strabo 16.2.8). In addition to its literal usage (i.e., "upper or higher city," "citadel," or "castle"), *akropolis* was frequently used in a metaphorical sense by various Greek authors (see LSJ^9 s.v. *ἀκρόπολις*). For example, Euripides (*Orestes* 1094) described Delphi as the *akropolis* of the Phocians" (*γῆν Δελφίδ' ἐλθὼν Φωκέων ἀκρόπτολιν*). Strabo described various cities as *akropoleis* of larger regions; thus, for example, he described GINDAROS as "a city that is the *akropolis* of Cyrrhestice" (*πόλις Γίνδαρος, ἀκρόπολις τῆς Κυρρηστικῆς,* 16.2.8) and CHALKIS as "the *akropolis,* as it were, of the Massyas" (*ἡ Χαλκίς, ὥσπερ ἀκρόπολις*

τοῦ Μασσύου, 16.2.18). Furthermore, *akropolis* could also be used to describe a person (Theognis 233). In short, is it possible that at 1 Macc. 1.33 *akra* was being used in the same metaphorical sense simply to *describe* the City of David? I.e., just as Euripides could describe Delphi as the *akropolis* of the Phocians, so the author of 1 Macc. could refer to the newly fortified City of David as the *akra* for the Macedonian garrison and the "sinful people, lawless men."

iii. Most scholars believe that the minimalist meaning of *akra* was applied to different fortresses at different periods; i.e., over the course of time, the site of *the* Akra may have changed. In this connection, the Seleucid Akra should be distinguished from (a) a *bira* mentioned in the time of Nehemiah, (b) an *akra* that predated the Seleucids (the "Ptolemaic" Akra), and (c) the Hasmonaean *baris.* In the accounts of the Ptolemaic and Seleucid rule in the years preceding 168 B.C. there are a number of references to an *akropolis* or *akra;* see, for example, 2 *Macc.* 4.12, 28; 5.5 *(akropolis); Letter of Aristeas* 100–104 *(akra);* Josephus *AJ* 12.133, 138 (the *phrouroi* in the *akra* at the time of Antiochos III). Presumably all these references are to the same *akra,* i.e., the "Ptolemaic" Akra (see, for example, Schürer, *History*², 1: 154 n. 39). It is generally accepted that this *akra* stood on the site of the earlier *bira* mentioned in the time of Nehemiah (Neh. 2.8, 7.2) and was the site of or very near the later Hasmonaean *baris* (Jos. *AJ* 15.403, 18.91); most scholars believe it was located north of the Temple. Finally, it is also generally agreed that this Akra should be distinguished from the Akra that was built by Antiochos Epiphanes in 168 B.C. Interestingly, in the nineteenth century most scholars also located the Seleucid Akra north of the Temple. At the end of that century scholarly opinion began to shift to the area south of the Temple, and it is now generally believed that one should search there for the Seleucid Akra; see, for example, Schürer, *History*², 1: 154 n. 39; Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament,* 146–57 (southeast hill); Y. Tsafrir, *RB* 82 (1975) 503 n. 6, 509–10 (southeast of the Temple, within the area later included in the Herodian *temenos*); Dequeker in *The Land of Israel,* 199; Bar-Kochva, *JM,* 463–65 (the Akra—the citadel of Jerusalem—was on the southeast hill; this was also the site of the "Ptolemaic" Akra). On the other hand, Goldstein (*I Maccabees,* 217) believes that the Citadel of the Hellenistic period could have been north of the Temple. For an overview of opinions and discussions see, for example, Tsafrir, *RB* 82 (1975) 503 n. 7 and map on p. 504; see also below, n. 11.

iv. Josephus, who is one of our major sources, was writing two hundred years after the events of the Hasmonean revolt; in other words, the Jerusalem with which he was familiar was different from the Jerusalem of the mid-second century B.C.

2. There is a problem with the verb **οἰκοδομέω** in 1 Macc. 1.33, *καὶ ᾠκοδόμησαν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ τείχει μεγάλῳ καὶ ὀχυρῷ πύργοις ὀχυροῖς*. Many translators have objected that to say "and they built the City of David" would not make sense: clearly the "City of David" already existed in 168/7 B.C. As a result, they render *ᾠκοδόμησαν* in 1.33 as "they fortified" (e.g., Goldstein; Sievers in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 198; the Revised Standard Version *[The New Oxford Annotated Bible];* the New Revised Standard Version *[The Access Bible]*). Note, however, that in the parallel passage Josephus simply says: "He built the akra in the Lower City" (*τήν . . . ᾠκοδόμησεν ἄκραν*, *AJ* 12.252). And further on, 1 *Maccabees* (14.36) records the fact that Simon "succeeded in expelling the gentiles from his people's land and in expelling the in-

habitants of the City of David in Jerusalem, who had made/built themselves a citadel" (τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Δαυιδ τοὺς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, οἳ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἄκραν). This brings us back to the question of the translation of ᾠκοδόμησαν in 1 Macc. 1.33. The verb οἰκοδομέω does not mean simply "to build *(ex nihilo)*." According to the LSJ[9] s.v. it can also mean generally "to fashion" (e.g., the LXX 3 Kings 6.36). Hence I believe we may translate the first part of 1 Maccabees 1.31 as "They fashioned/built up the City of David with a high strong wall and strong towers."

It is useful, incidentally, to note the **αὐτοῖς** in 1 Macc. 1.33, καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτοῖς εἰς ἄκραν, "and it became a citadel *for them*" (italics mine). That is, the City of David became a citadel for the Seleucid forces under Apollonios. Interestingly, in the one other instance in 1 Maccabees where ἄκρα appears without an article (14.36) we read that Simon expelled "the inhabitants of the City of David in Jerusalem, who had made/built *themselves* a citadel" (τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει Δαυιδ τοὺς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, οἳ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς ἄκραν) (italics mine).

On Josephus's use of 1 Maccabees for his description of the Hasmonean revolt see I. M. Gafni in *Josephus, the Bible, and History,* ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata (Detroit, 1989) 116–31. On the terms "City of David", "Lower City," and "akra" and their relation to each other see, for example, Goldstein, comment. on 1 Macc. 1.33–40; Bar-Kochva, *JM,* 445–51; see also, Sievers, in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 197–98.

3. There is no general agreement on the precise meaning of **ἔθνος ἁμαρτωλὸν, ἄνδρας παρανόμους**. Goldstein (*I Maccabees,* 123–24, following Bickerman, *GM,* 72) has argued that it refers to Hellenizing Jews. Other scholars believe it refers to foreigners: e.g., Marcus (note on *AJ* 12.252); Hengel (*Judaism*[2], 1: 281); M. Delcor (*Le livre de Daniel* [Paris, 1971] 246); Sievers (in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 198–202). Goldstein's additional claim that "*Dan.* 11.39 . . . probably means that in 167 B.C. the people of the Akra were heterodox Jews, consisting partly, if not entirely, of the hard-pressed Antiochenes" (124) is not convincing.

A word of caution is perhaps in order here. In 1997 there was a zoning dispute in Beachwood, Ohio, involving the Jews of that town. After a particularly crucial vote one of the Orthodox Jews called his opponents "Haman" (S. G. Freedman, *Jew vs. Jew* [New York, 2000] 285). At some distant future time, a historian reading this—without proper background and explanation—might conclude that the target of this attack was a gentile; after all, Haman—the vizier of King Ahasuerus (Esther 3.1)—was a gentile. In fact, the target was a Reform Jew! And this should not be surprising: in the heat of a dispute, invectives are often thrown about freely and widely and not necessarily with great concern for truth or accuracy.

We may note in passing that **two other attempts to establish military colonies in Judaea** in the second century B.C. involved, as far as we know, only foreigners. Earlier, Ptolemy V threatened to divide up the land and settle his soldiers on it if the high priest Onias withheld the tribute (Jos. *AJ* 12.159, κληρουχήσειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν. . . . καὶ πέμψειν τοὺς ἐνοικήσοντας στρατιώτας; on the identity of this king see Marcus's note in the Loeb edition). And in 165/4 B.C. Lysias threatened to turn Jerusalem into a "Greek habitation" (τὴν μὲν πόλιν Ἕλλησιν οἰκητήριον ποιήσειν, 2 Macc. 11.2). According to 1 Macc. 3.36 he planned to settle foreigners in Judaea and to distribute land lots to the settlers (καὶ κατοικίσαι υἱοὺς ἀλλογενεῖς ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ὁρίοις αὐτῶν καὶ κατακληροδοτῆσαι τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν).

4. For **Jews in the Akra** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 12.252, 305 362, 364 and Marcus's notes; for **non-Jews in the Akra** see, for example, 1 Macc. 3.45. See also Sievers in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 198–202; Sievers points out that whereas 1 Maccabees is apparently reticent about Jews in the Akra, Josephus is more forthright about the presence of both Jews and non-Jews.

5. On **the ethnic background of the settlers in the Akra** see, for example, Bar-Kochva, *JM,* 116–120; and Hengel, *Judaism*², 2: 188. Cf. Tcherikover, who assumed the troops settled in Jerusalem were "local Syrian troops" (*HCJ,* 194). Bar-Kochva's suggestion (*JM,* 119) that the garrison troops mentioned in *SEG* 30: 1695 (see below) may have been Thracians is not convincing.

6. By the mid-second century B.C. the term **"Macedonian"** no longer had an ethnic connotation; it simply designated soldiers armed in a particular fashion; see further NAKRASON in Lydia.

7. For the **distribution of the confiscated land** to the foreign colonists see, for example, Bickerman, *GM,* 71. As a parallel he called attention to (a) Ptolemy's threat, because of nonpayment of tribute, to colonize Judaea with military colonists (Josephus *AJ* 12.159; see above, n. 3) and (b) Antiochos III's settling of the Babylonian Jews in Asia Minor (*AJ* 12.148). See also Herod's settling of Babylonian Jews in Batanaea (*AJ* 17.23–31; and G. M. Cohen, *TAPA* 103 [1972] 83–95). On the other hand, Bar-Kochva suggested the distribution of land mentioned in the book of Daniel referred to the sale of land to the Hellenizers (individually) or, alternatively, to the Hellenistic *polis* in Jerusalem (*JM,* 441); see also Sievers in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 205.

8. For **the inhabitants of the Akra** see also 1 *Macc.* 6.18; 10.7; 13.21 (*οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας*) and 4.2 (*οἱ υἱοὶ τῆς ἄκρας*), 41 (*οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ*); cf. 11.41 (*οἱ ἐκ τῆς ἄκρας ἐξ Ιερουσαλημ*) and 14.36 (*οἱ ἐν τῇ πόλει Δαυιδ οἱ ἐν Ιερουσαλημ*). 1 Macc. does not refer to them as *φρουροί* or as a *φρουρά*. Occasionally it mentions the *δύναμεις,* the military forces, there (e.g., 9.52). There are numerous citations that could be construed as referring to Jews who were also resident in the Akra (e.g., 1.34; 4.2, 60; 6.18, 21; 11.21), but none of these is unequivocal; in contrast, see 14.37, which specifically mentions Simon's placing Jews in the Akra after his conquest. See further Sievers in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 198–99 (who suggests that 1 Maccabees was reticent with regard to the presence of Jews in the Akra); and Marcus's note on *AJ* 12.362.

In contrast, Josephus uses both *φρουροί* and *φρουρά* (e.g., *AJ* 12.252, 362; 13.182, 215–16) and distinguishes between these and the Jewish "renegades" in the Akra (e.g., *οἱ ἐν τῇ ἄκρᾳ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων φρουροὶ καὶ φυγάδες τῶν Ἰουδαίων* and *πολλοὶ δὲ τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ* (i.e., the *akra*) *φυγάδων, AJ* 12.362, 364). On the evidence for Jews in the Akra in Josephus see Sievers in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 199–202.

In 1980 S. Applebaum published an inscription that was found in the old city of Jerusalem and is dated palaeographically to the mid-second century B.C. (in *Jerusalem in the Second Temple Period,* ed. A. Oppenheimer et al. [Jerusalem, 1980] 56–60; see also the text published by A. Kindler in *SCI* 6 [1981/2] 108, no. 18; and *SEG* 30: 1695). Applebaum read the first two lines as *ὅρκος Ἄρης ἀθλητής. Τάδ[ε. Ἐπειδὴ τὰς θεῶν τελε]/τὰς ἐπήγαγον ἐπὶ τὴν ἄ̣κ̣ρ̣[αν ------- ἀμυνῶ δὲ ὑπὲρ].* Applebaum understood this to be an oath to Ares Athletes or Auletes that was taken by the Greek garrison on the Akra in the period of the Hasmonaean revolt. Bar-Kochva (*JM,* 119 and n. 12) followed Applebaum in suggesting Ares referred to the god. However, Pleket

(note to *SEG* 30: 1695) dismissed Applebaum's reconstruction and interpretation as "clearly fanciful"; see also Goldstein, *II Maccabees,* 112. Pleket noted Habicht's more plausible suggestion that Ares was the name of a person, possibly the one who took the oath. Isaac also suggested (note to *SEG* 30: 1695) that in line 2 one should read OI⌜ (or ΩI⌜) rather than AK⌜.

9. For a suggested Seleucid mint in the Akra see D. Barag, *INJ* 14 (2000–2002) 59–77.

10. Three suggestions have been offered regarding **the status (of the inhabitants) of the Akra:** it was (a) a *katoikia,* (b) a garrison, (c) a *polis,* which was either a new, separate entity or the continuation of Antioch in Jerusalem.

i. For the view that in 168 B.C. a *katoikia* was established in the Akra see, for example, Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 189–90; Hengel, *Judaism*[2], 1: 281; and Fischer, *Seleukiden,* 32. Goldstein, following a suggestion of Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 474–75), speculated that Epiphanes was following a Roman model in dispatching military settlers to the Akra (*I Maccabees,* 124). Given his well-known interest in Roman institutions this is, of course, quite possible. However, it is more likely that Antiochos was simply following long-established Seleucid (and Macedonian) precedent in settling military colonists in a restive area. Compare, for example, the JEWISH COLONIES in Lydia and Phrygia and, earlier, Alexander's settlement of Macedonians in SAMAREIA. Cf. also the military colony established in Batanaea by Herod the Great around the end of the first century B.C. (Josephus *AJ* 17.23–31; and G. M. Cohen, *TAPA* 103 [1972] 83–95; S. Applebaum, *Judaea,* 47–65).

ii. In an extensive discussion, Bar-Kochva has challenged the view that Epiphanes founded a *katoikia* (*JM,* 438–44) and has suggested rather that he established a garrison (248). Among Bar-Kochva's arguments are the following: "as Tcherikover already *proved,* Jerusalem was indeed granted the status of *polis* in 175 B.C. The transformation of the *polis* into a *katoikia* would have been a significant demotion and we have no example of any *polis* whose privileges were withdrawn and which was turned into a *katoikia*" (443; italics mine). There is no "precedent for the suggestion that the *polis* continued to exist alongside a newly established *katoikia.* Such a situation would have meant that the European soldiers would have enjoyed fewer privileges than the Hellenized local Jewish population" (443). Of course both these points retain their validity only if the existence of the *polis* is a fact beyond dispute; and this is not so. Tcherikover has made an interesting case for the transformation of Jerusalem into the *polis* Antioch (*HCJ,* 161–69, 404–9), but it has not been proven. See further ANTIOCHENES IN JERUSALEM. In arguing against the notion that there was a *katoikia* in the Akra Bar-Kochva also noted that in Dan. 11.39 the end of the verse "and he shall allocate land for a price" refers to the distribution of land not to colonists but rather to the Hellenizers. In support of this he claimed that land given "for a price" could not refer to military colonists, since they were given land in return for military service (441). In fact, we do not know the precise basis upon which land was allocated to Seleucid settlers (see, for example, Cohen, *Seleucid Colonies,* 51–52). Alternatively, therefore, Bar-Kochva suggested that the verse could refer to the "sale of land not to private individuals, but to the Hellenistic *polis* established in Jerusalem in order to increase its income" (441 and above, n. 6).

iii. It is interesting to note that Antiochos VII Sidetes included Joppe, Gazara, and the

Akra in Jerusalem among the *poleis* he claimed were in his kingdom (*τῆς Ἰόππης καὶ Γαζάρων καὶ τῆς ἄκρας τῆς ἐν Ιερουσαλημ, πόλεις τῆς βασιλείας μου,* 1 Macc. 15.28). This assertion of sovereignty was quickly rejected by Simon (1 Macc. 15.33). Antiochos's claim prompted Bickerman to suggest (*GM,* 71–80) that after the Seleucids razed the walls of Jerusalem in 168 B.C. (1 *Macc.* 1.31) it became subordinate to the Akra, which now became a Greek *polis.* In short, according to Bickerman, Jerusalem and the Temple, as well as the surrounding territory, were assigned to the Akra. As a parallel situation Bickerman cited the case of Mylasa and STRATONIKEIA in Caria, both of which had major temples in their territory. The suggestion that the Akra was a *polis* is interesting but highly speculative. As Bickerman himself admitted, we do not have any specific information about the civic organization of the Akra. In fact, we do not even know the official name of the community in the Akra. See also Dequeker in *The Land of Israel,* 197 ("With Bickerman, we understand the Acra as a Macedonian colony which probably enjoyed the status of a Greek city. . . . The Acra of Jerusalem, i.e., the fortified Hellenized City of David, enjoyed the same status as the Hellenized city of Gezer [*Gazara*]").

In this connection it is well to recall Lysias's threat in 165/4 B.C. (see above) to settle foreigners in Judaea, to distribute land lots to the settlers (1 Macc. 3.36), and turn the city (i.e., Jerusalem) into a "Greek habitation" (*τὴν μὲν πόλιν Ἕλλησιν οἰκητήριον ποιήσειν,* 2 Macc. 11.2). Interestingly, while Jerusalem is described as a *polis,* the threatened new settlement is referred to as a "Greek *oiketerion*"; but in the absence of other evidence the distinction—if there was one—should not be pressed. The problem, of course, is that in the late Hellenistic period the term *polis* could be used to refer to many types of urban settlements. To cite but two examples: at 1 Macc. 1.44 we read that Antiochos IV sent letters to "Jerusalem and the *poleis* of Judaea." These *poleis* were nothing more than local Judaean towns and villages! On the other hand, we may note the three *poleis* that Antiochos Sidetes addressed: the Akra, Joppe, and Gazara. The latter two were obviously not villages. Rather they were old, Oriental cities, just as Jerusalem was *before* Lysias wanted to turn it into a Greek *oiketerion.*

Goldstein suggested (*I Maccabees,* 123–24, 218) that "the Akra was indeed a *polis,* a colony of Antiochene citizens. . . . If so it would have been most natural to call the Akra 'Antiocheia', 'City of Antiochus.'" Contra: Sievers (in *Josephus and the History of the Greco-Roman Period,* 202–3, 208) denied a possible equating of the Akra with the presumed *polis* of Antioch in Jerusalem: "Even though perhaps less than a *polis,* the Akra remained more than a military installation. It had a fiscal, economic, and perhaps cultural function and was probably perceived as a threat to Jerusalem's civic status" (203). Tcherikover speculated that the *polis* of Antioch Jerusalem was abolished in 168 B.C. when the "Greek city" was founded at the Akra; this new "Greek city" included foreign settlers among its citizens (*HCJ,* 192–93, 405); Hengel (*Judaism*^{2}, 1: 281) observed that "presumably the 'Acra' simply continued the tradition of the 'Antioch in Jerusalem.'"

11. **The location of the Seleucid Akra.** In the *NEAEHL* (s.v. "Jerusalem," p. 723), which was published in 1993, N. Avigad observed: "The location of the site of the Seleucid Acra is the key to reconstructing the Jerusalem city plan in the Early Hellenistic (pre-Hasmonean) period. Lacking concrete archaeological evidence, the debate on this question was, until recently, mainly theoretical, relying on different interpretations of the sources that refer to the fortress and the local topography. Over

the years, numerous scholars have offered a wide variety of sites in ancient Jerusalem as the preferred location of the Acra. . . . Despite progress in research and new finds, it still seems impossible to settle the question of the precise location of the Seleucid Acra in Jerusalem." In short, in the absence of archaeological evidence bearing directly on the question, the problem of the location of the Akra is still a historical one and is still not fully resolved.

For discussion and references to earlier considerations of the problem see, for example, Simons, *Jerusalem in the Old Testament,* 131–57; Y. Tsafrir, *RB* 82 (1975) 501–21 (plans on pp. 504, 511, 512); Goldstein's comment. on 1 Maccabees 1.33–40; Bar-Kochva, *JM,* 445–65; and Avigad's article in the *NEAEHL* (cited above).

12. For **Simon's capture of the Akra** see 1 Macc. 13.49–52; Josephus *AJ* 13.215; and *Megillat Ta'anit* (H. Lichenstein, *HUCA* 8–9 [1931–32] 319, l. 4).

LARISA

At *NH* 5.82 Pliny mentions the "Arbethusios, Beroeenses, Epiphanenses ad Orontem, Laodicenos qui ad Libanum cognominantur, Leucadios, Larisaeos." It is not clear whether Pliny is referring to LARISA Sizara in northern Syria or to another Larisa in (southern) Syria. That the Larisa in Pliny's narrative follows Laodikeia near Libanos and Leukas certainly raises the possibility that there was a Larisa in southern Syria.[1]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 64.

1. In the middle of his description of Arabia (*NH* 6.159)—where it appears Pliny mistakenly inserted a comment about Syrian cities—Pliny says: "fuerunt et Graeca oppida Arethusa, Larisa, Chalcis, deleta variis bellis." There is no apparent order to the naming of the three towns; hence this passage cannot help in trying to identify or locate a Larisa in southern Syria. See further LARISA Sizara.

LYSIAS

Strabo (16.2.40) says that in the course of his subjugation of Judaea Pompey destroyed, among other places, Threx, Tauros, Alexandrion, Hyrkanion, Machairos, Lysias, and places around PHILADELPHEIA and SKYTHOPOLIS. Tcherikover has suggested that the toponym Lysias might indicate a Seleucid settlement, possibly founded by Lysias, the general of Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[1] We should need further corroborative evidence in order to substantiate this claim.

Hölscher has suggested that Lysias was located in the region east of the Dead Sea.[2]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 80–1.

1. For the **founder** see Tcherikover, *HS,* 80.

2. For the **location** see Hölscher, *RE* s.v. "Lysias 3." The *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VIII.5) lists the following on the road from Jerusalem to Aila (Elath): Hierusalem, Elusa, Oboda, Lysa, Cypsaria, Rasa, Ad Dianam, Haila; Ptolemy (5.16.4) has Eboda, Maliatha, Kalgouia, Lysa, Goubba, Gypsaria, Gerasa; see further Y. Aharoni, *IEJ* 4 (1954) 9–16 (map on p. 13); Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 76. There is nothing to indicate whether Lysa (see, for example, *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 172) was identical with the Lysias mentioned by Strabo.

PANIAS

The city name Panias, which was also the name of the district, was taken from a cave sacred to Pan.[1] Presumably Pan is the Greek equivalent of an earlier Semitic deity.[2] We do not know who this was or what the town's original name was. Tcherikover included Panias in his list of Hellenistic foundations (*HS,* 69–70). However, in the absence of other information, it is not possible to say whether the Greek toponym Panias simply reflects a Hellenizing tendency by the town's native population (cf. ANTIOCH by Hippos) or, in fact, the founding of a colony at the site. In any event, archaeological excavation at the site has thus far not produced evidence for a Hellenistic settlement.[3] The earliest extant mention of the shrine of Pan is in Polybius 16.18.2 in connection with his account of the battle of Panion (200 B.C.). Under the tetrarch Philip son of Herod it was refounded as Caesarea.[4]

Panias, the modern Banias, was located at the foot of Mount Hermon close to the source of the Jordan River.

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In general see Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 75; Neubauer, *Géographie,* 236–38; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 297–98; Tcherikover, *HS,* 69–70; id., *HCJ,* 101; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Caesarea Panias oder Caesarea Philippi," 1290–91; G. Hölscher, *RE* s.v. "Panias," 594–600; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 96; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 44–45; id., *EJ* s.v. "Banias"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 115–16; Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 169–71; Urman, *Golan,* 117–18; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 188–93; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 199; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 198–99; Z. U. Ma'oz, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Banias"; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 525–26.

1. On the **cave of Panion** see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 15.364, *BJ* 1.404; *TB Baba Bathra* 74b; *Tosefta Bekhorot* 7.4 (ed. Neusner); *Mekhilta Amalek* 2.62 (ed. Lauterbach); *TB Sanhedrin* 98a; *Bereshith Rabbah* 33; *M. Parah* 8.11. For Panias in the rabbinic sources see also *Pirkei d'Rabbi Eliezer* 28 (ed. Friedlander); *TB Megillah* 6a; *TJ Terumot* 8.10 (46c); *Bereshith Rabbah* 63, 94; and Neubauer, *Géographie,* 236–38.

For Panias in the Arabic geographers see, for example, Le Strange, *Palestine,* 418.

2. On the question of the **Semitic divinity that was worshipped at the source of the Jordan River** see Hölscher, *RE* s.v. "Panias," 595–96.

3. For the **absence of archaeological evidence** for a Hellenistic settlement at Pa-

nias see S. C. Herbert in *Tel Anafa,* 1: 5 n. 13. On the **site of Panias** see Ma'oz, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Banias."

4. For the coins struck at **Caesarea** see Y. Meshorer, *INJ* 8 (1984–85) 37–58; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 525–26. On the era of Caesarea see Meimaris, *Chronological Systems,* 142.

PELLA/BERENIKE

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Dion") Dion was a *πόλις . . . Κοίλης Συρίας, κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ Πέλλα.*[1] As has often been noted, the words *καὶ Πέλλα* are probably a gloss indicating that both Pella and Dion were founded by the Macedonian king.[2] Note, however, that there is no other extant evidence referring to Alexander as the founder. As a result, most modern scholars dismiss this attribution.[3] Various other ancient and later sources list a "Pella" among the foundations of Seleukos; it is most likely, however, that this refers to the settlement in northern Syria that was subsequently renamed APAMEIA.[4] In any event, we do not definitely know who founded the Pella in Transjordan.

The ancient, Semitic name for the site—predating the arrival of the Macedonians—was Pahil or Pihil. Yakut (3.853) believed Fahl (the modern toponym) was a foreign name because he knew of no meaning for it in Arabic.[5] Pliny (*NH* 5.74) describes Pella as "rich in its waters" ("Pellam aquis divitem"), and the Jerusalem Talmud (*Shev.* 6: 1 [36c]) refers to the hot springs at Pella. In connection with this we may note that some bronze coins of Pella of the late second/early third century A.D. have on the reverse a Nymphaion. In fact, there are a number of springs in the vicinity of Pella in Transjordan, as there are in the vicinity of Macedonian Pella. As a result, Bernard suggested—reasonably—that this similarity prompted the choice of the toponym by the Macedonian settlers. At the same time, it is quite possible that the original settlers chose the (Macedonian) name Pella because of its similarity to the old, native name.[6]

Stephanos (s.v. "Berenikai poleis") is our sole source of information for the fact that Pella was renamed Berenike.[7] Ptolemaic rule over southern Syria began after the battle of Ipsos in 301 B.C. As for the person in whose honor the settlement would have been renamed, we may note that Berenike was the name of, among others (a) the wife of Ptolemy I, (b) the daughter of Ptolemy II, and (c) the wife of Ptolemy III.[8] In any event, in 218 B.C. Antiochos III captured the city (Polyb. 5.70.12); presumably the city reverted to its earlier name at this time. Subsequently Alexander Jannaios destroyed Pella (*AJ* 13.397; see also *BJ* 1.104). Pompey removed it from Jewish rule (*AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.156). Eusebius says that during the Jewish War the early Christians fled from the city of Jerusalem and went to Pella (*Hist. Eccl.* 3.5.3–4, ed. Mommsen). Pella was one of the cities of the Decapolis (Pliny *NH* 5.74).[9] The dis-

covery of a stamped Rhodian amphora handle of Hellenistic date gives evidence for trade with the Aegean.[10] There is evidence for glass production at Pella from the second century B.C. onward.[11]

Excavators have found both Ptolemaic and Seleucid coins at Pella. There are extant coins of Pella dated (by an era beginning in 64 or 63 B.C.) to the late first–early third century A.D.[12] Two forms of the ethnic are found on the coins: *ΠΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ* and *ΠΕΛΛΑΙΩΝ*.[13] Evidence for religious life at Pella dates mainly from the Roman period.[14]

Yakubi, writing in 891 A.D. (*Geography* 115), described the town as half Greek, half Arab. Pella was located on the northern border of Peraea, a little over 4 kilometers east of the Jordan River and 32 kilometers south of the Sea of Galilee, at the site of the modern Tabaqat Fahl.[15]

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In general see de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 291–92; Tcherikover, *HS,* 75–76; *HCJ,* 98–99; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 62–63; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 405–6; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Pella 4"; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 96; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 86; id., *Geography,* 175; id., *EJ* s.v. "Pella"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 154; Schürer, *History*², 2: 145–48; A. McNicoll, *MB* 22 (1982) 34–36; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 197–201; T. Weber, *Pella* (for bibliography see XVII–XXXVII); R. H. Smith, *ABD* s.v. "Pella"; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 274–75; P. Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 384–87.

For the results of archaeological excavations at the site see R. H. Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* vols. 1 and 2 (Wooster, 1973, 1989); A. W. McNicoll et al., *Pella in Jordan,* vols. 1 and 2 (Sydney, 1982, 1992); see also Smith, *Archaeology* 34 (1981) 46–53; J. B. Hennessy, P. C. Edwards, A. G. Walmley, S. G. Bourke, and J. C. Tidmarsh, *Archaeology of Jordan* s.v. "Pella (Tabaqat Fahl)"; Smith, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Pella"; J. B. Hennessy and R. H. Smith, *OEANE* s.v. "Pella"; Arav, *Palestine,* 112.

1. For the **ancient and Byzantine sources on Pella** see Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 86; and Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 23–82.

2. For ***καὶ Πέλλα*** in the text of Stephanos see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 666; Droysen understood the phrase to refer to Pella in Transjordan, as did Tcherikover, *HS,* 75; id., *HCJ,* 99; and Schürer, *History*², 1: 146 n. 323.

3. For **Alexander** as founder see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 666; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 19; contra: for example, Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 33.

Fraser *(Cities)* did not include Pella among Alexander's foundations. Schürer (*History*², 1: 146) suggested that the Palestinian Pella might have been founded by one of the Diadochoi, perhaps Antigonos.

4. Appian (*Syr.* 57) includes a Pella among the foundations of **Seleukos I Nikator.** However, since Seleukos never controlled this region, the reference cannot be to this settlement. Similarly, the attribution by Eusebius, Synkellos, and various Syriac chronicles of a Pella (without any further specification) to Seleukos probably refers to PELLA in northern Syria (see, for example, Schurer, *History*², 1: 146 n. 324; contra: Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 34; Smith suggests the references are to the town in Transjordan; see references and discussion there). Bernard suggested that a Greek

settlement might have been established here during Antigonos's operations in the area, i.e., in the period 315–311 B.C. (*Topoi* 5 [1995] 384).

5. For the mention of **Pella in pre-Hellenistic documents** see the collection of sources in Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 23–33. For Pella in the Arabic geographers see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 439; and Marmadji, *Textes géographiques,* 159.

6. For **coins of Pella with a Nymphaion** and the legend *ΦΙΛΙΠ(ΠΕΩΝ) ΠΕΛΛΗ(ΝΩΝ) Τ(ΩΝ) Π(ΡΟΣ) ΝΥΜΦ(ΑΙΩΙ) ΚΟΙ(ΛΗΣ) ΣΥ(ΡΙΑΣ)* (and variants thereof) on the reverse see, for example, H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 69–70, 78, nos. 23–24; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 214–17, no. 17; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 4: 59, no. 4. On the springs around Palestinian and Macedonian Pella see Bernard, *Topoi* 5 (1995) 384–87.

7. Stephanos (s.v. "Pella") specifies that this Pella was in Coele Syria and adds that it was also called **Boutis.** This claim is mentioned nowhere else in the extant evidence. Smith suggests (*Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 36) this might have been an Egyptian appellation, related to the Egyptian goddess Buto. Under "Berenikai poleis" Stephanos says that it was also called Pella and that it was in Syria.

8. Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 99) inclined toward Ptolemy III as the **founder of Berenike.** Applebaum (in *Judaea,* 3) claimed that *P. Mich. Zenon* 5 indicates that in 258 B.C. Pella had an archon. The papyrus in question is a fragment of an account (there is no date in the extant fragment, though C. C. Edgar, the editor, suggested it probably dated to "between year 26 and year 29"). In fact, for line 11 Edgar read πε̣λλαι̣α̣ρ̣χου̣[. In a note he commented: "It is doubtful whether π is the first letter or is preceded by α. I fail to find a satisfactory reading . . . [τοῦ ἐμ] Πέλλαι ἄρχον[τος is barely possible, and in any case Πέλλῃ cannot be read."

9. **On the membership of Pella in the Decapolis** see Pliny *NH* 5.74; Eusebius *Onom.* 80 (ed. Klostermann); Epiphanios *Panarion* 29.7 (ed. Holl), *De Mens.* 171.15 (= *PG* 43: 262).

The literature on the **Decapolis** is large; see discussion and further references in, for example, Schürer, *History*², 2: 126–58; S. T. Parker, *JBL* 94 (1975) 437–41; H. Bietenhard, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 220–61; B. Isaac, *ZPE* 44 (1981) 67–74; Ernest Will, *SHAJ* 2 (1985) 237–41; J. M. C. Bowsher, *PEQ* 119 (1987) 62–69; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *ABD* s.v. "Decapolis"; Millar, *Near East,* 408–24. On Jannaios's destruction of Pella see Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 155–58.

10. For the **Rhodian amphora handle** see Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 37, no. 21.

11. For **glass production** at Pella see, for example, M. O'Hea in *Decapolis,* 253–64.

12. For the **era** in use at Pella see Stein, "Studies," 33–39.

13. For the **Hellenistic coins** discovered at Pella see K. Sheedy in *Pella in Jordan, 1979–1990: The Coins,* ed. Sheedy et al. (Sydney, 2001) 15–25, nos. 001–053. The Sydney/Wooster excavators reported finding eight or nine Ptolemaic coins (one tetradrachm, the rest bronze) and thirty-seven Seleucid (all bronze). The earliest of the latter were coins of Antiochos III. The mints of three cites were represented—ANTIOCH near Daphne (no. 026), Tyre (no. 040), and PTOLEMAIS Ake. One of the latter was a quasi-municipal coin (no. 027); the other were municipals (nos. 028–038).

On the **coinage** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 292–93; Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 70, 78, nos. 22–26; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 210–17, nos. 1–18; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 4: 58–60, nos. 1–14; Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 45–46, nos. 36–39; 1:

52–57, nos. 45–59. Interestingly, the Sydney/Wooster excavators failed to find any Greek Imperial coin that they could attribute to Pella; see Sheedy in *Pella in Jordan, 1979–1990: The Coins,* 40.

The **ethnic** *ΠΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ* is found on coins of Domitian and Elagabalus (e.g., Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 45, nos. 36–39; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 [1959] 78, nos. 23–24; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 212–15, nos. 1–4, 16–17). *ΠΕΛΛΑΙΩΝ* is found on coins of Lucilla, Commodus, Caracalla, and Elagabalus (e.g., Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 52–57, nos. 45–59; Seyrig, *Syria* 36 [1959] p. 78, no. 22; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 212–17, nos. 5–15, 18; N. van der Vliet, *RB* 57 [1950] 252–53). Cf. Stephanos (s.v. "Pella"), who noted that a citizen was called a *Πελλαῖος* and that the ethnic was *Πελληνοί.*

14. For **religious life** at Pella see, for example, R. H. Smith in *Decapolis,* 197–208.

15. For the **location and site** of Pella see, for example, Smith, *Pella of the Decapolis,* 1: 1–2 (map and photographs at end); Weber, *Pella,* 11.

PHILADELPHEIA RABBAT AMMAN

According to Stephanos (s.v. "Philadelpheia 3") Philadelpheia was named for Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[1] Stephanos describes it as "famous" and adds that was previously called Ammana, then Astarte. A Zenon papyrus dated to 259/8 B.C. records the existence of a klerouchy under the command of Tobias at "BIRTA of the Ammanitis."[2] It has been suggested that Birta of the Ammanitis referred to the citadel of Amman. If—as appears likely—this suggestion is correct, then we may expect that the klerouchs of Tobias formed part of the initial founding population of Philadelpheia. Furthermore, this would provide a *terminus* for the founding date of Philadelpheia.

Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 100) has called attention to the fact that "according to Stephanos the town [i.e., Rabbat Amman] was also called Ashtoret; this ancient goddess was here apparently identified with Asteria and this was the name of the city goddess as we learn from coins. Asteria was the mother goddess of the Tyrian Herakles (Melkart) and both had a special cult in the town. It is clear then that the Hellenistic city of Philadelphia was linked by both religion and cult with Tyre, and as new settlers were accustomed to take their country's gods with them to their new abode, it may perhaps be conjectured that Ptolemy Philadelphos used Hellenized inhabitants of Tyre to constitute the citizen body of the new *polis* in Transjordan." In fact, there is evidence for Phoenicians at Philadelpheia as well a number of other cities in southern Syria. At Philadelpheia information about the worship of the goddess Asteria and her son, the Tyrian Herakles (Melkart), found in the numismatic and epigraphic evidence as well as the literary sources strongly suggests that Tyrian colonists were present. Nevertheless, it is important to bear in mind that we do not have information indicating when these colonists came. Hence we cannot definitely say that the Tyrians at Philadelpheia were settled there by Ptolemy II.[3]

Despite the founding of Philadelpheia, the native name, Rabbat Amman, remained in use. In the mid-third century B.C. a Zenon papyrus (*PSI* VI 616.27 = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 28) referred to it that way, as did Polybius (5.71.4), who was writing in the mid-second century B.C. but describing Antiochos III's capture of the heavily fortified city in 218 B.C.[4] On the other hand, Ammianus, writing in the fourth century A.D., referred to the strong walls of Philadelpheia (14.8.13).

The withdrawal of Antiochos from southern Syria after his defeat at the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C. will have returned the city to Ptolemaic rule. Ptolemaic hegemony in the region finally ended in 200 B.C. after Antiochos III defeated the forces of Ptolemy V at the battle of Panion. Presumably Philadelpheia and the surrounding area then came under Seleucid control. That control, however, was apparently neither complete nor permanent. Although specific information is lacking, scattered sources suggest that at various times in the first half of the second century B.C. Philadelpheia and Ammanitis were independent of Seleucid control.[5] Later, around 135 B.C., according to Josephus (*AJ* 13.235, *BJ* 1.60), the *tyrannos* of the *polis* of Philadelpheia was a certain Zenon Kotylas.[6] Apparently Philadelpheia did not fall to Alexander Jannaios. The evidence is negative: neither Josephus (*AJ* 13.395–97) nor Synkellos (558–59, ed. Mosshammer) include it among the cities he held at his death. Philadelpheia was the southernmost city of the Decapolis (Pliny *NH* 5.74).[7] Coinage of Philadelpheia is extant from the late first to the early third century A.D.[8] The ethnic on the coins is either *ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ, ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΚΟΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ,* or abbreviations thereof.[9] An undated inscription records a decree voted by the *boule* and *demos* that honored a certain Martas son of Diogenes, a gymnasiarch as well as a *bouleutes* and *proedros.*[10]

Philadelpheia was located at the modern city of Amman. MacAdam has called attention to the fact that Amman's "defensible acropolis, several springs creating a perennial stream and adequate arable land near-by, were partly responsible for its rise to prominence in both Biblical and classical times. Equally important was the city's fortunate position at the juncture of north-south and east-west trade routes."[11] The precise extent of the territory of Hellenistic Philadelpheia is not known. In any event, it bordered the Peraea on the west, GERASA on the north, and Hesbon on the south.[12]

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In general see Hölscher, *Palästina,* 65; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 113; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 424–25; Tcherikover, *HS,* 77; id., *HCJ,* 100–101; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Philadelpheia 3"; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 123; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 189–90; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 87–88; id., *Geography,* 177; Schürer, *History*[2], 2: 155–58; J. P. Rey-Coquais, *PECS* s.v. "Philadelphia"; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 45–47, 50; A. Hadidi and

J. B. Hennessy, *Archaeology of Jordan* s.v. "Amman"; J.-B. Humbert and F. Zayadine in *CFAJ* 22–29; Arav, *Palestine,* 110–11; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 279; H. I. MacAdam in *BEINE* 2: 80; id. in *Amman,* 1: 27–45.

1. On the **founding** of Philadelpheia see also Hieronymus (*In Ezech.* 8.25 [*CCL* 75: 334–35]). For other ancient and Byzantine references to Philadelpheia see, for example, Josephus *AJ* 20.2, *BJ* 1.129, 380, 2.458, 3.46, 47; Strabo 16.2.34; Ptolemy 5.14.18; Solinus 36.1 (ed. Mommsen); *Tab. Peut.* IX.1; Eusebius *Onomasticon* 12, 16, 24, 102, 126 (ed. Klostermann); *Patrum Nicaenorum Nomina* (ed. H. Gelzer) 1.74, 2.73, 3.72, 4.70, 5.72, 7.79, 8.73, 9.73, 11.68; Hieronymus *In Ezech.* 7.21 (*CCL* 75: 289), *In Naum* 3.8 (*CCL* 76A: 564–5); Theodoret *In Ezech.* 21.18–20 (*PG* 81: 1013); Hierokles 722.9; Georg. Cyp. 1065.

2. For **the klerouchy of Tobias at Birta of the Ammanitis** see *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59003 (= *CPJ* 1 = Scholl, *Sklaverei,* no. 1 = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 3). For **the possibility that the klerouchy was located at the citadel at Rabbat Amman** see BIRTA of the Ammanitis. Regarding the founding date of Philadelpheia, note that Ernest Will (*SHAJ* 2 [1985] 239 n.14) argued—*ex silentio*—that since the name Philadelpheia is not found in the Zenon archive, the change took place after 259 B.C.

3. **Tyrians at Philadelpheia.** I have already mentioned Stephanos's comment that Philadelpheia was previously called Astarte. C. Clermont-Ganneau (*RA* [1905] 212–13) suggested that Asteria—who is mentioned in the literary and numismatic sources—is the Greek adaptation of Astarte, the goddess who was the mother of the Tyrian Herakles-Melkart. Cicero (*De Natura Deorum* 3.42; see also the commentary of A. S. Pease, *M. Tulli Ciceronis De Natura Deorum* [Cambridge, 1958] 2: 1055–56) mentions the worship of Asteria and Herakles at Tyre (see also Athen. 9.392d). Herakles or Asteria is often found on coins of Roman Philadelpheia; see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 248–57, nos. 17, 19–20, 24, 26–28, 30, 32, 41–42, 44–45, 47. Certain coins of Philadelpheia have on the reverse a chariot with a domed canopy supported by four pillars and drawn by four horses and the legend *HPAKΛEION APMA* (e.g., de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 390, no. 5; *BMC Arabia,* 39f., nos. 11, 20; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 250f., nos. 21, 29; *SNG ANS* 6: 1397). Other coins have on the reverse a bust of Asteria and the legend *ΘEA AΣTEPIA* (e.g., de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 391, no. 2 [Lucius Verus]; *BMC Arabia,* 39, no. 12; *QDAP* 1 [1932] 138, no. 33; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 250f., nos. 24, 30, 32; *SNG ANS* 6: 1392–93, 1395–96). And an inscription, *I. Jordanie* 2: 29, that was found in the immediate vicinity of Philadelpheia, records the existence of a Herakleion ([*τοῦ*] *Ἡρακλε*[*ί*]*ο̣υ*. (N.b. that the reading [*τοῦ*] *Ἡρακλε*[*ί*]*ου* is not certain. Other proposed readings include *τ*[*ὸ*] *Ἡρακλε*(*ι*)*ο*(*ν*), *τ*[*οῦ*] *Ἡρακλέο*[*υς*], [*τοῦ ναοῦ θεοῦ*] *Ἡρακλέους,* [*τοῦ*] *Ἡρακλέο*(*υς*) (see apparatus criticus of *I. Jordanie* 2: 29). On the worship of Herakles and Astarte at Philadelpheia see, for example, C. Clermont-Ganneau, *RA* (1905) 209–15; C. Bonnet, *Melqart,* 145–48; N. van der Vliet, *RB* 57 (1950) 256–58; Gatier's comment. on *I. Jordanie* 2: 29. For the worship of Herakles at other cities of the Decapolis see, for example, GADARA, PELLA, and SELEUKEIA Abila. Bonnet (*Melqart,* 147–48 and n. 13) rejected Seyrig's suggestion (*Syria* 37 [1960] 249 and n. 3) that a triad of Herakles, Asteria, and Zeus was worshipped at Philadelpheia. Note, however, that a small altar of Zeus has been found on the citadel (see Gatier's comment. on *I. Jordanie* 2: 29). For the suggestion that

Tyrians settled in Philadelpheia see also G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia,* xxxix–xl; Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 100; M. Hengel, *Judaism*[2], 1: 43; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 25. For Phoenician colonizing activity in southern Syria see Rostovtzeff, who has suggested (*CAH* 7: 190–92) that much of this took place under the Ptolemies.

Other cities of southern Syria that had Phoenician colonies included GADARA (circumstantial evidence for the presence of Tyrians). There were also Sidonian (i.e., Phoenician) colonies at SHECHEM and Marisa. From Shechem we have a reference to *οἱ ἐν Σικίμοις Σιδώνιοι* (Jos. *AJ* 11.344, 12.258), and at Marisa we encounter Apollophanes, who was archon of *οἱ ἐν Μαρίσηι Σιδώνιοι* (*OGIS* 593.14). And an inscription reveals the existence of a community of Sidonians in Jamnia-on-the-Sea in the time of Antiochos V Eupator ([*οἱ ἐν τῶι τῆς Ἰαμνίας λιμ*]*ένι Σιδώνιοι*, B. Isaac, *IEJ* 41 [1991] 132–44). Rostovtzeff suggested that the Sidonians at Marisa were organized as a *politeuma* (*SEHHW,* 520), while Bar-Kochva (cited by Isaac, p. 139) suggested the same for the Sidonians at Jamnia-on-the-Sea. We may expect this was also true for the Sidonians at Shechem. (For Phoenicians in Hellenistic southern Syria often being called either Sidonians or Canaanites see the comment. on *CPJ* 1; Hengel, *Judaism*[2], 1: 90–91; and F. M. Abel, *Géographie,* 1: 254–58. On [primarily military] *politeumata* in the Hellenistic world see Launey, *Recherches,* 2: 1064–85; for references to earlier works see Launey, 1064 n. 4. For *politeumata* of foreigners at Sidon itself see Cohen in *Pursuing the Text,* ed. Reeves and Kampen, 249 and n. 19.) Finally, at Jerusalem there was a colony of Tyrian merchants as early as the time of the prophet Nehemiah (Nehemiah 13.23–29). In general see literature cited in SHECHEM, n. 3.

4. For the ramparts see J.-B. Humbert and F. Zayadine in *CFAJ* 25–26.

South Arabian texts dating to third century B.C. also refer to the city as "**Amman**"; see K. Mlaker, *Die Hierodulenlisten von Ma'in* (Leipzig, 1943) 39. *PSI* IV 406.13 (= Durand, *Palestine,* no. 27) refers to *ἐξ Ἀμμώνων.* It is not clear whether this designates the city of Amman or the Ammanite region; Graf and MacAdam suggested the latter (*Aram* 2 [1990] 72). After the Islamic conquest the name Philadelpheia disappeared completely; in the Arabic sources the only attested form of the toponym is Amman; see Northedge in *Amman,* 1: 47.

For **the continued use of the native name to refer to a Hellenistic settlement** see, for example, APAMEIA Kelainai.

5. The **evidence for diminished Seleucid control of Ammanitis in the first half of the second century B.C.** is as follows: (a) the Tobiad Hyrkanos son of Joseph established himself in Transjordan as an (apparently) independent ruler, built a palace *(baris)* that he called Tyros, and lived there from c. 187 to c. 175 B.C. (Josephus *AJ* 12.229–36); this palace has been identified with the great ruins of Qasr el-Abd at Iraq el-Emir, 18 km west of Amman (see BIRTA of the Ammanitis, n. 2); on Hyrkanos in Transjordan see, for example, Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 137–38; Hengel, *Judaism*[2], 1: 272–77; (b) around 172 B.C. the Hellenizing high priest in Jerusalem, Jason, was deposed by Menelaus; the latter had recently secured the high priesthood from the Seleucid authorities; as a result, Jason now fled to Ammanitis (2 Macc. 4.26–27); a few years later Jason made an abortive attempt to seize Jerusalem from Seleucid rule, but the attempt ultimately failed, and he was again forced to take refuge in Ammanitis (2 Macc. 5.7–8); subsequently Jason was imprisoned by Aretas, the *tyrannos* of the Arabs; although 2 Maccabees does not make it explicit, the implication is

that Jason was seeking refuge in a region—Ammanitis—that was not under direct Seleucid control; in general see MacAdam in *Amman,* 1: 30–31.

6. Presumably Theodoros the son of Zenon who ruled over GERASA, GADARA, and Amathous (Josephus *AJ* 13.356, *BJ* 86, 104) was the son of Zenon Kotylas. The **ethnic identity of Zenon Kotylas and Theodoros**—i.e., whether they were Greeks or Hellenized Nabataeans—is not clearly known; see further MacAdam in *Amman,* 1: 31; L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 489 n. 2.

7. On **Philadelpheia and the Decapolis** see, for example, MacAdam in *Amman,* 1: 33–34. On the Decapolis see literature cited in PELLA/BERENIKE, n. 9.

8. For the **coinage** of Philadelpheia see, for example, Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 330–33; id., *Supplément,* 8: 232–36; de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 386–92; G. F. Hill, *BMC Arabia,* xxxix–xli, 37–41; W. Wroth, *BMC Syria,* lxxxix–xc, 306; N. van der Vliet, *RB* 57 (1950) 252–58; *SNG* (Cop) *Syria: Cities* 451–54; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 242–57; *SNG Schweiz* II 2215–23; and Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 202–8. Müller's attribution of some coins of Alexander with the letter *Φ* to this Philadelpheia is not convincing; see Schürer, *History*², 2: 156 n. 378.

On **Roman Philadelpheia** see, for example, A. Hadidi in *Archaeology in the Levant,* ed. P. R. S. Moorey and P. J. Parr (Warminster, 1978) 210–22; J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *ADAJ* 25 (1981) 25–27; E. Will, *SHAJ* 2 (1985) 37–41; MacAdam in *Amman,* 1: 33–38; Kennedy, *The Roman Army in Jordan,* 112–14; M. Burdajewicz and A. Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Rabbath-Ammon," 1248–51. For the **era** (beginning in 63 or 64 B.C.) in use at Roman Philadelpheia see Meimaris, *Chronological Systems,* 114–17; and Stein, "Studies," 40–46.

9. With the **ethnic** on the coins (see references above, n. 8) compare an inscription found in the forum dating to 189 A.D.: *Φιλαδελφέων τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν ἡ πόλις* (F. Zayadine, *ADAJ* 14 [1969] 34–35; D. Schlumberger, *Syria* 48 [1971] 385–89; *AE,* 1972, 673). For another inscription (a dedication), dated palaeographically to the third century A.D., that also describes Philadelpheia as being in Coele Syria see J.-P. Rey-Coquais, *ADAJ* 25 (1981) 27–28. Despite the local preference under the Roman Empire for referring to the city as being in (the local geographic unit) Coele Syria, officially the city belonged to the province of Arabia from the reign of Trajan; see SELEUKEIA Gadara, n. 1; and Schürer, *History*², 2: 157–58. On Coele Syria see pp. 37–41.

10. For the **honorific decree for Martas** see *I. Jordanie* 2: 29 (discussion and bibliography).

11. On the **location and site** of Philadelpheia see H. I. MacAdam in *BEINE* 2: 84–85. A. Northedge in *Amman,* 1: 20–21, 57–61 (maps and plans at end); Harding, *Jordan,* 61–70; M. Burdajewicz and A. Segal, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Rabbath-Ammon" (extensive bibliography on excavations at the site); R. Khouri, *Amman: A Brief Guide to the Antiquities* (Amman, 1988). Abu al-Fida, writing in the early fourteenth century A.D., mentioned the great ruins there (247 in Le Strange, *Palestine,* 393); for the Arabic geographers on Amman see Le Strange, *Palestine,* 391–93; and Marmadji, *Textes géographiques,* 149–50.

12. On the **territory** of Hellenistic and Roman Philadelpheia see Jones, *CERP*², 455, 462; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 177 (for Isaac's criticism of Avi-Yonah see APOLLONIA [Arsuf], n. 5); and MacAdam in *Amman,* 1: 31–32.

PHILOTERIA

According to Polybius (5.70.3–5) Philoteria surrendered voluntarily to Antiochos III in 218 B.C. Later, in the first century B.C., Alexander Jannaios captured and apparently destroyed the town (Synkellos 558–59, ed. Mosshammer).[1] Stephanos refers to it as Philotera (s.v.) and comments that it was in Coele Syria. We do not know when the settlement was founded or by whom. However, since Philotera was the sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos, one naturally thinks of him as the founder. Two other settlements with similar names are known: PHILOTERA in Lycia and on the Red Sea. Synkellos (558–59) included Philoteria in his list of Macedonian *apoikiai*. Polybius (5.70.4) says that Philoteria was located on the Sea of Galilee. Although the precise location is not known, most conjectures place it at Tell Beth Yerah (Khirbet el-Kerak) on the southwestern shore of the Sea of Galilee.[2] At Tell Beth Yerah fragments of Rhodian amphora handles dating from the third and second centuries B.C. have been found. In addition, near a Hellenistic building where Rhodian amphora handles dated to the latter part of the third century B.C. were found, a silver coin of Ptolemy I was also discovered.[3]

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In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Philoteria"; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 65; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 114; Tcherikover, *HS,* 72; id., *HCJ,* 102, 449; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 284; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 88; Arav, *Palestine,* 97–98; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 280; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 203.

1. Both Josephus (*AJ* 13.395–97) and Synkellos (558–59) preserve **lists of cities that were under Jannaios's control** at the end of his life. Synkellos's list, which is derived from a source independent of Josephus, mentions a number of towns—Abila, Hippos, and Philoteria—that are not mentioned by Josephus. On the question of the reliability of Synkellos's information see Gelzer, *Julius Africanus,* 256–58; on Synkellos's use of his predecessors see also R. Laqueur, *RE* s.v. "Synkellos," 1388–1410; Adler, *Time Immemorial,* 132–206; G. L. Huxley, *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* C 81.6 (1981) 207–17.

On the destruction of Philoteria see Jones, *CERP*², 240, 55, 57.

2. **Location.** G. Hölscher (*Quellen* 5 [1903] 65) theorized that Philoteria was on the east bank of the Sea of Galilee and equated it with Gamala. Contra: Kahrstedt (*Syr. Territ.,* 24 n. 1), as well as Droysen (*Hist.,* 2: 738) and Dussaud (*Topographie,* 22), who speculated it was on the west bank. Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 102), Honigmann (*RE* s.v. "Philoteria"), Avi-Yonah (*Gazetteer,* 88), and Arav (*Palestine,* 97–98), among others, have suggested that Tell Beth Yerah (Khirbet el-Kerak) was the site of Philoteria; on the excavations at Beth Yerah see, for example, R. Hestrin, *NEAEHL* s.v.

A coin hoard that is alleged to have been found at Khirbet el-Kerak contained, among other items, tetradrachms of Alexander the Great and Philip Arrhidaios (J. Baramki, *QDAP* 11 [1944] 86–90). The coins were probably buried soon after 319 B.C. If the coins were, in fact, from Khirbet el-Kerak, it would provide evidence for a possible Hellenistic settlement there (so Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 102).

An inscription found at Khirbet el-Kerak is dated to the year 591 (C. H. Kraeling in P. Delougaz and R. C. Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak* [Chicago, 1960] 53–54, no. 1 = *SEG* 37: 1474B = Meimaris, *Chronological Systems,* 81–82, no. 11). Kraeling reasonably suggested that the era in question was Pompeian and, hence, that the inscription should be dated to 528 A.D. Based on the equation Khirbet el-Kerak = Philoteria, Meimaris suggested that after 64 B.C. Philoteria used a Pompeian era. This suggestion is obviously also based on the assumption that after its destruction by Jannaios, Philoteria—like other cities destroyed by Jannaios (e.g., PELLA)—was rebuilt. On the destruction of cities and the forms this could take see KOLOPHON.

3. For the **Rhodian amphoras** see Delougaz and Haines, *A Byzantine Church at Khirbat al-Karak,* 31; B. Maisler, *IEJ* 2 (1952) 166 (Rhodian jars and coins from a block of buildings "constructed in the Ptolemaic period"), 222; O. Yogev and E. Eisenberg, *ESI* 4 (1985) 15 (a Rhodian amphora handle dated to the latter part of the third century B.C. [on the dating see D. T. Ariel, *IEJ* 38 (1988) 32–35] and a **coin of Ptolemy I**).

SAMAREIA

According to Curtius Rufus (4.8.9), while Alexander the Great was in Egypt (332/1 B.C.) the Samaritans rebelled and assassinated Andromachos, the governor of Syria. Alexander punished the city and settled Macedonians there.[1] As far as we know, this was the first Macedonian colony established by Alexander in the course of his expedition.[2] Approximately three hundred skeletons are reported to have been found in a cave in the Wadi ed-Dâliyeh, 15 kilometers north of Jericho; it is possible these were the remains of victims of Alexander's punitive actions.[3] Apparently the punishment of the Samaritans did not leave lasting bitterness between them and Alexander. In any event, Josephus (*AJ* 11.321–24, 340–43), who does not mention Alexander's punishment of the Samaritans, says the Samaritans regained Alexander's favor and received permission to build a temple on Mount Gerizim (*AJ* 13.256). In the latter part of the fourth century impressive round towers were added to the fortification walls of the acropolis of Samareia. Some time later, c. the second century B.C., a new wall was built around the acropolis.[4]

In the years following Alexander's actions, Samareia was destroyed twice: the first time by Ptolemy I Soter in 312 B.C. (Diod. 19.93.7) and later, around 296 B.C., by Demetrios Poliorketes (Euseb. *Chron.* 199, ed. Karst; Yossipon, p. 62 [ed. Hominer, 1971]). We do not know the nature of the political relationship between the Macedonian colonists and the Samaritans.[5] Polybius says (5.71.11,16.39.3) that Antiochos III occupied the territory of Samareia in 218 and again in 200 B.C. We have no other information on the later history of the colony.

Samareia was destroyed under John Hyrkanos (Jos. *AJ* 13.275–83); subsequently Alexander Jannaios occupied it or its ruins (Jos. *AJ* 13.396). Later it was freed from Jewish rule by Pompey (Jos. *AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.156) and then

restored by Gabinius (Jos. *AJ* 14.88, *BJ* 1.166).[6] Following that, Herod the Great refounded the city, settling six thousand colonists there and renaming it Sebaste (Jos. *AJ* 15.292, *BJ* 1.403; Strabo 16.2.34).

Samareia was located c. 10 kilometers northwest of SHECHEM at the site of Sebaste.[7]

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In general see Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 102; Beer, *RE* s.v. "Samaria"; Willrich, *Juden,* 17–18; Tcherikover, *HS,* 73–74; id., *HCJ,* 47–48, 103–4; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 443–46; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 94; id., *EJ* s.v. "Samaria"; id., *Geography,* 151–53; R. Marcus, Appendix C to the Loeb edition of Josephus, vol. 6, esp. pp. 523–25; E. Bickerman, *From Ezra to the Last of the Maccabees,* 41–46; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 105; A. Negev, *PECS* s.v. "Samaria"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 164–65; Schürer, *History*², 2: 160–62; Hengel, *Greeks,* 8–10; *AEHL* s.v. "Samaria"; S. Applebaum in Dar, *Samaria,* 257–63; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 19–20 and passim; Arav, *Palestine,* 88–96; J. D. Purvis, *ABD* s.v. "Samaria"; N. Avigad, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Samaria (City)"; I. Magen, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Samaria (Region), Hellenistic and Roman-Byzantine Periods"; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 220–21.

There have been two major archaeological excavations at Samareia: see G. A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (Cambridge, 1924); and J. W. Crowfoot et al., *Early Ivories from Samaria, The Buildings at Samaria, The Objects of Samaria* (London, 1938–1957). In addition, there have been a number of smaller expeditions; see further bibliography and references in the *ABD* and *NEAEHL.* For the literary sources relating to Samareia (in German translation) see J. Zangenberg, *ΣΑΜΑΡΕΙΑ* (Tübingen and Basel, 1994).

1. The **founder of the Macedonian colony at Samareia.** According to Hieronymus (*Chron.* 123, ed. Helm²) and Eusebius (*Chron.* 197, ed. Karst), Alexander punished the rebellious Samaritans and after having captured the city settled Macedonians there. Synkellos (496, ed. Mosshammer) also mentions Alexander settling Macedonians in Samareia after he captured the city. However, in another passage (*Chron.* 199, ed. Karst) Eusebius says it was Perdikkas who had resettled the city. There is, however, no necessary contradiction. As Tcherikover and others have noted, it is possible that Perdikkas founded the colony on Alexander's orders (*HCJ,* 104; see also Willrich, *Juden,* 2: 195). Alternatively, Tcherikover suggested that Perdikkas, who was the ruler of this area for two years after Alexander's death (323–321 B.C.), may have elevated the Macedonian colony to the rank of a *polis* (see also Hengel, *Greeks,* 10). As there is no evidence to support that latter conjecture, the former suggestion appears preferable. See also Marcus, 523–24; H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 (1965) 27; and Schürer, *History*², 2: 160–61. Cf. also DOKIMEION and THEMISONION in Phrygia.

G. E. Wright has suggested (*HTR* 55 [1962] 366–77; *Shechem,* 175–80) the indications of the reoccupation and refortification of Shechem in the late fourth century B.C. and the appearance of towers of Greek (rather than Palestinian) design at Samareia are best explained if one assumes that at that time (a) Samareia was resettled by Macedonians sent by Alexander and (b) the Samaritans returned to Shechem to (re)found the city.

Applebaum has suggested (in Dar, *Samaria,* 257) that as a result of the Macedonian intervention a large part of Samareia might have become a royal domain. Applebaum also speculated that the Samaritans who were subsequently transferred to Egypt by Ptolemy I Soter (Jos. *AJ* 12.7) had been rendered landless by Alexander's confiscations. Note, however, that the captives that Ptolemy sent to Egypt included persons from Judaea and the area around Jerusalem as well as Samareia.

2. Although a number of foundations in Asia Minor have been attributed to Alexander by ancient authors or modern scholars, none can definitely be attributed to him. See further, Cohen, *Settlements in Europe,* 420–23.

3. For **the cave at Wadi ed-Dâliyeh** see F. M. Cross, Jr., *BA* 26 (1963) 118–19; id. in *Discoveries in the Wâdi ed-Daliyeh,* ed. P. W. Lapp and N. Lapp (Cambridge, 1974) 17–18; N. Lapp, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Wadi ed-Daliyeh."

A likely reconstruction of the events that culminated in the death of c. three hundred people in the cave at Wadi ed-Dâliyeh is as follows (see Cross; and Wright, *Shechem,* 181): the extant evidence points to the last third of the fourth century B.C. for the abandonment of the papyri (which date to c. 375–335 B.C.) and other artifacts thus far discovered in the cave. Therefore, Cross suggested that the leaders of the Samaritan rebellion fled Samaria on learning of Alexander's plans to return to the city. They went on the main highway down the Wadi Fârah and took temporary refuge in the Wadi ed-Dâliyeh cave. They were discovered there and killed, probably by suffocation.

4. For **round towers dating to the end of the fourth century B.C.** see J. W. Crowfoot, *The Buildings at Samaria,* 24–27. Crowfoot argued convincingly that the round towers were fortifications of a non-Palestinian type, and suggested that the parallel for them is to be sought in the Greek world (*The Buildings at Samaria,* 24, 27 and n. 2). Thus, according to Wright (*Samaria,* 179), "they would most easily be explained as having been erected as a renewal of the city's fortifications by settlers from Greece." Note, incidentally, that Eusebius (*Chron.* 197, ed. Karst), Synkellos (496, ed. Mosshammer), and Hieronymus (123, ed. Helm^2) say the settlers were Macedonians. For the **fortification wall around the acropolis** see Crowfoot, *The Buildings at Samaria,* 28–31.

5. **The political relationship between the Macedonian colonists and the Samaritans.** Hengel (*Greeks,* 10) has speculated that the Samaritan population was reduced to the status of *perioikoi* in the new *polis.* This is, of course, possible. N.b., however, that we have no unequivocal evidence for the later history of the Macedonian colony. Despite this, archaeologists have unearthed extensive evidence—in addition to the fortification walls—for the Hellenic character of Samareia in the third and second centuries B.C. We may note, for example, a dedication to Sarapis Isis (*SEG* 8:95), a bronze statuette of Herakles, a figure of an athlete in terracotta, a marble Kore, a statue of Dionysos(?), and a statuette of Apollo (J. W. Crowfoot in *The Objects from Samaria,* 71–75), and various types of Hellenistic pottery as well as Megarian bowls (Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria,* 299–309; K. M. Kenyon and G. M. Crowfoot in *Objects from Samaria,* 217–81). In addition, stamped amphora handles from, among other places, Rhodes, Kos, Knidos, Thasos, and Sinope provide evidence for trade with both the Aegean and the Black Sea regions (Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations,* 310–16; J. W. Crowfoot in *Objects from Samaria,* 79–87). The commercial integration of Samareia with the larger Hellenistic world around it is also attested by the coinage found there—Ptolemaic in the third century and Seleucid in the sec-

ond. In addition, city coins from ANTIOCH/PTOLEMAIS Ake, ANTIOCH near Daphne, and other cities have also been found (Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations,* 254–66; J. S. Kirkman in *Objects from Samaria,* 43–67).

6. On the nature of **Gabinius's activity** in restoring cities in southern Syria see below, SELEUKEIA Abila, n 2.

7. For the **location and a plan** of the site see Crowfoot, *The Buildings at Samaria,* 1–3; Avigad, *NEAEHL* 1301, 16. Avi-Yonah's claims regarding the **territory** of Samareia (*Geography,* 151–53 and map 14 on p. 152) have been correctly challenged by Isaac; see APOLLONIA (Arsuf), n. 5.

SELEUKEIA ABILA

The earliest extant reference to Abila in the Greek or Latin sources is Polybius, who mentions it in connection with Antiochos III's conquest of Palestine in 218 and 200 B.C. (5.71.2 and 16.39.3 = Josephus *AJ* 12.136); in both expeditions Antiochos captured Abila and Gadara. We learn from coinage of the late second/early third century A.D. with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚ(ΕΩΝ) ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ* that Abila was also known as Seleukeia.[1] We do not know when this refounding took place or who initiated it; tentatively one might suggest Seleukos IV. Synkellos (558–59, ed. Mosshammer) included Abila in a group of towns in Palestine and the Jordan Valley he considered to be "Macedonian settlements" that were later conquered by Alexander Jannaios.[2]

Pliny (*NH* 5.74) does not include the city in the Decapolis, but an inscription found at Tabiyeh near Palmyra and dating to the reign of Hadrian mentions Ἀγαθάνγελος Ἀβιληνὸς τῆς Δεκαπόλεος (*OGIS* 631). Ptolemy (5.14.18) also mentions an Abida, among the cities of the Decapolis; presumably this should be identified with Abila in Transjordan.[3] Eusebius, who described Abila as a πόλις ἐπίσημος, mentioned that it was famous for its viticulture (*Onomasticon* 32, ed. Klostermann). The appearance of a bunch of grapes or a cornucopia with bunches of grapes on the reverse of coins of Abila reflects this.[4] Four stamped amphora handles, dated to the third–second century B.C., have thus far been found at Abila; at least two were Rhodian.[5] In the Roman period an era beginning in 64 B.C. (or, possibly, 63 or 62) was used at Abila.[6] The frequent appearance of Herakles on the coinage indicates the importance of his worship.[7] On certain coinage of Marcus Aurelius, Caracalla, and Elagabalus there is a picture of a hexastyle or tetrastyle temple flanked by towers within which is an altar; it is quite likely that this is the representation of a sanctuary at Abila.[8] Other coins portray a standing Tyche within a distyle or tetrastyle temple resting her foot on a river god.[9]

The identification of Seleukeia Abila with the site called Quailibah (15 km north-northeast of Irbid) is based on three factors: (a) the observations of Eusebius and Hieronymus (*Onomasticon* 32–33, ed. Klostermann) that Abila was located 12 miles east of Gadara, (b) the persistence of the name

Tell Abil for one of the mounds at the site, (c) the discovery of an inscription (dated palaeographically to the late second century A.D.) at the site that included the name *ABIΛA*.[10] The site was inhabited at various times throughout antiquity from as early as the Neolithic period and the Bronze Age.

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In general see G. Schumacher, *Abila of the Decapolis* (London, 1889); Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Abila 4"; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 64; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 13–14; Tcherikover, *HS,* 75; id., *HCJ,* 99; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 234–35; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 175; id., *Gazetteer,* 25; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 1; Schürer, *History*², 2: 136; Browning, *Jerash,* 48–49; Bietenhard, *ZDPV* 79 (1963) 26; A. Negev, *PECS* s.v. "Abila"; M. J. Fuller, "Abila of the Decapolis" (PhD diss., Washington University, 1987) 22–28, 41–67; A. M. Hakkert, *LGRC* s.v. "Abila 4"; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 34–35; W. H. Mare in *Decapolis,* 57–77; J. D. Wineland, *Ancient Abila;* id. in *Decapolis,* 329–42; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 55; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 534–35.

For the results of survey and excavation at Abila see the reports by W. H. Mare et al. in the *NEASB* (1981–) and in *ADAJ* (1982–); Mare, *Archaeology of Jordan* s.v. "Quweilbeh (Abila)"; id., *ABD* s.v. "Abila of the Decapolis"; id., *NEAEHL* s.v. "Abila"; Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 20–46; Arav, *Palestine,* 112–13.

1. For **coins with the ethnic *ΣΕΛΕΥΚ(ΕΩΝ)ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ*** or abbreviations thereof see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 308–12; Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 318; id., *Supplément,* 8: 223–24; W. Wroth, *BMC Syria,* lxxxiii; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 48–57; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 4:1–2, nos. 1–12; *SNG Schweiz* II 2179–83; Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 78–79. For the ethnic *ABIΛHNΩN* see also Stephanos s.v. "Abile"; *OGIS* 631.

In general on the **coinage of Abila** see the literature cited in Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 1–4; see also Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 79–94; and Rigsby, *Asylia,* 535; for the coins discovered in the excavation directed by W. H. Mare (see above) see Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 89 n. 87, 135–37.

For literary and epigraphic references (Hellenistic and later) to Abila see, for example, Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 55–78.

2. On the **list in Synkellos** see G. Schmitt, *ZDPV* 103 (1987) 24; and PHILOTERIA, n. 1.

The usual **legend on the reverse of the coinage of Abila reads *ΣΕ ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ Ι Α Α Γ ΚΟΙ ΣΥ*** or variants thereof (e.g., Mionnet, *Description,* 5: 318, nos. 2–3; *Supplément,* 8: 223, no. 1; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 50–53, nos. 1–5, 9–14; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 4:1–2, nos. 9, 12–16; *SNG Schweiz* II 2179, 2181–82). That is, *ΣΕ(ΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ) ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ Ι(ΕΡΑΣ) Α(ΣΥΛΟΥ) Α(ΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ) Γ(. . .) ΚΟΙ(ΛΗΣ) ΣΥ(ΡΙΑΣ)*. The sequence *ΙΑΑΓ* is found on coins of the second and third centuries A.D. from Abila and GADARA; *ΙΑΑ*—without the *Γ*—is found on coins of CAPITOLIAS and on a coin of GADARA. The difficulty is interpreting the letter *Γ* on the coins of Abila and Gadara. Four suggestions have been proffered.

i. It has been claimed that the *Γ* stood for *ΓΝΩΡΙΜΟΥ*; see, for example, Herzfelder, *RN* 39 (1936) 292; W. Kellner, *SM* 77 (1970) 12, nos. 1–3; G. M. Cohen, *AJN* 10 (1998) 95–102. In this they were following the suggestion of Belley, who was cited by Eckhel, *Doctrina,* 3: 346. De Saulcy (*Numismatique,* 309–10) also referred to

this suggested reading, albeit with skepticism. The combination *ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* and abbreviations thereof are often found on coins of various cities; see, for example, in Asia Minor, *SNG* (von A) 5731–32, 5734, 5736, 8701 (Mopsos), 6538–43 (Tyana). And *ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ* with, for example, the additional *ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΣ* or *ΝΑΥΑΡΧΙΔΟΣ* is also attested on coinage; see, for example, *SNG* (von A) 6097, 6098 (Elaiussa-Sebaste). Nevertheless, I have not been able to find other examples of the use of *ΓΝΩΡΙΜΟΣ*—written in full or abbreviated (rather than the appearance of just the letter gamma)—on coins to describe a city. On the other hand, we do find the legend *ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΥ* on coinage of Damascus from the early third century A.D. (de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 42, nos. 2–3). And in the early to mid-third century A.D. coins were minted at Perge in Pamphylia with the legend *ΙΕΡΑ ΛΑΜΠΡΑ ΕΝΔΟΞΟΣ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΟΣ ΠΕΡΓΕ ΠΡΩΤΗ* or variations thereof (e.g., *Inv. Wadd.* 3409; W. Wroth, *NC,* 1899, 105 n. 30; Imhoof-Blumer, *KM,* 332, nos. 32, 34; *SNG* [von A] 4729; *SNG* [France] 3: 610).

ii. M.J. Price, in a note on *SNG GB* 4: 5977 (a coin of Abila), remarked that *ΙΑΑΓ* should be interpreted as *ΙΕΡΑΣ ΑΣΥΛΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ ΓΑΒΕΙΝΙΑΣ*. He pointed out that the title *ΓΑΒΕΙΝΙΑΣ* was known from coins of Kanatha (see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 92ff., nos. 6–10, 13–14, late second/early third century A.D.). In addition we may note that some coins of SKYTHOPOLIS from c. 59–56 B.C. have the legend *ΓΑΒΙΝΙΣ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΝΥΣΗΙ* and variants (see, for example, *RPC* 1: 4825–26; also 4827–28; and R. Barkay, *INJ* 13 [1994–99] 54–62). And some coins of Marisa dated to 58/7 B.C. bear the legend *ΓΑ,* probably a reference to Gabinia (S. Qedar, *INJ* 12 [1992–93] 20–30).

In other words, Skythopolis was renamed Gabinia for a short time in the mid-first century B.C. In fact, according to Josephus (*AJ* 14.88, *BJ* 1.166), Aulus Gabinius restored many towns in the region, among them SAMAREIA, Azotos, SKYTHOPOLIS, ANTHEDON, Raphia, Marisa, GAZA, APOLLONIA, Jamnia, Gamala, and Adora/Adoreos. (Note, in this connection, B. Isaac, *Limits,* 336–40; Isaac has argued—essentially from silence—that there is no evidence Gabinius was actually involved in the physical reconstruction of these cities. Rather, Isaac has suggested that Gabinius's role was limited to various administrative measures on behalf of the cities; i.e., he acted as founder rather than builder. The one possible exception that Isaac mentions is SAMAREIA, where houses have been unearthed that could be dated to the time of Gabinius, and even this evidence, Isaac noted, is tentative [*Limits,* 339–40; see also G.A. Reisner et al., *Harvard Excavations at Samaria* (Cambridge, 1924) 50–54; J.W. Crowfoot et al., *The Objects of Samaria* (London, 1957) 5]. Of course one could be acknowledged as the "founder" without having physically built the particular city. For example, Alexander the Great was universally acknowledged to have founded ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, even though he was too busy to oversee the actual building. That task was overseen by Kleomenes of Naukratis and Deinokrates of Rhodes and, later, by the Ptolemies). The fact that neither Abila nor Gadara—the two cities thus far known to have *ΙΑΑΓ* on their coinage—is mentioned in Josephus's list is not necessarily significant. Josephus specifically says that, in addition to the cities mentioned, Gabinius restored many others. Furthermore, Skythopolis is mentioned by Josephus, and it apparently was renamed. To date, however, Kanatha and Skythopolis

are the only cities whose extant coins indicate they also bore the name of the Roman general. This certainly raises the possibility that Abila could have been renamed for Gabinius. Nevertheless, there are problems with the suggested reading of *ΓΑΒΕΙΝΙΑΣ* for the *Γ* on the coins of Gadara and Abila: on the Abila coinage the first part of the legend bears the ethnic *ΣΕ*(*ΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ*) *ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ*, the end has the toponymic *ΚΟΙ*(*ΛΗΣ*) *ΣΥ*(*ΡΙΑΣ*). Similarly, on coins of Gadara the first part of the legend bears the ethnic *ΓΑΔΑΡ*(*ΕΩΝ*) or *ΠΟΜ*(*ΗΙΕΩΝ*) *ΓΑΔΑΡ*(*ΕΩΝ*), and the end also has the toponymic *ΚΟΙ*(*ΛΗΣ*) *ΣΥ*(*ΡΙΑΣ*); cf. the simple legend *ΔΕΙΗΝΩΝ ΚΟΙ*(*ΛΗΣ*) *ΣΥ*(*ΡΙΑΣ*) on the coins of DION. In both cases these frame the letters *Ι Α Α Γ*, which, according to Price, would (a) specify the status of the city and (b) record an additional ethnic (or toponym), i.e., *Ι(ΕΡΑΣ) Α(ΣΥΛΟΥ) Α(ΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ) Γ(ΑΒΙΝΙΑΣ)*. Thus the old ethnic(s) of the city would be followed by letters alluding to its status, followed by a letter referring to the new name, followed by the abbreviation for Coele Syria. This is not likely. Furthermore, the *Γ* appears on coins that already have double ethnics (in the case of Seleukeia Abila and Pompeia Gadara); if we follow Price's suggestion, the coins of Seleukeia Abila and Pompeia Gadara with the *Γ* would thus have three names on them, Seleukeia, Abila or Pompeia, Gadara and Gabinia. This is admittedly possible, but not likely.

iii. Meshorer suggested reading *Α*(*ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ*) *Γ*(*ΕΝΑΡΧΗΣ*) for the letters *Α Γ*, i.e., the people of Abila considered Alexander the Great to be the progenitor of the city (*City-Coins,* 78). In a private communication Prof. Meshorer remarked that his theory was based on the fact that Herakles is very conspicuous on the coins of Abila and Gadara (see below, n. 7). Furthermore, he noted the association between Alexander and Herakles. In fact, in the late second/early third century A.D. a number of cities in Transjordan seem to have claimed Alexander as their founder: e.g., CAPITOLIAS and GERASA, DION, and PELLA (see further, Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 218–21). Thus a coin of Capitolias has on the reverse the legend *ΚΑΠΙ*(*ΤΩΛΙΕΩΝ*) *ΑΛΕΞ*(*ΑΝΔΡΟΣ*) *ΜΑΚΕ*(*ΔΩΝ* or *ΔΟΝΩΝ*) *ΓΕΝΑΡ*(*ΧΗΣ*) or variants thereof (e.g., H. Seyrig, *Syria* 36 [1959] 66, 76; Seyrig also suggested that a portrait bust on the reverse of the coin might be that of Alexander; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 102, no. 15; *SNG ANS* 6: 1274; Kellner, *SM* 77 [1970] 2–3), and a coin of the early third century A.D. from Gerasa bears the legend *Ἀλέξ*(*ανδρος*) *Μακ*(*εδὼν*) *κτί*(*στης*) *Γεράσων* (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 42 [1965] 25–28). Note, however, that on the extant coins of both Capitolias and Gerasa the king is specifically identified as "Alexander the Macedonian." An inscription found at Çorhisar in the Sandıklı plain in Asia Minor, dated palaeographically to the Imperial period, reads: *Ἀλέξανδρον Μακεδόνα κτιστὴν τῆς πολέως* (Ramsay, *CBP,* p. 702, no. 638 = *IGR* 4: 692; for the reading *κτίστην* [Ramsay, *JHS* 8 (1887) 478; *IGR* 4: 692] rather than *οἰκιστήν* [Legrand and Chamonard, *BCH* 17 (1893) 277; Ramsay, *CBP,* p. 702] see Leschhorn, *"Gründer,"* 221); it probably refers to the Macedonian king rather than a prominent citizen who claimed descent from the original Macedonian settlers (see OTROUS). On the other hand, in the case of the Abila coinage Meshorer's suggested restoration would simply read *Α*(*ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ*) *Γ*(*ΕΝΑΡΧΗΣ*), i.e., "Alexander the Genarches," rather than "Alexander the Macedonian the Genarches." However, the use of the name without the eth-

nic would not be unexampled. In the third century A.D. a coin of Sagalassos, for example, had a picture of Alexander on horseback and the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΑΓΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ* (*SNG* [von A] 5206), and coins of APOLLONIA in Phrygia had the king's name (*SNG* [von A] 4988: *ΑΛΕΞΑ ΚΤΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ*; 90: *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΟΣ [sic]*) *ΚΤΙΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ*—in all these cases there is no additional ethnic. In general, see further G. M. Cohen, *AJN* 10 (1998) 95–102.

On the "Alexandrolatry" of the late second/early third century A.D. see THESSALONIKE, n. 7; APOLLONIA and OTROUS in Phrygia; and GERASA, n. 3.

iv. J.-P. Rey-Coquais suggested (*SHAJ* 7 (2001) 362–63) giving the letter gamma a numerical value; i.e., it would indicate that Abila and Gadara claimed to be "third" among the cities of Coele Syria. In support of this hypothesis Rey-Coquais noted that a number of cities—e.g., NIKAIA, NIKOMEDEIA, Perge, Tarsos—made various claims, among which was that they were "first." I am not aware, however, of another example of two cities in a particular region boasting they were "second" or "third."

I would also mention a bronze coin dating to the reign of Geta (i.e., early third century A.D.) that bears on the reverse the inscription *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ* and a portrayal of the two kings, both in military dress and with scepter, shaking hands (*Antike Münzen: Auktion 25/26.11.1976 Frank Sternberg* [Zurich, 1976] no. 499). There is no city name on the coin. The catalogue editor suggested that in style and origin the coin belonged to the Decapolis. P. R. Franke (in *Die epigraphische und altertumskundliche Erforschung Kleinasiens,* ed. G. Dobesch and G. Rehrenböck [Vienna, 1993] 183, 367, no. 8) accepted the attribution to Abila and further identified Seleukos as Seleukos I. He also suggested the reference might be to a double founding. Now a claim by Abila to Alexander as founder would be understandable and not uncommon within the context of the Decapolis in the early third century A.D. (see above). But Seleukos I Nikator never controlled this region. Hence we must assume either that (a) the Abilans were being particularly free in their (re)writing of civic history (if the allusion is to Nikator as founder), (b) the allusion is simply to the Seleukos (possibly Seleukos IV) for whom the settlement was named, or (c) the coin should be attributed to another city.

3. On **Abida** see C. Müller's commentary on the text of Ptolemy (which he [and Fischer] restored as "Abila"); see also Schürer, *History*², 2: 136. Among the cities of Coele Syria and the Decapolis Ptolemy lists both Abida and Abila Lysaniou (west of Damascus). This bolsters the assumption that the former was, in fact, Abila of the Decapolis. See also Hierokles (720.4), who distinguished this town from the like-named city near Damascus (717.6). Note that Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 32, ed. Klostermann) actually mentioned three places named Abila in the region; see further Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 62–64; and Sartre, *Alexandre,* 509 n. 211.

4. For **coins with a bunch of grapes or cornucopiae with bunches of grapes** on the reverse see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 310; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 50–51, nos. 5–6; *SNG ANS* 6: 1119 ("dates"); Mare, *ADAJ* 28 (1984) 52, no. 262; id., *ADAJ* 31 (1987) 219, no. 212; see also, Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 78, nos. 211–211a. For the cultivation of grapes at Abila see also Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 62.

5. For the **amphora handles** found at Abila see Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 70–72, 103–4. Wineland, noting the relative paucity of amphoras that had been discovered,

suggested that the availability of good local wine might have made it unnecessary for the Abilans to import wine.

6. For the **era** at Abila see de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 310–2; and the important discussion of Stein, "Studies," 31–33.

7. For **Herakles on the coinage** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 310–11; Herzfelder, *RN* 39 (1936) 294, no. 5; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 50–57, nos. 3, 9–12, 14–15, 20, 31; *SNG GB* 4: 5977; *SNG ANS* 6: 1122–24; Kellner, *SM* 77 (1970) 2, no. 3; see also Meshorer, *Atiqot* 11 (1976) 71, no. 152; id., *City-Coins,* 78, nos. 212–13, 215. For the worship of Herakles at other cities of the Decapolis see, for example, GADARA, PHILADELPHEIA, and PELLA. On religion at (mainly Roman) Abila see, for example, Fuller, "Abila," 358–67; Wineland in *Decapolis,* 336–38.

8. For **coinage with a picture of a temple flanked by towers within which is an altar** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 312; Herzfelder, *RN* 39 (1936) 293, no. 2; Seyrig, *Syria* 36 (1959) 60–62, 75–76, nos. 1–5; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 50–57, nos. 18, 21–25; *SNG ANS* 6: 1127–28; Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 78, no. 214; see also Price and Trell, *Coins,* 163–64; Bowsher, *PEQ* 119 (1987) 62–69. We do not know the divinity to which this sanctuary was dedicated. Most likely it was either Tyche or Herakles. Seyrig noted that it could also have been dedicated to Zeus (*Syria* 36 [1959] 61–62).

9. For **Tyche within a distyle temple** see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 50–57, nos. 1, 12, 16, 26–29 (for Tyche on other coins see also 2, 7, 15, 19); *SNG ANS* 6: 1125. The figure in this coin type has also been identified as Atargatis/Astarte (i.e., as the Tyche of the city) by other scholars: see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 309, 311; Herzfelder, *RN* 39 (1936) 291, nos. 1, 3, 4; Kellner, *MS* 77 (1970) 1f., nos. 1–2.

10. For **the inscription recording the name *ΑΒΙΛΑ*** see Wineland, *Ancient Abila,* 75–76. On the **site** of Abila see the excavation reports cited above; Bietenhard, *ZDPV* 79 (1963) 26; *NEAEHL* s.v. "Abila"; Fuller, "Abila," 41–67.

SELEUKEIA/ANTIOCH GADARA

Stephanos, who is not always reliable, says (s.v. "Gadara") that Gadara was called both Antioch and Seleukeia.[1] It was not uncommon in the Hellenistic world for a town to change names when it passed from the rule of one dynasty to that of another; thus, for example, ANTIGONEIA on the Orontes/ANTIOCH near Daphne and PTOLEMAIS/ANTIOCH AKE. On the other hand, it is unlikely that a city would have changed names while still under the rule of the dynasty that had founded it. At the very least we could infer from Stephanos that Gadara was refounded as a Seleucid settlement and named Antioch and/or Seleukeia. Until 2000 Stephanos was our only source of evidence for the name change at Gadara. In that year Michael Wörrle published a fragmentary inscription found in the south wall of the acropolis of Gadara and dated to 85/4 B.C. The inscription mentions [the community of] Seleukeians that was under the rule of a certain Philotas. The latter was probably a local political leader. Most probably the name change

took place under Seleukos IV, who may also have renamed SELEUKEIA Abila and Gaza.[2]

Josephus (*AJ* 17.320, *BJ* 2.97) describes Gadara, as well as GAZA and HIPPOS as "Hellenic *poleis.*"[3] Precisely what this designation means is not clear. On the other hand, Synkellos (558–59, ed. Mosshammer) included Gadara in a group of towns in Palestine that he described as "Macedonian settlements." There may also have been a colony of Phoenicians at Gadara.[4]

A center of Greek culture in the Hellenistic period, Gadara was the birthplace of the poet Meleager as well as the philosophers Menippus and Philodemus (Strabo 16.2.29).[5] Antiochos III captured it twice, in 218 and again in 200 B.C. (Polyb. 5.71.3, 16.39.3 = Josephus *AJ* 12.136). A. Hoffmann has suggested that it was Antiochos III who built the city walls.[6] Polybius described Gadara as the strongest place in the region. Later, the city was taken by Alexander Jannaios after a ten-month siege (Jos. *AJ* 13.356, *BJ* 1.86). Pompey removed Gadara from Jewish rule and, to gratify his freedman Demetrios, who was a native of the city, rebuilt it (*AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.155). In the Roman period an era beginning in 64 B.C. was used.[7] Gadara was part of the Decapolis (Pliny *NH* 5.74). The extant coinage dates from the mid-first century B.C. to the early third century A.D.[8] There is archaeological evidence dating from the second century B.C. for a sanctuary. Hoffmann has suggested that it was dedicated to Zeus Nikephoros and that the initiative for its construction may have come from Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[9] The portrait of Herakles on coins of Gadara points to the importance of his cult there.[10] Evidence for trade with the Aegean basin may be seen in the fact that more than one hundred stamped Rhodian amphora handles dating to the late third/early second century B.C. have been found at Gadara and in the surrounding region.[11]

Gadara, which was famous in antiquity for its hot springs,[12] was described by Eusebius (*Onomasticon* 74, ed. Klostermann) as a *polis* beyond the Jordan, opposite SKYTHOPOLIS and Tiberias. According to the *Itineraria Antonini* (197–98, ed. Cuntz) Gadara was 16 miles from both CAPITOLIAS and SKYTHOPOLIS; according to the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (IX.2, "Cadara") it was also 16 miles from Capitolias and Tiberias. Gadara was located approximately 10 kilometers southeast of the Sea of Galilee at the site of the modern Umm Qeis.[13]

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In general see Hölscher, *Palästina,* 64; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 47; Ruge, *RE* s.v. "Gadara 1"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 74–75; id., *HCJ,* 98; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 323; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 58; id., *Geography,* 174; id., *EJ* s.v. "Gadara"; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 30; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 59–60; Schürer, *History*[2], 132–36; U. Wagner-Lux, *MB* 22 (1982) 30–33; T. Weber with R. G. Khouri, *Umm Qais* (Amman, 1989); Arav, *Palestine,*

113–14; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 157; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 532–34; A. Hoffmann in *SHAJ* 7: 391–97.

For the results of excavation see, for example, *AEHL* s.v. "Gadara"; P. C. Bol et al., *AA* (1990) 193–266; S. Kerner in *Decapolis,* 407–23; U. Wagner-Lux and K. J. H. Vriezen, *ABD* s.v. "Gadarenes"; S. Holm-Nielsen, U. Wagner-Lux, K. J. H. Vriezen, and T. Weber, *Archaeology of Jordan* s.v. "Um Queis (Gadara)"; A. Hadidi, *OEANE* s.v. "Umm Qeis" and literature cited there; A. Hoffmann, *AA* (2000) 175–285 (plans), and reports in *ADAJ.*

1. Tcherikover tentatively suggested that under "Antioch 5" ("between Coele Syria and Arabia"), Stephanos was referring to Gadara (*HS,* 74). I do not find this convincing. Note that Stephanos describes Gadara (s.v.) as a "city of Coele Syria," whereas he describes Antioch no. 5 as "between Coele Syria and Arabia." In any event, it is important to remember that there were a number of towns named Gadara in southern Syria (see also below, n. 5). Kent Rigsby has suggested in a private communication that Stephanos's Antioch no. 5 might be a reference to the Gadara farther south that Josephus described as the "metropolis of Peraea" (*BJ* 4.413; for Gadara in Peraea see also Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 47; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 324; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 30; Schürer, *History*^{2}, 2: 134 and n. 250; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer* s.v. "Gedora II"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 60–61; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 158).

The problem of indicating precise ancient boundaries in Transjordan is difficult and complex and varies according to the time period under discussion. After the creation of the Roman province of Arabia in 106 A.D. GERASA and PHILADELPHEIA were included in it. Nonetheless, Ptolemy—who was writing in the second century A.D. but did not record places by Roman provinces—described them as being in (the local geographical unit of) Coele Syria (5.14.18). Furthermore, Philadelpheia continued to describe itself on its coins and in inscriptions of the second and third centuries A.D. as being a city of Coele Syria; see above, PHILADELPHEIA, n. 9. As for the boundaries of the new province, the northern frontier extended to a little beyond the north of Bostra and east; the western border ran somewhat east of the Jordan River valley and the Dead Sea but west of the city of Madaba (see M. Sartre, *Trois ét.,* 17–75; Bowersock, *ZPE* 5 [1970] 37–39; id., *JRS* 61 [1971] 236–42; and especially id., *Arabia,* 90–109). Gadara in Peraea is identified today with es-Salt near Tell Jadur, a place that is near the western boundary of the province of Arabia. And this region could have been described by Stephanos as being located "between Coele Syria and Arabia."

Abel (*Géographie,* 2: 323) remarked, without further elaboration, that Gadara was a "nom macédonien donné à un site appelé déjà *Gadar* . . . ou *Gedor.*" Cf. Avi-Yonah (*EJ* s.v. "Gadara"): "Although the name is of Semitic origin, the new settlers called it Gadara after a Macedonian city." There was a Gazaros in Macedonia (see, for example, Papazoglou, *Villes,* 382–84); however, I am not aware of a town or city in Macedonia called Gadara.

On the question of the **reliability of Stephanos** see especially Whitehead, "Stephanus," 99–124; Whitehead offers a more favorable opinion than previous scholars (brief survey on p. 100).

2. For the **inscription mentioning the Seleukeians** see M. Wörrle, *AA* (2000) 267–71: Ḷ ηκσʼ Φιλώτας καὶ Σελε[υκέ]ω̣ν τῶν ἐν Μ̣ε̣σ̣ - ca. 4 - ἡ πόλι[ς.

3. On "Hellenic *poleis*" see SKYTHOPOLIS, n. 23.

4. On **Synkellos's list** see G. Schmitt, *ZDPV* 103 (1987) 24; and PHILOTERIA, n. 1. Kasher (*Hellenistic Cities,* 45) has called attention to Meleager of Gadara who took particular pride in his birthplace and in Tyre, where he was educated (*Greek Anthology* 7.417, 419 = Meleager II, IV in Gow and Page, *Greek Anthology,* 1: 216–17). Therefore, Kasher has suggested this might indicate there was **a Phoenician colony at Gadara;** see also Hengel, *Judaism*², 1: 43, 62; id., *Greeks,* 69, 118–19. For Phoenician colonies at other cities in southern Syria see PHILADELPHEIA.

5. There is apparently **confusion in Strabo** at 16.2.29. First he mentions Gadaris *(sic),* then Azotos and Askalon. Strabo then continues with a short discussion of the territory of Askalon and says that "among the Gadarenes" were Philodemus, Meleager, Menippus, and Theodorus. Now Azotos and Askalon are coastal cities. Of course, Gadara was well inland, in Transjordan. The probability, therefore, is that at 16.2.29 Strabo confused Gadaris with Gazara (Gezar: see H. Ouvré, *Méléagre du Gadara* [Paris, 1894], 36–38; Philippson, *RE* s.v. "Philodemos," 2444; Stern, *Authors,* 1: 293; and R. Marcus's note on Josephus *AJ* 14.91). Presumably *this* reference is to Gadara.

6. For the **city walls** see Hoffmann, *AA* (2000) 175–225; and id. in *SHAJ* 7: 391–93.

7. On the **era** at Gadara see, for example, Meimaris, *Chronological Systems,* 79–80; and Stein, "Studies," 26–28.

8. On the **coinage** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 294–303; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 126–55; N. van der Vliet, *RB* 57 (1950) 244–50; Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 80–83; *RPC* 1: 666–67, nos. 4809–24; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 125–34; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 533–34. One of the coin types bears the legend *ΠΟΜ ΓΑΔΑΡ ΙΑΑΓ ΚΣΥ* or variants thereof (e.g., de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 299; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 305, no. 6 ; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 136ff., nos. 31, 35–36, 51–52, 76; *SNG ANS* 6: 1305); that is, *ΠΟΜ*(*ΠΗΙΕΩΝ*) *ΓΑΔΑΡ*(*ΕΩΝ*) *Ι*(*ΕΡΑΣ*) *Α*(*ΣΥΛΟΥ*) *Α*(*ΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ*) *Γ*(?) *Κ*(*ΟΙΛΗΣ*) *ΣΥ*(*ΡΙΑΣ*). There is also a coin of Gadara that has *ΙΑΑ* without the *Γ*; thus *ΓΑΔΑΡ ΙΑΑ ΚΣΥΡ* (Meshorer, *Atiqot* 11 [1976] 63, no. 88).

The series of letters *ΙΑΑΓ* is also found on coins of SELEUKEIA Abila.

On the problem of interpreting the letter gamma in the sequence see SELEUKEIA Abila, n. 2; and G. M. Cohen, *AJN* 10 (1998) 95–102.

9. A. Hoffmann, *Topoi* 9 (1999) 795–831, esp. 805–14; and id. in *SHAJ* 7: 395–96. In support of his suggestion that the temple was dedicated to **Zeus Nikephoros** Hoffmann mentioned a small marble statue that was discovered in the area of the sanctuary. Hoffmann also pointed to Gadarene coins that have on the reverse the picture of a tetrastyle temple in which there is a statue of Zeus Nikephoros (see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 136ff., nos. 31, 35–36, 46).

10. For **Herakles on coinage of Gadara** see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 298; *BMC Galatia, etc.,* 304, no. 5; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 136–51, nos. 32, 37–41, 53, 56, 62, 68, 74, 80–81; *SNG ANS* 6: 1307, 1310–11, 1315–18, 1329. For the worship of Herakles at other cities of the Decapolis see, for example, PHILADELPHEIA and SELEUKEIA Abila.

For divinities on **engraved gems** (mainly first–second century A.D.) see M. Henig and M. Whiting, *Engraved Gems from Gadara in Jordan* (Oxford, 1987) nos. 5–260.

11. For the **Rhodian amphora handles** see T. Weber in *Archaeology of Jordan,* 606–7; and Sartre, *Alexandre,* 253. Cf. also the fine wares from the city wall, which have been

dated by P. Kenrick to the second century B.C. (*AA* [2000] 235–65, especially 264–65). According to Kenrick, the evidence of the fine wares from the city wall suggests that one may associate the destruction of the wall with the sack of Gadara by Jannaios in c. 100 B.C.

12. On the **hot springs at Gadara** see, for example, Eusebius *Onomast.* 74 (ed. Klostermann); Epiphanios *Panarion* 30.7 (ed. Holl); Antoninus Martyr *Itin.* 7 (*CCL* 175: 132, 159); Eunapius *Vit. Soph.* 459 (ed. Giangrande); Origen *Comment. in Joan.* 6.41 (ed. Preuschen [= *PG* 14: 272]).

13. For the **location and territory of the city** see Wroth, *BMC Syria,* lxxxvii–lxxxviii; Schurer, *History*², 2: 132–33, 136; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 174. See map on pp. 94–95 in *OBA*². For the site see, for example, T. Weber with R. G. Khouri, *Umm Qais* (plan and photographs). There is evidence for habitation at the site from as early as the seventh century B.C.; see S. Holm-Nielsen et al., *Archaeology of Jordan* s.v. "Um Queis (Gadara)," p. 598.

SELEUKEIA GAZA

In the Hellenistic period Gaza was an important, fortified city. In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great besieged and captured it. After its capture, Alexander sold the women and children into slavery, repopulated the city with people drawn from the surrounding region, and used it as a fortress (Arrian 2.26–27). There is no evidence, however, that Alexander actually refounded Gaza, that is, that he materially reorganized the city or renamed it. Subsequently it was besieged and captured by Antigonos I Monophthalmos, Ptolemy I Soter, Jonathan the Maccabee, and Alexander Jannaios. It obtained its freedom under Pompey and was restored by Gabinius.[1]

There was a port at Gaza as early as the time of Antigonos Monophthalmos and Demetrios Poliorketes (Diod. 20.73.3–74.1).[2] In the period of Egyptian rule (301–200 B.C., except for 218–217 B.C., when southern Syria briefly came under the control of Antiochos III, Polyb. 5.70) Gaza was an important commercial center for, among other things, the perfume trade. There was a Ptolemaic mint at Gaza; there are extant coins of Ptolemy II and III that were minted there.[3]

As a result of the victory of Antiochos III at the battle of Panion in 200 B.C., Gaza along with the rest of southern Syria passed to Seleucid rule. The evidence that Gaza was refounded in the Hellenistic period is strictly numismatic: there are coins extant with the legend *ΔΗΜΟΥ ΣΕΛ*(*ΕΥΚΕΩΝ*) *ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΓΑΖΗ* or *ΣΕΛ*(*ΕΥΚΕΩΝ*) *ΓΑΖΑΙΤΩΝ*.[4] From this we learn that Gaza was renamed Seleukeia. Most probably this took place during the reign of Seleukos IV. We do not know how long the new name lasted, nor do we have any other information about the refoundation.[5] In any event, the Seleucid presence at Gaza is attested by coins that were minted there under Antiochos IV, Alexander Balas, Demetrios I Soter, Demetrios II Nikator, and possibly Antiochos VII Sidetes.[6]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 79–80; id., *HCJ,* 95–96, 113; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 327–28; M. Avi-Yonah, *EJ* s.v. "Gaza"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 61–62; Schürer, *History*², 2: 98–102; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 15–20; C. A. M. Glucker, *The City of Gaza in the Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Oxford, 1987); A. Ovadiah, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Gaza"; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 129–31; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 165–66; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 521–23.

1. On **Alexander's siege of Gaza** see also Diod. 17.48.7; Jos. *AJ* 11.320, 325; Curtius 4.6.7–30; Plut. *Alex.* 25; Polyb. 16.22a(40); see also Walbank, *Comment.,* 2: 528. Josephus (*AJ* 17.320, *BJ* 2.97) explicitly described Gaza, GADARA, and HIPPOS as "Hellenic *poleis.*"

Antigonos (Diod. 19.59.2); **Ptolemy** (Diod. 19.84.8); **Jonathan the Maccabee** (Jos. *AJ* 13.153; 1 Macc. 11.61–62); **Alexander Jannaios** (Jos. *AJ* 13.358–64, 395, *BJ* 1.87); **Pompey** (Jos. *AJ* 14.76, *BJ* 1.156); **Gabinius** (Jos. *AJ* 14.88).

The literary sources record the existence of an **Old and New Gaza** in the Hellenistic/Roman period; see, for example, Diod. 19.80.5; Arrian 2.26; Eusebius *Onomasticon* 62 (ed. Klostermann); Sozomenos *Hist. Eccl.* 2.5, 5.3.6–9 (ed. Bidez and Hansen = *PG* 67: 948, 1221); Antoninus Martyr 35 (ed. Tobler); an anonymous geographical fragment in H. Hudson, ed., *Geographiae Veteris Scriptores Graeci Minores* (Oxford, 1717) IV 39 *[N.V.];* see also Strabo 16.2.30. There is no available information to indicate which town—Old or New Gaza—was the refounded Seleukeia Gaza. On the complex problem of identifying Old and New Gaza see, for example, Schürer, *History*², 2: 101–2, n. 77; Glucker, *City of Gaza,* 13–18 (sources, 13–15; discussion, 15–18).

On the territory of Gaza see Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 151–52 (for Isaac's criticism of Avi-Yonah see APOLLONIA [Arsuf], n. 5); Glucker, *City of Gaza,* 25–26.

On the nature of **Gabinius's activity** in restoring cities in southern Syria see above, SELEUKEIA Abila, n. 2.

2. On the **port of Gaza** see, for example, Strabo 16.2.30, Ptolemy 5.16.2, and other sources cited in Schürer, *History*², 2: 102 n. 77.

3. For Gaza's **commercial importance** under the Ptolemies see, for example, *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59001, 59006, 59009, 59093; *PSI* IV 322, VI 616; *P. Col. Zen.* 2 (for other references to Gaza in the Zenon papyri see Pestman et al., *P. L. Bat.* XXI B p. 482). See also Abel, *RB* 49 (1940) 64f.; Tcherikover, "Palestine," 16–19, 29; Préaux, *Économie,* 311, 363; U. Rappaport, *IEJ* 20 (1970) 75–78; and BERENIKE (Ezion Geber); for Roman and Byzantine Gaza see Glucker, *City of Gaza,* 86–98.

The commercial importance of Gaza is well attested prior to the Hellenistic period; thus Herodotus 3.5 compared it to Sardis, and coinage was minted by Gaza on the Athenian model (see, for example, G. F. Hill, *BMC Palestine,* lxxxiii–lxxxix and 176–183; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 2: 47–49, nos. 1–17; Rappaport, *IEJ* 20 [1970], 75–76 and n. 5, with earlier literature).

In addition, the Attic pottery discovered at Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber) testifies to the intense commercial activity between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Aqaba; see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (Philadelphia, 1979) 415–16.

For coins attributed to the **Ptolemaic mint** at Gaza see, for example, *BMC Ptolemies,* 35, nos. 135–44, 49, no. 28; Svoronos, *RBN* (1901) 285ff.; id., *Nomismata,* 2: 123f.,

nos. 821–33, 165, no. 1; *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 371, no. 61; *SNG* (Cop) *Egypt* 457–59; O. Mørkholm, *INJ* 4 (1980) 6, nos. 1–5; Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins,* 105, no. c1039 (= Svoronos, *Nomismata,* no. 828). In general see, for example, Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins,* 31–32.

4. For coins with the legend ***ΔΗΜΟΥ ΣΕΛ(ΕΥΚΕΩΝ) ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΓΑΖΗ*** see, for example, *Hunter. Coll.,* 3: 282, no. 3; *BMC Palestine,* 143, nos. 4–5; *SNG* (Cop) *Palestine* 49; for ***ΣΕΛ(ΕΥΚΕΩΝ) ΓΑΖΑΙΤΩΝ*** see Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 211, no. 8; see also Le Rider, *Suse,* 410–11.

For late Hellenistic and early Roman coins of Gaza see A. Kushnir-Stein, *RSN* 74 (1995) 49–55; id., *SM* 50 (2000) 22–24.

5. Bickerman's suggestion (*GM,* 61–63) that the *demos* of "the Seleukeians of Gaza" formed a corporation (or *politeuma*) is not convincing; contra: Tcherikover, who noted (*HCJ,* 443 n. 12, 447 n. 51) that corporations did not normally have permission to coin money; see also Le Rider, *Suse,* 411.

6. For **coins of Seleucid kings from Gaza** see, for example, G. F. Hill, *BMC Palestine,* lxvii; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 2: 49ff., nos. 18–25; *CSE* 827–30; *SNG Spaer* 1560–75,1738–45, 2101–27(?).

SELEUKEIA IN THE GAULAN

Josephus (*AJ* 13.393, 396; *BJ* 1.105) mentions a Seleukeia in the Gaulan among the cities that Alexander Jannaios captured; he says it was near Lake Semechonitis (*BJ* 4.2) In the *Vita* he refers to it as a village (188).[1] It would appear, therefore, that the status of Seleukeia declined in the nearly two centuries separating the reign of Alexander Jannaios from the time when Josephus wrote his autobiography. There is no extant coinage.[2] We do not know who founded Seleukeia.[3]

Seleukeia was most probably located at the site of the present Slouqiyé (which preserves the ancient name), approximately 15 kilometers southeast of the former Lake Huleh (Semechonitis).[4]

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In general see Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Seleukeia 12"; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 64; Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 105; Tcherikover, *HS,* 70; id., *HCJ,* 101; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 453–54; Kahrstedt, *Syr. Territ.,* 23; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 51, 69; id., *Gazetteer,* 95; Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 109; I. Gafni, *EJ* s.v. "Seleucia 1"; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 168; Kasher, *Hellenistic Cities,* 155; Urman, *Golan,* 124; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 226; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 305.

1. For other references to Seleukeia in Josephus see *BJ* 2.574, 4.4; *Vita* 398.

2. De Saulcy (*Numismatique,* 348) attributed a coin with the legend *ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥΠΟΛΕΩΣ* to Seleukeia. However, Imhoof-Blumer (*KM,* 140) has pointed out that the reading is false and the coin should be assigned to Asia Minor.

3. Tcherikover noted correctly (*HS,* 70; *HCJ,* 101) that since this region was first conquered by Antiochos III, Hölscher's suggestion that Seleukos I Nikator was the

founder (*Palästina,* 64) is untenable. He also dismissed Kahrstedt's suggestion (*Syr. Territ.,* 23) that the town was founded in the middle of the third century B.C. Tcherikover suggested that Seleukeia was named for Seleukos IV Philopator.

4. For the **location** of Seleukeia see Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 168 (ed Dura); Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 305; B. Bar-Kochva, *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 62–63 and map on p. 55; see also map 2 in Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* and p. 95 (Slouqiyé); *Atlas of Israel,* maps I/10, IX/6; and *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* map "North" and p. 226 (Slouqiyé); Gutman in *Judaea, Samaria, and the Golan: Archaeological Survey, 1967–1968,* ed. M. Kochavi (Jerusalem, 1972) 246 (Tel Anafa) (Hebrew); Urman, *Golan,* 124 and nn. 102–3. The suggested identification of Seleukeia with Dabura (e.g., Z. Ilan, *Eretz ha Golan,* 2d ed. [Tel Aviv, 1976] 150 [Hebrew]) is not likely; see, for example, Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 305; and Bar-Kochva, *ZDPV* 92 (1976) 62 n. 28.

SHECHEM

It has generally been believed that after Alexander destroyed SAMAREIA the survivors established Shechem as a new Samaritan center.[1] Y. Magen objected to this theory.[2] Noting that a reanalysis of the finds from Tell Balatah (the site of ancient Shechem) indicated that Shechem was built as a fortified city in the period 331–250 B.C., he observed it was unlikely the Macedonians would have allowed the Samaritans to build a fortified capital and renew the city walls so soon after they rebelled. Furthermore, he pointed out that Alexander transferred control of part of Samareia to the Jews (Jos. *CAp* 2.43); this would also suggest that after the destruction of Samareia the political condition of the Samaritans did not immediately improve. As a result, Magen suggested—in a reconstruction he admitted was built "mainly on conjecture"—that the settlement established at Tell Balatah was not a Samaritan center but rather a Macedonian military colony. In support of his claim Magen pointed to (a) the presence of the fortifications, (b) the fact that Shechem was subsequently a target for Seleucid conquest, and (c) its rapid decline after the establishment of the city on Mount Gerizim. Magen suggested that had Shechem been a Samaritan city it would have flourished under Seleucid hegemony. As a result of these considerations, Magen speculatively suggested that the settlement at Tell Balatah was a Ptolemaic military colony that was destroyed by the Seleucids under Antiochos III in 200 B.C.; it was replaced by a city on Mount Gerizim that was populated by Samaritans and Sidonians.[3]

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In general see E. F. Campbell, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Shechem."

1. See, for example, G.E. Wright, *HTR* 55 (1962) 366–77; and id., *Shechem,* 175–80; see also SAMAREIA.

2. Y. Magen in *Early Christianity in Context,* ed. F. Manns and E. Alliata (Jerusalem, 1993) 137, followed by Sartre, *Alexandre,* 121 and n. 46.

3. On the "Sidonians in Shechem" see Josephus *AJ* 11.344, 12.258. In fact, we do not know how many of these were actually Sidonians rather than local Samaritans claiming to be Sidonians. There is also evidence for Sidonians at Marisa (*OGIS* 593; J. P. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa* [London, 1905] 66, no. 7; F. M. Abel, *RB* 34 [1925] 275, no. 12.) and Jamnia-by-the-Sea (B. Isaac, *IEJ* 41 [1991] 132–44). In general on the "Sidonians" and the spread of Phoenician colonies throughout the region see, for example, Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 520; Hengel, *Judaism*², 1: 90–91; M. Delcor, *ZDPV* 78 (1962) 34–48; Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom* (Cambridge, 1975) 108; F. Millar, *JJS* 29 (1978) 4–5; G.M. Cohen in *Pursuing the Text,* ed. J. C. Reeves and J. Kampen (Sheffield, 1994) 247–49; and PHILADELPHEIA, n. 3; N. Kokkinos, *The Herodian Dynasty,* 63, 117.

SKYTHOPOLIS

Beth Shean (Skythopolis) was located at the meeting place of the Jordan and Jezreel valleys on the banks of the Harod, a small tributary that flows into the Jordan River. It is important to recall that in archaeological terms Beth Shean actually refers to two distinct sites: the great tell and the area at the foot of the tell. The tell at Beth Shean (Tell el-Husn in Arabic) was the site of the biblical city. It has yielded relatively few remains from the Hellenistic period. In fact, most of the Hellenistic and Roman remains have been discovered south and north of Tell Beth Shean. South of the tell the remains of the city center—dating from the Roman period—have been revealed. To the north, beyond the Harod Rivulet, extensive Hellenistic remains have been uncovered toward and on Tell Istabah. This has prompted the suggestion that it was the site of Hellenistic Beth Shean.[1] It is now estimated that in the Byzantine period the area of the city exceeded 131 hectares. As regards the territory of Skythopolis, Polybius remarks (5.70.4–5) that when it and PHILOTERIA came under the control of Antiochos III in 218 B.C. the territories of the two cities were sufficient to provide for the upkeep of his army. The implication is that the territory of the two cities was rich and/or extensive. In the Roman period the territory of the city extended northward to the southern boundary of Tiberias, east to the Jordan River, south to Bethmaela (Tell el-Hilu), and west to the Gilboa Mountains.[2]

Stephanos (s.v. "Skythopolis") says that Baisan was the original, barbarian name for Skythopolis, which was also known as Nysa.[3] The renaming of Beth Shean as Skythopolis is frequently alluded to in ancient and Byzantine sources.[4] Interestingly, a bilingual ossuary inscription found in Jerusalem confirms this. It reads, in Judaeo-Aramaic, *Ammyiah ha-Beshanit* and *Hanin ha-Beshani;* in Greek, Ἀμμία Σκυθοπολίτισσα and Ἀνίν Σκυθοπολείτης.[5] According to John Malalas (5.139–40 [*CSHB* XXVIII]) Skythopolis was originally called Nyssa and, earlier, Trikomia. The origin of these names is problematic.

Essentially we can identify three schools of thought regarding the toponym Skythopolis: (a) the name relates to the Scythian invasion of Palestine

in the seventh century B.C. and their settling in the region; (b) the name is derived from the Scythians who had served in the Ptolemaic army and were subsequently settled at Beth Shean by Ptolemy II Philadelphos; (c) the name may be associated with the biblical town of Sukkoth, the god Sikkuth, or may have been a transliteration for Beth Sheqet. Regarding Nysa, some traditions derived the personal name from the place-name, others recorded the reverse order: (a) the baby Dionysos was brought to Nysa in Arabia and was given the name Dionysos after his father (Zeus-Dios) and the place (Nysa) (Diod. 3.64–65); (b) Skythopolis was previously called Nysa because Dionysos buried Nysa—his nurse—there and built a walled city around her tomb; furthermore, he settled some of his Scythian companions at the site and changed the name of the place to Skythopolis (Pliny *NH* 5.74; Solinus 36, ed. Mommsen); in this connection, I would mention two inscriptions of Roman date that refer to Dionysos (and another god, probably Zeus) as "founders" (see below and n. 18); (c) Antiochos IV Epiphanes renamed Skythopolis in honor of his daughter, Nysa;[6] and, finally, (d) Malalas (5.139–40; see also Kedrenos 237 [*CSHB* XIII]) presents a grand mythological mélange involving Orestes and Pylades, who rescued Iphigenia from the Scythians and fled to Trikomia in Palestine, bringing with them a gold statue of Artemis; after the Trikomitans sacrificed a girl named Nyssa, Iphigenia renamed the city Nyssa after the girl and made an altar for the slaughtered girl on which there was an inscription, "Goddess Nyssa, receive those who flee from Scythia"; Malalas adds that the inscription was there in his day; subsequently the Scythians came in pursuit of the statue; when they arrived at Nyssa they found the place attractive and decided to settle there; as a result they renamed the town Skythopolis.[7] In addition to these toponyms I would mention that in the mid-first century B.C. the city was renamed Gabinia in honor of the proconsul Aulus Gabinius.[8]

The evidence for Skythopolis existing in the third century B.C. is as follows: (a) according to Josephus (*AJ* 12.183), Joseph the son of Tobias, a tax collector of Ptolemy III Euergetes, encountered resistance from Skythopolis when he tried to collect taxes from the inhabitants;[9] furthermore, he executed the *protoi* of the city and confiscated their property; (b) 218 B.C., when Antiochos III invaded southern Syria, Skythopolis and PHILOTERIA surrendered voluntarily to him (Polyb. 5.70.5); (c) a coin hoard of Ptolemy II Philadelphos—the latest coin of which dates to 249 B.C.—has been found at Beth Shean;[10] (d) Rhodian and (a few) Knidian amphora handles dating from the third to the first century B.C. have been found at Tell Istabah;[11] (e) finally, coming down to the latter half of the second century B.C., we may note an inscription found at Beth Shean that contains a prescript that mentions priests of Zeus Olympios; the inscription may be taken as an indication that at the time there already was a temple there.[12]

The designation of Skythopolis as a Hellenistic colony is conjectural: there

is no extant evidence that indicates unequivocally it was. The available evidence indicates only that a settlement existed there in the third century B.C. but does not necessarily throw any light on the circumstances of the founding. Nevertheless, the conjecture is a reasonable one and may be accepted. Separate from—but related to—the question of when the settlement was founded is the problem of when it became a *polis*. Applebaum believed that the settlement was founded under the Ptolemies and became a *polis* under Ptolemy III Euergetes. Avi-Yonah, who suggested that the settlement was founded under the Ptolemies in 254 B.C., thought Skythopolis did not become a *polis* until the time of Antiochos IV Epiphanes.[13] According to 2 Maccabees, during the Hasmonean period the Jewish inhabitants of the city lived amicably with their non-Jewish neighbors. Skythopolis was brought under Jewish rule by John Hyrkanos (Jos. *AJ* 13.280, *BJ* 1.66) and was part of the realm of Alexander Jannaios (Jos. *AJ* 13. 396). It was at Skythopolis that Jannaios and Cleopatra made an alliance (Jos. *AJ* 13.355). The city remained under Jewish rule until the arrival of Pompey (Jos. *AJ* 14.75, *BJ* 1.156).

Skythopolis, which was described by Josephus (*BJ* 3.446) as the "largest" (*μεγίστη*) city of the Decapolis, was also the only one that was located west of the Jordan River. In the Roman period it used an era beginning in 64 B.C.[14] In the first century A.D. Skythopolis was apparently divided into wards or quarters *(amphoda)*. Two are attested: *Ἀμφόδου σειτικῆς* and [*Ἀ*]*μφόδ*[*ου*] *Δήμητρ*[*ος*] or *Δημητρ*[*ίου*]. The first was named for a local product; the second, possibly for a god.[15] In the economic sphere, I have already mentioned the discovery of Rhodian and Knidian amphora handles at Tell Istabah; these provide evidence for trade with the Aegean world. Archaeologists have also discovered a weight dated to 117/6 B.C. and inscribed with the name of the *agoranomos*—Satyros.[16] Under the empire Skythopolis was an important center for the manufacture of textile goods.[17]

The only extant Hellenistic evidence for the religious life of Skythopolis is the prescript of a fragmentary second-century B.C. inscription found at Beth Shean that mentions eponymous priests of Zeus Olympios and the Savior Gods. The literary sources—of Roman and Byzantine date—mention the importance of Dionysos and Nysa at Skythopolis. In addition, we learn about Dionysos at Skythopolis—and the religious life of the city—from epigraphic and numismatic evidence of the Imperial period. A hexagonal altar found in the basilica contains Dionysiac reliefs on all sides; on the front is a mask of Dionysos and an inscription dated to 141/2 A.D. recording a thanks offering made to Dionysos, "the founder," by Seleukos son of Ariston. And a dedication to Dionysos dated palaeographically to the end of the second/ beginning of the third century A.D. by a certain Germanos was found in the theater at Skythopolis. Dionysos is also portrayed on numerous coins of Roman Skythopolis. Dionysos was, of course, an important deity in the Ptolemaic pantheon; this may possibly explain the origin of his prominence at

Skythopolis. Another Seleukos son of Ariston—possibly a grandson of the first—dedicated an altar to Sarapis.[18] Two dedications to Zeus Akraios and one to Zeus Bak[chios] have also been discovered.[19]

The remains of a large temple have been found on the tell. Rowe dated it to the third century B.C. However, subsequent investigations have indicated that the building did not predate the Roman period. It is not clear which divinity was worshipped in the temple.[20]

The extant coinage dates from the Roman period.[21] On the coins and in inscriptions from the Roman period the double name or ethnic Nysa-Skythopolis is usually found.[22] The designation "Hellenis *polis*" for Nysa-Skythopolis is found on a dedicatory inscription discovered in the city center that probably dates to 161–180 A.D. as well as—in abbreviated form—on some coins of the same period.[23]

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In general see Thomsen, *Loca Sancta,* 106–7; Hölscher, *Palästina,* 61–62; Tcherikover, *HS,* 71–72; id., *HCJ,* 102–3; Able, *Géographie,* 2: 280–81; M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 12 (1962) 123–34; id. in *The Beth Shean Valley: The 17th Archaeological Convention, Israel Exploration Society* (Jerusalem, 1962) 45–62 (Hebrew); Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch,* 114; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 175–76; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 93–94; Schürer, *History*², 2: 142–45; B. Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 262–94; G. Fuks, *Scythopolis—A Greek City in Eretz-Israel* (Jerusalem, 1983) (Hebrew); Arav, *Palestine,* 99–100; S. Applebaum, *Judaea,* 1–8; Y. Tsafrir et al., *BAR* 16.4 (1990) 16–31; R. Bar-Nathan and G. Mazor, *Qadmoniot* 27 (1994) 87–92 (Hebrew); G. Foerster and Y. Tsafrir in *Decapolis,* 117–25; and Tsafrir and Foerster, *DOP* 51 (1997) 85–146 (site plans and photographs after p. 86); *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 223–25 (sources and bibliography); Rigsby, *Asylia,* 537–38.

For the results of archaeological survey and excavation at Beth Shean see, for example, A. Rowe, *The Topography and History of Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia, 1930); N. Zori in *The Beth Shean Valley: The 17th Archaeological Convention, Israel Exploration Society,* 135–98; A. Mazar and G. Foerster, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Beth-Shean" (earlier excavation reports and literature cited on pp. 223, 235); annual reports of the excavation in *ESI;* see also A. Drori et al., *The Bet She'an Excavation Project (1989–1991)* in *ESI* 11 (1993); and S. Hadad, *DOP* 51 (1997) 147 n. 2 (bibliography).

For a history of the excavations see L. Di Segni, *Epig. Cong. XI,* 628 n. 8.

1. For the suggestion that **Tell Istabah was the site of Hellenistic Skythopolis** see, for example, Applebaum, *Judaea,* 6–8; Arav, *Palestine,* 99–100; R. Bar-Nathan, G. Mazor, and A. Berman, *ESI* 11 (1993) 50–52; G. Foerster, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Beth Shean." See also Tsafrir and Foerster, *DOP* 51 (1997) 88: "Hellenistic Scythopolis succeeded Bet Shean on the tell, and in the third to second century B.C.E. expanded toward Tel Iztaba, north of Nahal Harod."

2. A fragmentary **inscription found near Hefzibah,** in an area called Tell el-Firr, approximately 10 km northwest of Skythopolis, contains eight documents relating to Seleucid administration in Palestine under Antiochos III (*SEG* 29: 1613, 1808;

39: 1636; 40: 1508; 41: 1574; Y. H. Landau, *IEJ* 16 [1966] 54–70 [*ed. pr.*]; T. Fischer, *ZPE* 33 [1979] 131–38; J.-M. Bertrand, *ZPE* 60 [1982] 167–74; F. Piejko, *AC* 60 [1991] 245–59; Virgilio, *Lancia*², no. 27; see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1970] 627; J. E. Taylor, *Palestine,* 108–68). Although the extant contents of the inscription do not touch directly on Skythopolis, they do reveal that there were extensive tracts of royal land in the vicinity of the town.

On the **territory of Skythopolis in the Roman period** see Josephus *Vita* 42, *BJ* 4.453; see also, for example, Schürer, *History*², 2: 145; Avi-Yonah, *Geography,* 139–40 and map 11 on p. 134 (for Isaac's criticism of Avi-Yonah see APOLLONIA [Arsuf], n. 5). For a plan of the city see A. Drori et al. in *ESI* 11 (1993) 2–3, figs. 1 and 2; and Tsafrir and Foerster, *DOP* 51 (1997) 86ff.

3. **Skythopolis in the literary sources.** In the Hellenistic period the form of the toponym is generally found as *Σκυθῶν πόλις*: Judith 3.10 (J. M. Grintz claimed that the book of Judith was composed in the mid-fourth century B.C. [*Book of Judith* (Jerusalem, 1957) 15–17 (Hebrew)]. As Applebaum has noted, this would render untenable the notion that the toponym originated in a Ptolemaic colony of Scythian troops; alternatively we may suggest that [a] the name Scythopolis was only to be found in the Greek version of the book of Judith or that [b] the book was composed in the Hellenistic period; in fact, most scholars date the composition to the Hasmonean period; see further Applebaum, *Judaea,* 1 n. 7; C. A. Moore, *ABD* s.v. "Judith"); 2 Macc. 12.29 (though note that in the next verse the ethnic is given as *οἱ Σκυθοπολῖται*); Judges (LXX) 1.27; Aristides *Aigyptios* 48.353, ed. Dindorf, 2: 470 (= 36.82, ed. Keil, 2: 289); Polybius 5.70.4. In the Roman period and later the form of the toponym was usually *Σκυθόπολις*: e.g., Josephus *AJ* 12.183, 13.188, 277, 280, 355, 14.88; *BJ* 1.65, 66, 156, 3.446, etc.; Strabo 16.2.40; Ptolemy 5.14.18; Synkellos 405, 559 (ed. Mosshammer); Kedrenos 237 (*CSHB* XIII); Stephanos s.v. "Skythopolis" (who explains the name as *Σκυθῶν πόλις*). For *Σκυθόπολις* on Roman milestones see, for example, D. Thomsen, *ZDPV* 40 (1917) 1–103; *AE* (1948) nos. 154–55; *AE* (1966) 497; Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 16 (1966) 75–76; N. Zori in *17th Archaeological Convention, Israel Exploration Society,* 135–98 (Hebrew); Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 277–83; B. Isaac and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea,* vol. 1, *The Legio-Scythopolis Road* (Oxford, 1982) 66–82, nos. 3, 5, 8, 10, 11, 15, 16, 18, 19, 22 (see *SEG* 32: 1490); A. Ya'aqobi, *ESI* 9 (1989/90) 80 = *SEG* 39: 1637. On the Roman road system in Palestine see, for example, Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 1 (1950–51) 54–60; M. Fischer, B. Isaac, and I. Roll, *Roman Roads in Judaea,* vol. 1, *The Legio-Scythopolis Road,* vol. 2, *The Jaffa-Jerusalem Roads* (Oxford, 1982, 1996). For the occurrence of the double name Nysa-Skythopolis on coins and in inscriptions of the Imperial period see below, n. 22.

For Skythopolis in the literary sources see Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 93–94; *TIR Iudaea-Palaestina,* 223–24.

4. For the **renaming of Beth Shean as Skythopolis** see, for example, Judges (LXX) 1.27; Josephus *AJ* 5.84, 6.374, 12.348, 13.188; Eusebius *Onom.* 54 (ed. Klostermann); Synkellos 405, 559 (ed. Mosshammer); Kedrenos 138 (*CSHB* XIII). The native name, Beth Shean, remained in use alongside the newer Greek name throughout antiquity; thus, for example, *M. Avodah Zarah* 1.4, 4.12; *M. Peah* 7.1 *(Beishani).*

5. For the **bilingual ossuary inscription** see *CIJ* 1372–73.

6. In general on **the origin of the toponym Skythopolis** see Schürer, *History*², 143

and n. 308; Fuks, *Scythopolis,* 160–65. There are three theories regarding the origin of the name Skythopolis:

i. According to information provided by Synkellos (405 [ed. Mosshammer]; see also Herodotus 1.105; Eusebius *Chron.* 185 [ed. Karst]), in the seventh century B.C. Scythians invaded Palestine and occupied Beth Shean; as a result the town was renamed Skythopolis. See, for example, Hölscher, *Palästina,* 43–46; Neubauer, *Géographie,* 174; contra: Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 103. On the Scythian invasion see also A. Malamat, *IEJ* 1 (1950–51) 154–59.
ii. The name is derived from the Scythians who had served in the Ptolemaic army and were then settled at Beth Shean by Ptolemy II. By reference to a Zenon papyrus dated to September 21, 254 B.C. (H. I. Bell, *Symb. Oslo.* 5 [1927] 33–37), Avi-Yonah, (*IEJ* 12 [1962] 127–28) has made a highly speculative—and unconvincing—suggestion that Scythopolis was founded in the autumn of that year. His argument is as follows: the papyrus in question refers to the forthcoming visit to the Arsinoite nome of Paerisades II, king of the Bosporos. The "Scythian" soldiers in the Ptolemaic army were probably his. The papyrus tells us that the Bosporan delegation visited areas outside Alexandreia. Avi-Yonah says: "We can therefore presume that it was present at the setting-up of Scythopolis. The foundation date of this city would then be a day in the autumn of 254 B.C." (128). Jones (*CERP*², 240) noted that the toponym had a "Ptolemaic ring," and compared it with "fanciful names given to the Egyptian metropoleis, Gynaecopolis, Crocodilopolis, and so forth"; followed by Abel, *Histoire,* 1: 57. Beloch (*GG*², 4.2: 325 and n. 2), incidentally, suggested that the founder was Antigonos Monophthalmos or one of his predecessors.
iii. For the association with the biblical town of Sukkoth see, for example, Winer, *Bibl. Realwörterbuch,* 1: 176; contra: Neubauer, *Géographie,* 175. On the probable site of Sukkoth at Tell Deir Alla on the east bank of the Jordan see N. Glueck, *BASOR* 90 (1943) 14–19 and map on p. 3; J. H. Seely, *ABD* s.v. "Succoth 2." Hieronymus (*Hebraicae Quaestiones in Libro Geneseos* on Gen. 33.17 [*CCL* 72: 41–42]) says: "Est autem usque hodie ciuitas trans Iordanen hoc uocabulo inter partes Scythopoleos." But, as Schürer noted (*History*², 2: 143 and n. 306), Beth Shean cannot have received its new name from a town across the Jordan; Schürer also denied the possibility that the toponym was derived from the god Sikkuth (Amos 5.26). Finally, another theory explained that Beth Shean was also called Beth Sheqet (Hebrew, *sha'anan* [tranquil, quiet] = *sheqet* [quiet]) and that the Greek colonists wrongly believed it was the same as "Skythian"; see, for example, Smith, *Holy Land*²⁵, 362–63; Tcherikover, *HS,* 72 (note, however, that Tcherikover later repudiated his earlier, tentative support for this suggestion [*HCJ,* 450 n. 98]); contra: Abel, *Histoire,* 1: 57 n. 3.

Stephanos (s.v. "Skythopolis") mentions that **Nysa** was another name for Skythopolis. For the suggestion that Antiochos IV renamed Beth Shean in honor of his daughter Nysa see Rigsby, *TAPA* 110 (1980) 238–42 (note that in *Asylia,* 537 n. 23 Rigsby observed that he should have cited Nysa, the daughter of Seleukos II [*FGrH* 161 F4]); see also Jones, *CERP*², 250; contra: Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 265.

On coins of the Imperial period both names or ethnics—Nysa and Skythopolis—were usually used; see below, n. 22.

7. Tcherikover (*HCJ,* 103) pointed to Malalas's claim that Skythopolis had previously been called **Trikomia** (see above) as evidence that the town was formed by a synoecism of three settlements: one of these was probably Beth Shean. Although the names of the other two settlements are unknown, Tcherikover suggested "it may be that the name Scythopolis was derived from one of them." Applebaum (*Judaea,* 7–8) has suggested that "Trikomia may contain the origin of the name Scythopolis." Applebaum pointed to a Byzantine inscription (the "Rehov inscription") that lists the gates of Skythopolis with their orientation (Y. Zussman, *Tarbiz* 43 [1974] 88–158 [Hebrew]). The northern gate was called the Gate of Sakkota. Applebaum has argued that this does not refer to biblical Sukkoth, which was 14 km south of Beth Shean. Rather, he has speculated that it refers to Tell Istabah (which is north of Tell Beth Shean), which he also suggested was known as Sukkota, "one of the three settlements whose synoecism created the Greek city of Scythopolis," and that "the original name of Scythopolis resembles that of Sukkota"; followed by Arav, *Palestine,* 99–100.

8. The extant evidence for the name **Gabinia** is numismatic: coins with the legends *ΓΑΒΙΝΙΣ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΝΥΣΗ, ΓΑΒΙΝΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΥΣ*[*Η*], *ΓΑΒ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΥΣΗΙ,* etc.; see R. Barkay, *INJ* 13 (1994–99) 54–62. Other cities in the region that were renamed Gabinia include Marisa (58/7 B.C.; see S. Qedar, *INJ* 12 [1992–93] 27–33) and Kanatha (Commodus and Elagabalus; Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 76, no. 206; Barkay, *INJ* 13 [1994–99] 61 and n. 27); see also SELEUKEIA Abila, n. 2.

9. On **Joseph son of Tobiah** see, for example, Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 127–34. Tcherikover dated the period of Joseph's activity as tax collector to 230–220 B.C. (*HCJ,* 130–31); G. Fuks (*Scythopolis,* 47–49, citing M. Stern, *Tarbiz* 32 [1963] 41–47 [Hebrew]) put the beginning of Joseph's work as tax collector at c. 240 B.C.

10. For the **coin hoard of Ptolemy II Philadelphos** see C. S. Fisher, *Museum Journal* 14 (December 1923) 242; and Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-Shan,* 45.

11. For the **amphora handles** found at Skythopolis, both at Tell Beth Shean and at Tell Istabah, see, for example, *SEG* 8: 57–82; N. Zori in *17th Archaeological Convention, Israel Exploration Society,* 135–98 (Hebrew); Y. Landau and V. Tzaferis, *IEJ* 29 (1979) 152–59; D. T. Ariel, *IEJ* 38 (1988) 31–35.

12. For the **prescript of the fragmentary inscription mentioning the eponymous priests of Zeus Olympios and the Savior Gods** see Mouterde, *MUSJ* 16 (1933) 180–82; Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 (1935) 60–61.

13. There are differing views regarding the **status of Skythopolis in the Hellenistic period:** (a) Applebaum pointed to Josephus's account of Scythopolis's refusal to pay taxes to Joseph son of Tobias (*AJ* 12.183) and Polybius's description (5.70.4–5, see above) of Antiochos III's capture of Skythopolis and its extensive territory as evidence that Skythopolis already had the status of *polis* at this time (*Judaea,* 2, 7); (b) Avi-Yonah suggested that Skythopolis began as a Ptolemaic klerouchy and was not elevated to the status of a *polis* until the time of Antiochos IV Epiphanes (*IEJ* 12 [1962] 129); (c) Jones (*CERP*^{2}, 450) claimed that Skythopolis and PHILOTERIA were administrative district capitals rather than *poleis* owning territories.

14. On the **Decapolis** see PELLA/BERENIKE, n. 9. For the **era** at Skythopolis see Meimaris, *Chronological Systems,* 82–87; and Stein, "Studies," 30. As for the calendar, a mosaic dated to 522 A.D. refers both to the Macedonian month Panemos and the Roman month September (*Chronological Systems,* 86, no. 17). According to Avi-Yonah (*QDAP* 5 [1935–36] 25 and n. 2), in northern Palestine the use of Latin

month names prevailed in Byzantine mosaics, whereas in southern Palestine and the Negev Macedonian month names are found in inscriptions down to the end of the Byzantine period and later.

15. For the ***amphoda*** at Skythopolis see *SEG* 8: 43, 44; Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 271; Ovadiah, *EI* 12 (1975) 118–20. For *amphoda* at other cities see, for example, STRATONIKEIA in Caria, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, and DEMETRIAS Damascus; see also *plintheia* at ANTIOCH near Daphne. In general, see Fuks, *Scythopolis,* 72, 116; D. Feissel, *Syria* 62 (1985) 95–96.

16. For the **amphora handles found at Tell Istabah** see above, n. 11. For the **inscribed weight** see B. Lifshitz, *ZPDV* 92 (1976) 181, no. 33 (= *SEG* 28: 1451); and A. Kushnir-Stein, *ZDPV* 113 (1997) 89; for another weight dated to 117/6 B.C., which is probably also from Skythopolis, see Kushnir-Stein, *IEJ* 52 (2002) 225–26.

17. For the important **textile** industry at Skythopolis under the empire see *TJ Kiddushin* 2.5 (62c); *TJ Avodah Zarah* 1.2 (39c); *Edictum Diocletiani et Collegarum de Pretiis Rerum Venalium* 26 (ed. Giacchero); *Expositio Totius Mundi et Gentium* xxxi (ed. Rougé); Cyril of Skythopolis *Vita Sabae* 80 (ed. Schwartz). See also Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 12 (1962) 132–33; A. Engle, *Readings in Glass History* 6–7 (1976) 28–29; Jones, *LRE,* 836–37, 857; Fuks, *Scythopolis,* 120–21; Z. Safrai, *Roman Palestine,* 198–202.

18. On the **religious life at Skythopolis** see Seyrig, *Syria* 39 (1962) 207–11; A. Ovadiah, *EI* 12 (1975) 116–24 (Hebrew); Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 273–76; Fuks, *Scythopolis,* 75–88. For the **dating by eponymous priests of Zeus Olympios and the Savior Gods** at Skythopolis see *SEG* 8: 33; Rostovtzeff, *JHS* 55 (1935) 60–61.

There is **epigraphic evidence for at least two men named Seleukos son of Ariston** at Roman Skythopolis. For the thanks offering made in 141/2 A.D. by Seleukos son of Ariston to Dionysos see G. Foerster and Y. Tsafrir, *ESI* 6 (1987/8) 31; L. Di Segni, G. Foerster, and Y. Tsafrir, *EI* 25 (1996) 345–48 (Hebrew); L. Di Segni, *SCI* 16 (1997) 139–61; L. Di Segni, G. Foerster, and Y. Tsafrir in *RBNE* 2: 72–75. Another partially preserved inscription (unpublished) on an octagonal altar that was dedicated by the same donor mentions Dionysos and probably Zeus as the founders (Di Segni, *RBNE* 2:73). For other (unpublished) epigraphic attestations dating to the mid-third century A.D. for another Seleukos son of Ariston—possibly a grandson of the second-century A.D. Seleukos—found at Skythopolis see Foerster and Tsafrir, *ESI* 11 (1992) 8; Di Segni, *RBNE* 2: 73; id., *SCI* 16 (1997) 140–43. For the survival of Macedonian names at a Hellenistic settlement, see, for example, DOURA EUROPOS; cf. the evidence for Ptolemaic and Seleucid names at Marisa (J. Peters and H. Thiersch, *Painted Tombs in the Necropolis of Marissa* [London, 1905] 42–43, nos. 6–7; 64, no. 36; Di Segni, *SCI* 16 [1997] 141 n. 6). See also the claim in the early second century A.D. by a priestess of Artemis at LAODIKEIA by the Sea that she was a descendant of Seleukos Nikator.

For the **dedication by Germanos** see B. Lifshitz, *ZPE* 6 (1970) 62. On the **worship of Dionysos at Skythopolis** see, for example, Seyrig, *Syria* 39 (1962) 210f.; Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 275–76; H. Gitler, *RSN* 70 (1991) 23–28. For **Dionysos on coins of Skythopolis** see, for example, *BMC Palestine,* 76f., nos. 5–11; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 188–209, nos. 5–7, 17–21, 21a, 23, 34a, 38a, 40–48, 57–61; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 3: 27–38, nos. 5, 10–11, 14, 18, 22–23, 25, 29–30, 59; Meshorer, *Atiqot* 11 (1976) 65–67, nos. 108–10, 15(?); and R. Barkay, *INJ* 13 (1994–99) 54–62 . For statues of Dionysos see, for example, G. Foerster and Y. Tsafrir, *Qadmoniot* 23 (1990) 52–54 (He-

brew); C. Vermeule and K. Anderson, *Burlington Magazine* 123 (1981) 8 (Dionysos-Alexander?). For the **prominence of the worship of Dionysos under the Ptolemies** see, for example, B. Segall, *AA* (1965) 575–80; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 202–6; Rice, *Procession,* 68–69 and passim; cf., however, Rigsby (*TAPA* 110 [1980] 239), who claims that the Ptolemaic cultivation of Dionysos was pretty much confined to the court.

For the dedication to **Sarapis** see Foerster and Tsafrir, *ESI* 6 (1987/8) 32; Foerster and Tsafrir, *ESI* 11 (1992) 8. For **Tyche** at Skythopolis see Vry, "Zeus und Tyche," 128–32.

19. For the dedications to **Zeus Akraios** see Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 77 (1961) 186–89 (= *SEG* 20: 456, 130–140 A.D.; the date is not clear; Seyrig [*Syria* 39 (1962) 209] suggested the early first century A.D., the Roberts [*BE* (1962) 316] thought it was 129 A.D.; see also Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 [1977] 274–75); and Y. Tsafrir, *EI* 19 (1987) 282–83; id., *IEJ* 39 (1989) 76–78 (= *SEG* 37: 1529). For the dedication to **Zeus Bak[chios]** see Lifshitz, *ZDPV* 77 (1961) 189–90 (= *SEG* 20: 457, first century A.D.[?]).

A dedication to **Ares,** dated to the third century A.D., has been found at Samakh, approximately 30 km from Beth Shean (*SEG* 8: 32). However, Seyrig (*Syria* 39 [1962] 207 n. 3) has argued cogently against using this as evidence for a cult of Ares at Skythopolis; contra: Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 (1977) 275.

20. For the dating of the **temple** to the third century B.C. see Rowe, *Topography and History of Beth-Shan,* 44–45. For the later dating see S. Applebaum, *Judaea,* 5; Arav, *Palestine,* 99–100; Mazar, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Beth Shean." As for the divinity that was worshipped in the temple, Rowe suggested either Dionysos or Astarte-Atargatis. In favor of Dionysos he pointed out that (a) a piece from the temple frieze contains the head of Dionysos, (b) a number of votive figurines of Dionysos and the nymphs were found on the necropolis south of the sanctuary, and (c) a head of Dionysos (?) found in the debris of the reservoir on the south side of the temple probably belonged to a statue of the god that was erected in the temple. Applebaum, noting the evidence for priests of Olympian Zeus, believed it was a temple of that divinity. Finally, another suggestion associated the temple with Zeus Akraios (*BAR* 16.4 [1990] 20).

21. For the **coins** of Skythopolis see, for example, de Saulcy, *Numismatique,* 287–90; G. F. Hill, *BMC Palestine,* xxxiv–xxxvii, 75–77; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 3: 27–38, nos. 1–63; Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 186–209; Meshorer, *City-Coins,* 40–42; *RPC* 1: pp. 667–68; Kindler and Stein, *Bibliography,* 180–87; R. Barkay, *INJ* 13 (1994–99) 54–62; Rigsby, *Asylia,* 537–38. L. Müller's attribution of certain Alexander coinage to Skythopolis (*Numismatique,* 304–5) was rejected by Hill (*BMC Palestine,* xxxiv; see also Lifshitz, *ANRW* 2:8 [1977] 262–63).

22. For the **ethnic** *ΝΥΣΑΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ* and various abbreviated versions see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 188–89, nos. 2–3, etc. On a dedicatory inscription from Skythopolis that probably dates to 161–180 A.D. (see below, n. 23), the ethnic is spelled *ΝΥΣΑΕΩΝ* (though note P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 67 [1990] 205–6; Gatier suggested that possibly *ΝΥΣΑΙΕΩΝ* should be read there, too; he observed that Stephanos gives both forms). For the **toponym** *ΝΥΣΑ ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΣ* see, for example, Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 188–89, no. 1.

23. For the **dedicatory inscription that refers to Nysa-Skythopolis as a *Ἑλληνὶς πόλις*** see G. Foerster and Y. Tsafrir, *INJ* 9 (1986–87) 57 (*Νυσαέων τῶν καὶ Σκυθοπολιτῶν τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ ἀσύλου τῶν κατὰ Κοίλην Συρίαν Ἑλληνίδων πόλεων*, ll. 4–9 = *SEG* 37: 1531; see also *SEG* 40: 1509; and P.-L. Gatier, *Syria* 67 [1990] 205–6). On the basis of this

inscription the editors suggested that on coins of Commodus dating to 175/6 and 185/6 A.D. (e.g., Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 192ff., nos. 15, 21; *Rosenberger Coll.,* 3: 30, no. 20; Kindler, *Coins,* 132) the abbreviations *ΕΛΠΟΛ* and *ΕΠ* stand for *Ἑλ(λη-νίδων) πόλ(εων)* rather than *ἐλ(ευθέρας) πόλ(εως)*; for the latter reading see Spijkerman, *Coins of Decapolis,* 303; A. Kindler, *INJ* 6–7 (1982–83) 80–81 and n. 16.

A century earlier Josephus (*AJ* 17.320, *BJ* 2.97) had described GADARA and HIPPOS, which were members of the Decapolis, as well as GAZA, as "Hellenic *poleis.*"

STRATON'S TOWER

The coastal city of Straton's Tower was rebuilt in the late first century B.C. by Herod as Caesarea (Josephus *AJ* 13.313, 15. 331–41; *BJ* 1.408). Our concern, of course, is with Straton's Tower. There are two major questions regarding Straton's Tower: Was it founded in the fourth century B.C., or is it a Hellenistic foundation? Where exactly was it located?

Two suggestions have been proposed for its origin: (a) it was founded by Phoenicians before the arrival of Alexander the Great and was named either for Abd-Ashtart, the name of three Sidonian kings in the fourth century B.C., or for the goddess Astarte, who will have had a temple in the city; in this connection, scholars have suggested that the name Straton reflected the Hellenizing of Ashtart or Astarte;[1] (b) it was founded in the third century B.C., when the area was under Ptolemaic control, and was named for a Ptolemaic general.[2]

Briefly, the arguments for the town having been founded in the third century B.C. are as follows:

i. There is no extant literary, epigraphic, or archaeological evidence for the establishment of a pre-Hellenistic settlement by the Phoenicians at the site.
ii. Ps.-Scylax, who dates to c. 350 B.C. and describes the various towns on the coast, does not mention Straton's Tower.
iii. The earliest extant reference to Straton's Tower is a Zenon papyrus (*P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004) that (probably) dates to 259 B.C.[3]
iv. After years of excavation in widely separated areas of Caesarea the earliest ceramic evidence thus far discovered is a single sherd of a Corinthian *cyma kantharos* that is dated according to some scholars to c. 250 B.C. Note, however, that others date the same sherd to the fourth century B.C. and see this as supporting their contention that the founding of the town predates the Hellenistic period.[4]

If the town was a Ptolemaic foundation, it is possible that it was named for the same official who gave his name to an island in the Red Sea, namely, "Straton's Island" (Strabo 16.4.8).[5]

The arguments for the town having been founded in the fourth century B.C. are as follows:

i. *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004 implies that the city was already well established by the mid-third century B.C.
ii. Straton was a common royal name in the fourth-century B.C. Near East. A city founded before the mid-third century B.C. could therefore have been founded by a fourth-century king of that name.
iii. The paucity of archaeological evidence from the fourth century does not exclude the possibility that Straton's Tower existed then.

Toward the end of the second century B.C. Straton's Tower was controlled by the rebel Zoilos (Jos. *AJ* 13.326); Alexander Jannaios brought it under Jewish rule. It remained under Jewish control until 63 B.C., when, along with other coastal cities, it was granted its independence by Pompey (Josephus *AJ* 14.76). By this time it was apparently already in decline. Strabo, who lived at the end of the first century B.C./first century A.D., described it simply as having a "landing place" (16.2.27). And Josephus says that Caesarea was built on the "deserted" Straton's Tower (*AJ* 15.331–33, *BJ* 1.408).

Josephus also tells us (*AJ* 15.333) that Straton's Tower/Caesarea was located on the coast of Phoenicia, between Joppe and Dora. The location of Caesarea is, of course, well known.[6] On the other hand, the exact location of Straton's Tower (in relation to Caesarea) remains unknown. Note, however, that (a) Josephus says that Herod founded Caesarea on the site of Straton's Tower (*BJ* 1.408) and (b) scattered Hellenistic material has been found at various places within and around the site of Caesarea. However, there is a particular concentration of Hellenistic finds in the area 200 meters north of the Crusader walls; there, excavators have found Hellenistic pottery dating to the last two centuries B.C. as well as sixteen stamped Rhodian amphora handles dating to the mid-second century B.C.[7] Excavators at Caesarea have also found up to 8,000 coins; the earliest found thus far are of Ptolemy II Philadelphos and Antiochos III.[8] Although investigators have not found any significant pre-Herodian architectural remains in the area, they have discovered the remains of a large Hellenistic structure (as well as Hellenistic ceramics) in the area of the nearby synagogue.[9] Furthermore, Raban has suggested that the northern city wall of Caesarea—which most scholars consider to be Herodian—was in fact the Hellenistic wall of Straton's Tower. Similarly, he has proposed that a wall section in the south vault and the round tower in the harbor were part of the Hellenistic wall. This has prompted the suggestion that Straton's Tower encompassed the area to the north of the Crusader wall as well as the harbor area to the south.[10]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 78; id., *HCJ,* 92f.; Abel, *Géographie,* 2: 296–97; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* 45; Möller and Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 113–15; Schürer, *History*², 2:

115–18; Jones, *CERP*², 230; J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine* (Paris, 1975) 15–26; D. W. Roller, *BASOR* 247 (1982) 43–52; id., *BASOR* 252 (1983) 61–65; and id. in *Caesarea Papers,* ed. R. L. Vann, 23–25; K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream* (New York and London, 1988) 25–53; A. Raban, *BASOR* 268 (1987) 71–88; and id. in *Caesarea Papers,* 15–18; E. Will, *Syria* 64 (1987) 245–51; Arav, *Palestine,* 20–25; and id., *PEFQSt* 121 (1989) 144–47; R. R. Stieglitz in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990* (Jerusalem, 1993) 646–51; and id. in *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia,* ed. A. Raban and K. G. Holum (Leiden, 1996) 593–608.

1. For a **fourth-century founding date for the town** see, for example, Schürer (*History*², 2: 115), followed by L. Levine (*RB* 80 [1973] 75–81) and Roller (*BASOR* 247 [1982] 45; *BASOR* 252 [1983] 61; and in *Caesarea Papers,* 23), who believed the founder was Abd-Ashtart I (375/4–361 B.C.). K. Galling (*ZDPV* 61 [1938] 83), E. Stern (*Qedem* 9 [1978] 83ff.), and E. Will (*Syria* 64 [1987] 246) opted for Abd-Ashtart II (343/2–332 B.C.). J. Ringel (*Césarée de Palestine,* 21) suggested it was "the last Straton." For the three kings named Abd-Ashtart see J. W. Belyton, *ANS MN* 21 (1976) 11–35. See also K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream,* 27 ("Strato of Sidon").

For the derivation of the toponym from the goddess's name see L. Kadman, *Caesarea Maritima,* 52–53.

2. For the **Ptolemaic origin of the town** see, for example, K. B. Stark, *Gaza und die Philistäische Küste* (Jena, 1852) 450; Arav, *PEFQSt* 121 (1989) 144–47; Stieglitz in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990,* 646–51; id. in *Caesarea Maritima: A Retrospective after Two Millennia,* 593–608; A. Raban in *Caesarea Papers,* 15 (note, however, that in the *NEAEHL* s.v. "Caesarea," 286, he refers to the "Phoenician settlement of Straton's Tower").

We may also note two other pieces of evidence that are brought to the discussion: (a) the earliest extant etymology supporting a Greek foundation for the name of the site is found in late antiquity, in Justinian *Novella* 103 *praef.* (in *Corpus Iuris Civilis,* 3, *Novellae,* ed. R. Schoell [repr., 1972]); Justinian says that the place was named for a "Hellene" who was called Straton and later renamed Caesarea by Vespasian *(sic)* (see, however, Schürer [*History*², 2: 115 n. 156], who dismissed this evidence as "worthless"); (b) *P. Oxy.* XI 1380.94–95, which dates to the late second century A.D. but may be a copy of a late Hellenistic document, says that Isis was worshipped at Straton's Tower under the name Hellas and Agathe.

3. ***P. Cairo Zen.* I 59004** = *CPJ* 2a = Durand, *Palestine,* no. 4 (259 B.C.). For literary references to Straton's Tower see, for example, Artemidorus (fl. 100 B.C.; in Stephanos s.v. "Doros"); Strabo 16.2.27; Josephus *AJ* 13.313, 324, 395; see also Roller, *BASOR* 287 (1982) 45–46.

4. For the **Corinthian *cyma kantharos*** see Roller, *BASOR* 238 (1980) 36. For a fourth-century dating see, for example, Roller, 36; K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream,* 43. Stieglitz dated it to c. 250 B.C. (in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990,* 649). In a private communication Kenneth Holum kindly informs me that earlier pottery—even late fifth century—has been found in the Temple platform excavation. However, as Holum correctly notes, this does not prove the existence of Straton's Tower on the site that early.

5. There was also a **Straton's Tower in Hellenistic Jerusalem** (Jos. *BJ* 1.79, *AJ* 13.312–13). In the latter passage Josephus also noted that the name was the same as Caesarea on the sea coast.

6. On **Caesarea** see especially K. G. Holum and A. Raban, *NEAEHL* s.v. "Caesarea" and references cited there.

7. For the **Hellenistic pottery** and **stamped Rhodian amphora handles** see, for example, A. Negev, *Caesarea* (Tel Aviv, 1967) 9ff.; M. Avi-Yonah and A. Negev, *IEJ* 13 (1963) 146–48; Roller, *BASOR* 238 (1980) 35–42; Stieglitz in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990,* 648; and id. in *Caesarea Maritima,* 599–600, 606–8.

8. For the **coins** found at Caesarea see, for example, H. Hamburger, *BJPES* 15 (1950) 78–82 (Hebrew); D. T. Ariel, *Qedem* 21 (1986) 137–38; P. Lampinen in *Caesarea Papers,* 169–72; K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream,* 43; Steiglitz in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990,* 649.

9. For the **ceramic evidence from the area of the synagogue** see M. Avi-Yonah, *IEJ* 6 (1956) 260–61; Stieglitz in *Caesarea Maritima,* 599. For the **Hellenistic structure** see M. Avi-Yonah and A. Negev, *IEJ* 13 (1963) 146; A. Negev, *Caesarea,* 13. See also the sketch plan in Stieglitz, *IEJ* 37 (1987) 187.

10. For the suggested identification of the **site of Straton's Tower** see, for example, Raban, *BASOR* 268 (1987) 71–87 (and plan, p. 85); id., *NEAEHL* s.v. "Caesarea," 286–87); and Stieglitz in *Biblical Archaeology Today, 1990,* 650; id. in *Caesarea Maritima,* 593–606. Roller noted that there appears to have been a dense network of farms and villages in the coastal region around Caesarea, especially after 200 B.C. Hence he suggested that the Hellenistic material found there probably does not belong to Straton's Tower. Roller also observed that the discovery of Hellenistic material in the northern part of Caesarea may simply reflect the extensive excavation in the area, not necessarily the site of Straton's Tower (*BASOR* 252 [1983] 63–65); contra: Raban, *BASOR* 268 (1987) 84; id. in *Caesarea Papers,* 18, 21.

Roller (*BASOR* 252 [1983] 63–65; see also Stieglitz in *Caesarea Maritima,* 604) has suggested that we should search for Straton's Tower near the center of Herodian Caesarea.

For the **suggested identification of Straton's Tower with DEMETRIAS by the Sea** see the latter entry.

SYKAMINOPOLIS, BOUKOLOPOLIS, AND KROKODEILOPOLIS

Among the towns between Ake and Straton's Tower, Strabo (16.2.27) mentions "Sykaminopolis, Boukolopolis and Krokodeilopolis and others like them." Strabo adds that nothing but their names remained. Strabo (16.2.22) and Pliny (*NH* 5.78) also record a Leontopolis in Phoenicia, between Beirut and Sidon. It is not clear whether these towns were given their respective names during the Hellenistic period. In favor of this possibility is the fact that the form of the toponym—Sykaminopolis ("Mulberry City"), Boukolopolis ("Herdsman City"), Krokodeilopolis ("Crocodile City"), Leontopolis ("Lion City")—recalls various toponyms in Ptolemaic Egypt; this would suggest these towns might have been so (re)named when the region was under Ptolemaic rule. On the other hand, the *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax, which dates to the fourth century B.C., mentions Porphyreopolis and Ornithopolis in the region (104 = *GGM,* 1: 78); this leaves open the possibility that (some of) the toponyms

recorded by Strabo predated the Hellenistic period.[1] In light of that and in the absence of other information, we cannot definitely claim any of these towns were Hellenistic settlements.

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 78, and Stern, *Authors* 1, 292.

1. For **Krokodeilopolis, Sykaminopolis, and Ornithopolis** see also Pliny *NH* 5.75–76. See also, for example, Hölscher, *RE* s.v. "Porphyreon Polis"; Honigmann, *RE* s.vv. "Ornithon Polis," "Sykaminos 2"; Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Boukolon Polis." On Ptolemaic town names see, for example, SKYTHOPOLIS, n. 6; and pp. 52–58.

VI

THE RED SEA BASIN AND INDIAN OCEAN

AMPELONE

In the course of enumerating towns and places in Arabia and the region of the Red Sea Pliny (*NH* 6.159) mentions Ampelome (or, more probably, Ampelone), a town that he says was a Milesian colony. W. W. Tarn objected that it was highly unlikely Miletos would have founded a colony in the Red Sea area. Rather, he suggested this was a Ptolemaic settlement that was colonized by Miletos at the request of one of the Ptolemies. The toponym Ampelone—"City of the Vine"—reflected the worship of Dionysos, the ancestral god of the Ptolemies. Furthermore, Tarn speculated that the founding took place in the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos who is known to have been active in Arabia.[1] Finally, he suggested that Ampelone was possibly the later LEUKE KOME and that it was located on the west coast of the Arabian Peninsula around the mouth of the Wâdî Hamd, whence, he noted, there was an easy crossing to MYOS HORMOS.[2]

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In general see Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 21–22; Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 21; Leider, *Handel,* 51; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 177, 2: 301–2; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 3; Desanges, *Recherches,* 245 n. 22.

1. **Founder.** Tarn's suggestion that Ampelone was a Ptolemaic settlement established by Miletos at the request of one of the Ptolemies has been followed, for example, by Fraser, *Alexandria;* Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa;* P. J. Parr in *Arabie préislamique,* 52. Tarn noted that Miletos was under Ptolemaic rule from 279 to 258 and from between 245 and 241 to 197 B.C. In this connection we may also note that, according to Stephanos (s.v. "Arsinoe 10"), Troglodytic Arsinoe was previously called Olbia. The latter was, of course, a Milesian colony. See below, ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 3.

Tarn also suggested that the founding took place after Philadelphos's expedition of 277 and before c. 260 B.C. (For the extensive literature regarding this expedition see, for example, Tarn, *JEA* 15 [1929] 9–23; D. Lorton, *JEA* 57 [1971] 160–63; J.-F. Salles in *Arabie,* 92–93; E. Bresciani in *Ägypten,* 33; J. K. Winnicki, *JJP* 20 [1990] 157–67; Fantasia in *Profumi,* 409 n. 67). Fraser (*Alexandria,* 1: 177) also opted for Philadelphos as the founder. Sidebotham (*Erythra Thalassa,* 3) thought it might have been founded by either Ptolemy II or III. For other settlements founded or refounded jointly by Hellenistic monarchs and old Greek cities see, for example, ANTIOCH in Persis and ANTIOCH near Pisidia.

On the other hand, von Wissmann (*RE Suppl.* XI s.v. "Zamareni," 1334; *ANRW* 2:9.1 [1976] 366) has argued that Ampelone and other places mentioned in Pliny *NH* 6.158–59 should be placed in southern Mesopotamia, not Arabia (see also Fantasia in *Profumi,* 410–11; contra: Andreas, *RE* s.v. "Ampe"). Thus he associated Ampelone with Ampe, a Milesian colony at the mouth of the Tigris mentioned by Herodotus (6.20); for the association of Ampe and Ampelone see also Long, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Ampe."

2. In fact, Quseir al-Qadim—the site of MYOS HORMOS—is on the African coast of the Red Sea, nearly opposite Wâdî Hamd. On the **location** of Ampelone see also Glaser (*Skizze,* 2: 152), who suggested it was located north of Jiddah.

ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS

Strabo offers apparently contradictory information about Arsinoe. At 17.1.25 he says that Arsinoe was called Kleopatris by some and was located at (κατά) the mouth of the canal emptying into the Heroonpolitan Gulf (Gulf of Suez). On the other hand, at 16.4.23 he says that Kleopatris was near (πρός) the old canal that extended from the Nile River. Furthermore, at 17.1.26 he appears to distinguish KLEOPATRIS from Arsinoe when he says that Heroonpolis and Kleopatris were close to (πλησίον) Arsinoe. The contradiction may be more apparent than real: it may be that the towns were adjacent to each other and could thus be referred to by either name or—more probably—that Arsinoe was renamed Kleopatris by one of the later Ptolemies.[1] The likelihood that Arsinoe was so renamed is supported by the fact that the *Acta* of the Council of Chalcedon for 451 refer to "Cleopatris quae et Arsionoe" (Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* [repr., Graz, 1960] 6: 571).

Ptolemy (4.5.14–15, ed. Nobbe) listed six ports along the African Red Sea coast—Arsinoe, KLYSMA, MYOS HORMOS, PHILOTERA, LEUKOS LIMEN, NECHESIA, and BERENIKE.[2] Pliny (*NH* 5.65) adds, on the authority of Agrippa, that it was 125 miles across the desert from Pelousion to Arsinoe. In fact, the various ancient and later sources mention at least three towns at the head of the Heroonpolitan Gulf: Arsinoe, KLYSMA, and Kleopatris. The fact that the *Tab. Peut.* (VIII.4) records both Arsinoe and Klysma on the Heroonpolitan Gulf indicates that these were separate towns.[3]

Arsinoe was named in honor of the sister-wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphos (Pliny *NH* 6.167) and was probably founded around 270/69 B.C. when, according to the Pithom Stele, Ptolemy built the canal connecting the Pelousiac branch of the Nile with the Red Sea.[4] In the late first century B.C. Aelius Gallus built over two hundred ships at Kleopatris and set out from there on his expedition to South Arabia (Strabo 16.4.23–24).[5]

Regarding the location of Arsinoe we may note the following. First, both Diodorus (1.33.12) and Strabo (17.1.25) state that Arsinoe was located at the mouth of the canal emptying into the Heroonpolitan Gulf. Second, Strabo also says (17.1.26) that near Arsinoe were Heroonpolis and Kleopatris in the recess of the Arabian Gulf toward Egypt (πλησίον δὲ τῆς Ἀρσινόης καὶ ἡ τῶν Ἡρώων ἐστὶ πόλις καὶ ἡ Κλεοπατρὶς ἐν τῷ μυχῷ τοῦ Ἀραβίου κόλπου τῷ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον). It is unclear from the Greek whether "in the recess of the Arabian Gulf" refers only to Kleopatris or also to Heroonpolis. However, a Roman milestone dating to 306 A.D. found at Pithom fixes the position of Heroonpolis 12 kilometers east of Tell el-Maskhuta, at ancient Pithom;[6] this suggests that Strabo meant it was Kleopatris that was located in the recess of the Arabian Gulf. It would appear, therefore, that Heroonpolis and Kleopatris were somewhat removed from one another: the former, inland; the lat-

ter, on the coast. Finally, the *Tab. Peut.* (VIII.4) places Arsinoe on the coast. That having been said, we do not know the precise location of Arsinoe (or Kleopatris).[7] But even if we cannot specify the exact site, we should take note of the (general) location at/near the south end of the canal that connected the Nile with the Heroonpolitan Gulf.

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In general see Pietschmann, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 4"; Kees, *RE* s.v. "Kleopatris 1"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 13; Woelk, *Agatharchides,* 192–93; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 3, 49, 57, 92; Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 134 n. 2; Thompson, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Arsinoe 2."

1. Burstein (*Agatharchides,* 134 n. 2) suggested Arsinoe might have been renamed Kleopatris in honor of **Cleopatra VII** (51–30 B.C.).

2. On the **relative order of the cities** listed in Ptolemy and other authors see ARSINOE Trogodytika.

The Ravenna Geographer (ed. Pinder and Parthey) mentions two Arsinoes (2.7.13, 19 [p. 58]) among the cities of Arabia Maior, "Arsinoe enpurium" and "Arsinoe", and another (3.2.15–16 [p. 129]), "Arsinoe quae ponitur iuxta mare Rubrum." The last is probably Arsinoe/Kleopatris. For the other identifications see ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 1. For other references to Arsinoe/Kleopatris see Stephanos (s.v. "Arsinoe the sixth, of Egypt, near the Delta") and Martianus Capella 6.677 (ed. Willis).

There is no agreement as to which Arsinoe is meant at Diod. 3.39.1. Pietschmann (*RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 5") suggested that the reference was to Arsinoe Trogodytika. Fraser (*Alexandria* 2:303) hesitated between Arsinoe/Kleopatris and Arsinoe Trogodytika. Tcherikover (*HS* 13), Burstein (*Agatharchides,* 134, n. 2), and Desanges (*Recherches,* 269, n. 201) believed it referred to Arsinoe/Kleopatris. And this appears to be most likely. See also ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 3.

3. See KLYSMA, n. 5.

4. For an English translation of the **Pithom Stele** see Naville, *Pithom*[4], 20; for a French translation see Naville, *ZÄSA* 40 (1902) 72. According to the Stele (l. 16), "in the year 16, the third month of . . . of His Majesty, they dug a canal to please the heart of his father Tum, the great god, the living of Succoth, in order to bring the gods of Khent ab (the Sethroïte nome). Its beginning is the river (the river-arm) north of Heliopolis, its eastern end is the Lake of the Scorpion, it runs toward the great wall on its eastern side, the height of which is hundred (cubits?) . . . " For the date of the building of the canal see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 299.

Pithom was the Greek Heroonpolis; for the results of excavation at Tell el-Maskhuta (Pithom) see J. S. Holladay, Jr., *Tell el-Maskhuta* (Malibu, 1982).

5. For the **expedition of Aelius Gallus to South Arabia** see Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 120–30.

6. For the **Roman milestone** see Bruyère, *Clysma,* 23.

7. For the probable **location** of Arsinoe on the coast see Kees (*RE* s.v. "Kleopatris 1"), Oertel (in *Spiegel,* 25–26); see also Burstein (*Agatharchides* 134 n. 2): "either north of Suez at Kabret on the southwest shore of the Great Bitter Lake or somewhere east of the canal linking the Great Bitter Lake to the Gulf of Suez." In general see Bruyère, *Clysma,* 17–26.

ARSINOE NEAR DEIRE

In the course of enumerating the towns and places of the Red Sea region Strabo (16.4.14) mentions an Arsinoe that was north of Deire.[1] He describes Arsinoe as a *polis* and a harbor.[2] Pomponius Mela (3.80) records an Arsinoe before "another Berenike" *(alia Berenice)*.[3] The latter is almost certainly BERENIKE Epi Dires. The founder of Arsinoe is not definitely known; Desanges has suggested it was Ptolemy III. He considers it "more logical" that in the region of the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb Ptolemy III would have named Arsinoe and Berenike Epideiris for his "mother" and his wife rather than that Ptolemy IV would have named Arsinoe for his wife/sister.[4] The exact location is not known.[5]

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In general see Donne, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Arsinoe 4"; Pietschmann, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 6"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 15; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 304; Desanges, *Recherches,* 297; id., *Annales d'Éthiopie* (1978) 93; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 140.

1. On **Deire** see Strabo 16.4.4 and Desanges, *Recherches,* 296. Kortenbeutel (*Osthandel,* 36) believed that Arsinoe was identical with BERENIKE Epideiris; contra: Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 305. Desanges (*Recherches,* 447) suggested it might be identical with ARSINOE Trogodytika.

2. For other **literary references** to Arsinoe see Ptolemy 4.7.2; Geog. Rav. 2.7.19 (p. 58, ed. Pinder and Parthey); on the latter see below, ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 1.

3. On **alia Berenice** at Mela 3.80 see ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 1.

4. On the **founder** see Desanges, *Recherches,* 297 and n. 421. See also Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 38–39.

5. **Location.** Pietschmann (*RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 6") followed the suggestion of Vivien de St. Martin (*Le Nord de l'Afrique,* 321) that Arsinoe was located at the site of the modern Râs Dumeira.

ARSINOE TROGODYTIKA

According to Strabo (16.4.5) the city of Arsinoe was located between PHILOTERA and MYOS HORMOS in the Trogodytic country.[1] Stephanos (s.v. "Arsinoe 10") records a Troglodytic Arsinoe that he says was previously called Olbia;[2] presumably this refers to the same town.[3] There may be a reference in the Pithom Stele to the founding of this Arsinoe and PHILOTERA (ll. 20–21): "After these things (i.e., after the 16th year—270/69 B.C.) his majesty went to Kemuer; he founded there a large city to his sister with the illustrious name of the daughter of King Ptolemy; a second abode was built likewise to his sister" (trans. Naville).[4] We do not know the precise location of this Arsinoe.

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 764; Pietschmann, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 5 and 6"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 13; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 303; Desanges, *Recherches,* 269 and n. 201.

1. The **ports on the Red Sea coast** are listed in north-south order in the extant sources:

STRABO 16.4.5	PLINY, *NH* 6.167–71	PTOL. 4.5.14–15 (Ed. Nobbe)	DIOD. 3.39.1	PHOTIUS 250.80–81 (Ed. Henry)
Philotera	Arsinoe	Arsinoe	Arsinoe	Arsinoe
Arsinoe	Philoteriae	Klysma	Aphrodite's Hbr.	Myos Hormos/ Aphrodite
Myos Hormos	Myoshormos	Myos Hormos		
Berenike	Berenice Trog.	Philotera		
Ptolemais Ther.	Berenice Panch.	Leukos Limen		
Berenike Sabai	Berenice Epi Dires	Nechesia		
	Ptolemais Theron	Berenike		

We may ask, Which Arsinoe is meant in these various lists? There is no agreement as to which Arsinoe is meant at Diod. 3.39.1; see further ARSINOE/Kleopatris, n. 2, and below, n. 3. It is also probable that Pliny (*NH* 6.167) and Ptolemy (4.5.14) were referring to Arsinoe/Kleopatris. With regard to the Arsinoe mentioned after PHILOTERA by Strabo (16.4.5), it is useful to be bear in mind two points: (a) the location of the latter is not definitely known; in fact, the weakness of the evidence for Arsinoe Trogodytika prompted Desanges to deny its existence (see below, n. 3); (b) Burstein observed (*Agatharchides* 175 n. 4) that Strabo's mentioning Arsinoe at 16.45 (which he understood to be the one at the head of the Gulf of Suez) immediately after Philotera resulted from the fact that his source, Artemidorus, "mechanically inserted this fragment as a block into his account of the African coast of the Red Sea at the appropriate point for a reference to the City of Heroes"; i.e., it resulted from a literary rather than a geographical consideration.

The Ravenna Geographer (2.7.13–19 [p. 58], ed. Pinder and Parthey) provides the following list:

Orea enpurium
Arsinoe enpurium
Berenice
Ptolomais
Bernitiae
Miosormos
Samotracis
Arsinoe

Thus the Ravenna Geographer records two Arsinoes (2.7.13, 19 [p. 58]) among the cities of Arabia Maior, "Arsinoe enpurium" and "Arsinoe," and another (3.2.15–16 [p. 129]) "Arsinoe quae ponitur iuxta mare Rubrum." The last is certainly Arsinoe/Kleopatris. The problem is the identification of the first two. Pietschmann (*RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 5 and 6") identified Arsinoe enpurium with Arsinoe Trogodytika and the other Arsinoe with ARSINOE near Deire. Desanges (*Latomus* 58 [1999] 452–53) suggested that in a round-trip itinerary (Orea [Heroon]—Ptolomais [Theron]—Samotracis Arsinoe) the Geographer duplicated Arsinoe. In a private communication, he

suggested that "Arsinoe empurium" and "Samotracis Arsinoe" were equivalent, as were "Berenice and Bernitiae."

With regard to the enumeration in Ptolemy, note that in his edition Müller (5.4.8 and his comment., pp. 686–87) reversed the order of Myos Hormos and Philotera. Thus he read Arsinoe, Klysma, Philotera, Myos Hormos, Leukos Limen, Berenike; i.e., he located Myos Hormos south of Philotera.

For another enumeration of settlements on the Red Sea coast see Pomponius Mela 3.80:

prima Berenice inter Heroopoliticum et Strobilum
inter promunturia Maenorenon et Coloba
Philoteris
Ptolemais
Arsinoe
alia Berenice

There are, however, problems with the information Mela gives (see A. Silberman, *RPh* 59 [1985] 57–62; id., *Mela,* 305–8): (a) Maenorenon has not been definitely identified; P. Parroni followed a suggestion of Reinoldius in his 1711 edition of Mela *(non vidi)* and read "Myos hormon" (*Pomponii Melae De Chorographia* [Rome, 1984] 430); note, however, that Mela describes Maenorenon as a promontory, whereas Myos Hormos was an anchorage in a bay, i.e., in a *hormos*; (b) it is likely that Philoteris/Philotera was north of the various Berenikes on/inland from the Red Sea coast.

Silberman would identify the towns in Mela's enumeration as follows:

Berenike	Trogodytika
Maenorenon	Unknown [Myos Hormos?]
Philoteris	Philotera
Ptolemais	Theron
Arsinoe	near Deire
Berenike	Epi Dires

See also Parroni, *Pomponii Melae;* BERENIKE Ezion Geber; and BERENIKE EPI DIRES.

2. For the **term *Τρωγοδύται*** (rather than *Τρωγλοδύται*) and the fact that the term "Trogodytika" referred to the whole African coastline, from Suez to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb, see BERENIKE Trogodytika, n. 2, and PTOLEMAIS Theron, n. 6.

3. Desanges (*Recherches,* 269 n. 201) dismissed the possible existence of this **Arsinoe** ("Il n'est pas question ici, selon nous, d'une autre Arsinoé que celle du golfe herôonpolitain, comme l'a supposé V. Tscherikower . . . p.13, en se fondant sur Stéphane de Byzance s.v. *Ἀρσινόη* . . . qui mentionne, en dixième, une Arsinoé de Trogodytique nommée autrefois *Olbia.* Cette dernière précision est énigmatique, car on ne voit pas quelle colonisation grecque antérieure à l'époque ptolémaïque aurait pu imposer un tel toponyme sur la rive africaine de la mer Rouge; à moins qu'il ne s'agisse—comme *Ampelome* sur la rive arabique? [*H.N.* VI, 159]—d'une colonie de Milésiens"). In a private communication Desanges noted that in the three versions drawing on Agatharchides (Strabo 16.45, Photius 250.80, and Diodorus 3.39.1 = frags. 82a, b, c) the reference to Arsinoe is then followed by mention of warm or brackish waters that flow into the sea: proof of the unity of the literary tradition.

Desanges raises a number of important questions. Was there an Arsinoe in the Tro-

godytic country? The fact that both Strabo and Stephanos mention an Arsinoe in this region makes it possible there was an Arsinoe there. How many Arsinoes were there in the Red Sea region? In fact, Strabo distinguishes three Arsinoes in this area. From north to south he mentions: (1) ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS (17.1.25 and 26), (2) Arsinoe Trogodytika (16.4.5), (3) ARSINOE north of Deire (16.4.14). Of course it is possible that the latter two cities were one and the same (see Desanges, *Recherches,* 447); however, we should not, *prima facie,* assume that Strabo (and hence, Artemidorus) had conflated the two. Could Arsinoe have previously been called Olbia? It is conceivable—if Stephanos's information is correct—that the site was first colonized and named Olbia under Ptolemaic hegemony and then subsequently renamed Arsinoe; cf. AMPELONE. One thinks, too, of APAMEIA on the Axios, which was previously called Pella because the founding population was composed primarily of Macedonians and because Pella was the native city of Philip and Alexander (Strabo 16.2.10).

4. For the **Pithom Stele** see above ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS, n. 4. Bruyère (*Clysma,* 17) understood ll. 20–21 of the Pithom Stele to be a reference to Arsinoe/Kleopatris; also Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 134, n. 2. On the other hand, Fraser (*Alexandria* 2:300 and 303) suggested the reference might be to Arsinoe Trogodytika.

BERENIKE EPI DIRES

In the course of his discussion of the Trogodytic country Pliny mentions (*NH* 6.170) Berenike Epi Dires ("On the Neck"), on the promontory adjacent to the Bab el-Mandeb ("fauces Rubri Maris").[1] Strabo (16.4.4) does not mention this Berenike but does say that "Deire" was the name of both the promontory and town; it is quite possible, as Fraser has speculated, that Deire was the old name of Berenike.[2] A fragmentary papyrus (*P. Petrie* 2: 40) records a letter that mentions the transportation and the hunting of elephants and refers to Berenike. However, it is not clear which Berenike is meant.[3]

We do not know the founder. However, Desanges has suggested that in the region of the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb Ptolemy III Euergetes founded ARSINOE and Berenike, the first named for his mother (n.b. that Ptolemy was the son of Arsinoe I and the stepson of Arsinoe II), the second for his wife.[4]

Berenike was located on the western shore of the Red Sea, near the Bab el-Mandeb. The precise site, however, is not known.

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In general see Donne, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Berenice (3) Epideiris"; Sethe, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 7"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 15; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 304–5; Desanges, *Recherches,* 296–97; and id., *CRAI,* 2001, 1188–90; Thompson, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Berenike Epideiris"; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 140.

1. For another probable **literary reference** to Berenike Epi Dires see Pomp. Mela (3.80, "ultra Arsinoe et alia Berenice"); see Desanges, *Annales d'Éthiopie* 11 (1978) 93 ("Cette Bérénice . . . ne peut être que Bérénice épi Dirès"). Silberman (*RPh* 59

[1985] 60) called attention to the fact that Mela wrote "alia Berenice" rather than "altera." According to Silberman this suggests that although Mela mentioned only two Berenikes at 3.80, he knew of the existence of a third, i.e., BERENIKE Panchrysos. For Mela's enumeration of settlements on the Red Sea coast see also ARSINOE Trogodytika and BERENIKE Ezion Geber.

2. On **Deire** see also Strabo 16.4.14 (who mentions elephant hunting grounds nearby); Ptolemy 4.7.2 (*Δείρη πόλις ἐν ἄκρᾳ*); Stephanos s.v. "Deire" (*ἄκρα καὶ πόλις*). See also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 304–5; and Desanges, *Recherches,* 296.

3. On ***P. Petrie* 2: 40(a)** (= *Chrest. W.* 452 with *BL* 1: 375, 7: 160) ll. 22–23 (*ἡ ἐλεφάντ[ων θήρα] ἡ ἐν Βερενίκηι*) and l. 26 (*ἡ ἐλεφαντηγός*). Wilcken read ll. 22–23 as *ἡ ἐλεφαντηγὸ[ς] ἡ ἐν Βερε_νίκηι.* See Casson, *TAPA* 123 (1993) 257–58; Desanges, *Recherches,* 296. Whereas Casson assumed the reference was to BERENIKE Trogodytika, Desanges excluded it.

Kortenbeutel (*Osthandel,* 36) believed that Berenike Epi Dires was identical with ARSINOE near Deire; contra: Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 305.

4. For the **founder** see Desanges, *Recherches,* 297 and n. 421.

Rostovtzeff (*Archiv* 4 [1908] 305; see also A. Lajtar, *JJP* 29 [1999] 57 n. 10), noting the silence of Agatharchides regarding Berenike, thought the founding took place later than the middle of the second century B.C. He therefore suggested that Berenike Epi Dires and BERENIKE near Sabai were named by Ptolemy X in honor of Berenike III. On the other hand, Fraser observed that while Strabo did not mention Berenike Epi Dires, he did refer to Deire, which he suggests was probably the old name of Berenike. Hence Fraser speculated that Strabo's silence may indicate that Artemidorus (his source) or Agatharchides simply did not know the new, dynastic name. He also suggested that Agatharchides may not have described the coast below PTOLEMAIS Theron (*Alexandria,* 2: 304–5).

BERENIKE EZION GEBER

According to Josephus (*AJ* 8.163) King Solomon built many ships "in the Egyptian Gulf of the Erythraean Sea at the place called Gasiongabel [biblical Ezion Geber] not far from the city of Ailane which is now called Berenike." It is generally agreed that Ailane (biblical Elath), which is often mentioned in conjunction with Ezion Geber, was renamed Berenike under the Ptolemies and Aila under the Romans.[1] Tcherikover suggested the founder might have been Ptolemy III Euergetes.

Strabo, who lived in the latter part of the first century B.C./beginning of the first century A.D., noted (16.4.4) that Ailane was on the incense trade route and that a road connected it with Gaza (16.2.28).[2]

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In general see Benzinger, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 4"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 81; Avi-Yonah, *Gazetteer,* s.v. "Aila (Berenice)"; Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 46, 89; *AEHL* s.vv. "Elath," "Eloth," "El-Paran," "Berenike," "Aila"; J. R. Zorn, *ABD* s.v. "Elath."

For the results of excavation at Roman Ailane see S. T. Parker, *BASOR* 305 (1997) 19–44: id., *ADAJ* 42 (1998) 375–94; id., *ADAJ* 44 (2000) 373–94; id., *AJA* 103 (1999) 511–13.

1. For **Elath** in the Bible see, for example, Deut. 2.8; 1 Kings 9.26; 2 Kings 14.22, 16.6. Eusebius (*Onom.* 8.1, ed. Klostermann) refers to it as Ailim. See further Schmitt, *Siedlungen,* 46. On **Ezion Geber** see M. Lubetski, *ABD* s.v. "Ezion-Geber." At Tell el-Kheleifeh (Ezion-Geber?) archaeologists have discovered two Rhodian amphora handles, one of which is dated to c. 200 B.C. (G. Pratico, *Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh,* [Atlanta, 1993] 62; Parker in *SHAJ* 6 [1997] 190; id., *ADAJ* 42 [1998] 376).

Schmitt (*Siedlungen,* 89) called into question the identification of Berenike and Aila. Among other things, he noted that Strabo (16.2.30, 4.4), Pliny (*NH* 5.65), and Ptolemy (5.16.1) only used the toponym Ailana/Aelana. However, this does not disprove the Berenike-Ailane identification. It may simply indicate that the Hellenistic name was not widely used—a not uncommon phenomenon in the Hellenistic Middle East. Schmitt also pointed out that Josephus refers to the *Egyptian* Gulf of the Red Sea (italics mine). He also noted that, according to Pomponius Mela ("prima Berenice inter Heroopoliticum et Strobilum," 3.80), there was a Berenike at the north end of the Gulf of Suez, which he suggested might be equated with the later KLYSMA. This, according to Schmitt, is what Josephus meant. Note, however, (a) there is no extant evidence that Klysma had previously been named Berenike, and (b) Mela's account at 3.80 of the Red Sea coast is somewhat confused. The two Berenikes ("prima Berenice . . . alia Berenice") in the Red Sea region mentioned by Mela have not been definitely identified; see, for example, Sethe, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 7." On the other hand, Silberman (*RPh* 59 [1985] 60–61; *Mela,* 306) identified the first Berenike with BERENIKE Trogodytika; see above, ARSINOE Trogodytika.

2. On the **trade route** from Ailane to Gaza see, for example, G. W. Van Beek, *BA* 23 (1960) 76.

BERENIKE NEAR SABAI

The identification of Berenike near Sabai has been the subject of considerable speculation and remains uncertain.

Strabo (16.4.10) is our only extant source for this settlement. He refers to a Berenike that he describes as a Sabaian city. He also says it was near Sabai, which he describes as a "good-sized city." Finally, he says it was located near the Grove of the Koloboi and also indicates it was not far from an elephant hunting ground.

Ptolemy (4.7.2) lists the mountain and promontory of the Koloboi, the city of Sabat, the Gulf of Adoulis, and then Adoulis. Interestingly, Strabo does not refer to either Adoulis or BERENIKE Panchrysos. As a result, there have been various attempts to identify Berenike near Sabai with Berenike Panchrysos, and, in turn, these two with Adoulis.[1]

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In general see the bibliography and discussion in BERENIKE Panchrysos.

1. Fraser (*Alexandria,* 2: 305) objected to the Berenike Panchrysos/near Sabai equation and pointed out that, according to Pliny (*NH* 6.170–71), the former was north of PTOLEMAIS Theron (which was itself north of Adoulis), whereas Berenike near Sabai may be identified with Adoulis. In fact, Pliny, who does not mention Berenike near Sabai, discusses Berenike Panchrysos and BERENIKE Epi Dires at the same time (6.170), locating both in the Trogodytic country. He does, however, make clear that the latter settlement was located well south of Adoulis.

In another passage (16.4.8), Strabo refers to *Saba*, which he describes as a harbor, and (likewise) elephant hunting grounds in the vicinity (italics mine). Desanges, noting that Strabo does not refer to Adoulis, suggested (*Recherches,* 295) that Saba may have been located in the region of Adoulis. He also questioned whether Ptolemy might have confused Saba and Sabat.

For a thanks offering made at the Paneion of el-Kanaïs following the safe return from a trip to Saba see Bernand, *Le Paneion,* no. 2 (dated palaeographically to the early Hellenistic period).

For the interconnections between the Sabaians of Arabia and the population of Africa around the Bab el-Mandeb see C.J. Robin and A. de Maigret, *CRAI,* 1999, 737–98.

BERENIKE PANCHRYSOS

Pliny (*NH* 6.170) is our only extant literary source for Berenike Panchrysos ("All-golden"). He includes it, along with BERENIKE Epi Dires, among the towns of the Trogodytic region. Most scholars have suggested that Berenike Panchrysos was identical with some other coastal city (possible identifications have included Adoulis and BERENIKE near Sabai).[1] Let us consider briefly the notion that Berenike Panchrysos was (a) identical with another city and (b) a coastal city.

Pliny provides no specific information about Berenike Panchrysos that would allow us to identify it with another city. Nevertheless, we may note the following:

i. Pliny (*NH* 6.172, 174) also refers to Adoulis but does not mention BERENIKE near Sabai.
ii. Strabo mentions neither Berenike Panchrysos nor Adoulis; however, he does refer to Berenike near Sabai (16.4.10, *πόλις ἡ κατὰ Σαβὰς καὶ Σαβαί*). In fact, Strabo is our only extant source for the latter settlement.
iii. Both Ptolemy (4.7.2) and the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* refer to Adoulis, but neither refers to either Berenike near Sabai or Berenike Panchrysos. The *Periplus* (4) also indicates that Adoulis consisted of both a harbor and a town, which was 20 stades (c. 3 km) inland.[2]

As a result, there has been much discussion regarding the following questions: Was Berenike Panchrysos identical with Berenike near Sabai? If the

two cites were identical, were they also identical with Adoulis? If they were not identical, was Berenike near Sabai identical with Adoulis?

As regards the location of Berenike Panchrysos, it is useful to note that Pliny's information is equivocal. At section 169 he begins his discussion of the Trogodytic country. At 170 he mentions that inland ("introrsus") were the Candaei; he then says that Juba, "who appears to have investigated these matters extremely carefully, has omitted to mention in this district . . . a second town called Berenice, which has the additional name of All-golden ('Panchrysos'), and a third called Berenice on the Neck ('Epi Dires') . . . being placed on a neck of land projecting a long way out, where the straits at the mouth of the Red Sea separate Africa from Arabia" (trans. Rackham). Thus, according to Pliny, the Candaei were living in the interior of the Trogodytic region, and Berenike Epi Dires was on the coast. The question is, Where, according to Pliny, was Berenike Panchrysos? Pliny's narrative does not provide a definite answer, but it does allow for the possibility that (he believed) it was inland. If that is so, it would effectively remove an important support for equating it with the port of Adoulis or with Berenike near Sabai. On the other hand, it leaves open the possibility that it could be equated with the town of Adoulis.

The possibility that Berenike Panchrysos was located inland should also be considered in connection with important discoveries in the interior in the Wadi el-Allaqi. In 1989, as a result of survey work inland at Daraheib in the Wadi el-Allaqi, A. and A. Castiglioni found the remains of a major settlement. The settlement consisted of two fortresses and a town center laid out on an orthogonal plan. The researchers estimate the population of the town was approximately 10,000. They also suggest that the settlement dated to the Ptolemaic period, if not earlier, and that it succeeded an earlier settlement, which was located near the two fortresses. Ceramic evidence indicates a long period of habitation—preceding and following the Hellenistic period—in the area. Among other objects found at the site were two Ptolemaic coins, one of which was of Ptolemy I and a miniature bronze statue of Harpocrates dating to the Greco-Roman period. The mines were located to the west of the settlement.[3]

Agatharchides (frag. 23b, Burstein = Diod. 3.12.1) says that "near the farthest point of Egypt and the neighboring regions of Arabia and Aithiopia there is a place that has many large gold mines. . . . The land is naturally black with seams and veins of quartz" (trans. Burstein). Agatharchides' reference to (a) the mines being at the farthest point of Egypt and (b) the gold being found in veins of quartz in a dark matrix helps identify the mines as those in the Wadis el-Allaqi and Gabgaba.[4] The Castiglionis have suggested that the settlement in the Wadi el-Allaqi is identical with Berenike Panchrysos. One awaits further discoveries at the site that could confirm the identification.

We do not know who the founder of Berenike Panchrysos was.[5]

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In general see Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 766–67; Donne, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Berenice 2 Panchrysos"; Sethe, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 6"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 14–15; Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 35–36; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 305; Desanges, *Recherches,* 278, 295–96; id., *CRAI,* 2001, 1187–95; Hofmann, *Wege,* 96; Thompson, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Berenike (c)"; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 140.

For the settlement at Deraheib see, for example, A. Castiglioni, A. Castiglioni, and G. Negro in *Atti del VI Congresso Internazionale di Egittologia* (Turin, 1992) 79–84; Castiglioni, Castiglioni, and Negro in *Studien zum antiken Sudan Akten der 7. Internationalen Tagung für meroitistische Forschungen vom 14. bis 19. September 1992 in Gosen/bei Berlin,* ed. S. Wennig (Wiesbaden 1999) 501–10; A. Castiglioni, A. Castiglioni, and J. Vercoutter, eds., *L'Eldorado dei Faraoni* (Novara, 1995); A. Castiglioni and A. Castiglioni, *EAAE* s.v. "Berenike Panchrysos" and below, n. 3; S. Pernigotti, *Archeo* 73 (1991) 19–34.

1. For **Berenike Panchrysos on the coast** see, for example, Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 767; Donne, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Berenice 2 Panchrysos"; Desanges, *Recherches,* 295; W. Krebs, *Das Altertum* 15 (1969) 168; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 305; Thompson *OCD*[3] s.v. "Berenike (c)".

2. Since Ptolemy mentions neither **Berenike near Sabai** nor **Berenike Panchrysos** but does refer to **Adoulis** in the same region, Droysen (*Hist.,* 2: 767; tentatively accepted by Tcherikover [*HS,* 14–15]) apparently believed that Berenike Panchrysos and Berenike near Sabai were one and the same and that both were identical with Adoulis. This was rejected by Kortenbeutel (*Osthandel,* 36; followed by Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 305) on the grounds that Pliny located Berenike Panchrysos north of PTOLEMAIS Theron (*NH* 6.170). Desanges rejected the attempt to place Berenike north of PTOLEMAIS (*Recherches,* 296 n. 410). He pointed out that at *NH* 6.168 Pliny discussed Berenike Trogodytika. According to Desanges, at 169 Pliny broke the geographical order and digressed in order to mention—by association—two other Berenikes, Epi Dires and Panchrysos.

On the other hand, the identification of Berenike Panchrysos and near Sabai (without reference to Adoulis) has been accepted by Desanges (*Recherches,* 295) and A. Silberman (*Mela,* 307). Fraser (*Alexandria,* 2: 305) has suggested that Berenike near Sabai could be identical with Adoulis. Burstein (*Agatharchides,* 9–10 n. 5) also suggested the identification of Berenike near Sabai with Adoulis and pointed to *OGIS* 54 (the "Adoulis" inscription = Cosmas Indicopleustes 2.58–59 [ed. Wolska-Conus]) in support of this equation. In this inscription Ptolemy III chronicled the lands he said he inherited from his father and the conquests he claimed for himself. In the course of this Ptolemy III did refer to the Trog[l]odytic and Aithiopian elephants that he and his father hunted and brought back to Egypt. Furthermore, Nonnosos (sixth century A.D.) mentions that there were large herds of elephants in the highlands above Adoulis (*FGrH* 673 F16). Finally, W. Krebs suggested identifying Berenike Panchrysos with Adoulis (*Das Altertum* 15 [1969] 168–69; see also A. Dillmann, *AKAW* [1878] 189–90).

On the question of the identification of the **site of Adoulis** see L. Casson, *Trade,* 197–210; id., *Periplus,* 102–6 (map, p. 104). **Excavation and survey at Adoulis** has been sporadic and inconclusive; to date, no Ptolemaic material has been found. See,

for example, F. Anfray in *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici,* vol. 1 (Rome, 1974) 747–53; Raschke, *ANRW* 2:9.2 (1978) 953 n. 1208 and references cited there. On Adoulis see also L. P. Kirwan, *GJ* 138 (1972) 168–69; Krebs, *Das Altertum* 15 (1969) 162–69.

A fragmentary papyrus that refers to Berenike **(*P. Petrie* 2: 40)** mentions the transportation and the hunting of elephants. It is not clear, however, which Berenike is meant; see further BERENIKE EPI DIRES.

In a lacunose entry **Stephanos** (s.v. "Berenike") refers to a second city of that name that was built by "Ptolemy Philadelphos" and to a third in the "Trog[l]odytic" country. Tcherikover (*HS,* 15) suggested—unconvincingly—that Stephanos's third Berenike referred to BERENIKE Panchrysos. In the absence of any other information, it seems simplest to assign it to BERENIKE Trogodytika.

Nevertheless, the problem of Stephanos's second Berenike remains. The fact that he specifies it was a foundation of Ptolemy II Philadelphos makes it unlikely he could be referring here to one of the Berenikes south of PTOLEMAIS Theron. This area was developed primarily by Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV. Assuming, therefore, that Strabo is referring here to a Berenike on the Red Sea coast, we must consider the possibility, as Tcherikover has proposed (as an alternative to his suggested identification of Stephanos's third Berenike with Panchrysos) that Stephanos's Berenike 2 and 3 are a doublet. In that case, however, the reference(s) could be to Berenike Trogodytika.

For the suggestion that Pomponius Mela was aware of the existence of Berenike Panchrysos, even though he did not actually mention it, see BERENIKE EPI DIRES, n. 1.

3. For the results of the survey at **Daraheib** see, for example, A. Castiglioni and A. Castiglioni, *BSFE* 121 (1991) 5–23, especially 13–23; Castiglioni and Castiglioni, *EA* 4 (1994) 19–22; Castiglioni and Castiglioni, *L'Eldorado;* Castiglioni and Castiglioni in *Convegno Nazionale V,* 55–61; see also J. Leclant and G. Clerc, *Orientalia* n.s. 61 (1992) 302; and Desanges, *CRAI,* 2001, 1187 n. 2; and the references cited in each of these. Already in 1768 J. B. B. d'Anville posited a connection between Jebel Allaqi and Berenike Panchrysos: "Peu loin de la côte, une montagne ayant des mines, dont les Ptolémées tiroient beaucoup d'or, fait trouver une *Berenice,* distingué par le surnom de *Panchrysos,* qui dans le Grec veut dire tout or. Le nom de cette montagne dans les Géographes Arabes, qui parlent de sa richesse, est Alaki ou Ollaki" (d'Anville, *Géographie ancienne abrégée,* vol. 3 [Paris, 1768]; for a copy of the relevant passage see *L'Eldorado,* 66). On an accompanying map, d'Anville located Berenike Panchrysos close to the Red Sea coast. Note that Donne (*Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Berenice 2 Panchrysos") and Thompson (*OCD*[3] s.v. "Berenike (c)"), who placed Berenike Panchrysos on the coast, located it near the gold mines of Jebel Allaqi.

Assessments of the identification of Daraheib with Berenike Panchrysos have varied. Thus J. Vercoutter (*CRAI,* 1990, 899–903) accepted it. On the other hand, Desanges (*CRAI,* 2001, 1192–95), pointing to the probable identification—on the coast—of Berenike Panchrysos with BERENIKE near Sabai, denied the equation.

4. For the **gold mines** in the Wadi Allaqi and the Wadi Gabgaba see Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 59 n. 4, and literature cited there; *L'Eldorado,* 20, 28, and passim. On the other hand, Desanges (*Recherches,* 296) remarked there is no evidence that the Ptolemies imported gold from the African coast of the Red Sea.

5. Tarn (*HC*[3], 246) believed Ptolemy III was the **founder** of Berenike; Desanges (*Recherches,* 295, 297 and n. 421) originally believed the city was named in honor of Ptolemy III's wife, Berenike II. He subsequently suggested that "Panchrysos" should be connected—indirectly—with the daughter of Ptolemy Philadelphos rather than with the gold mines in the Wadi el-Allaqi (*CRAI,* 2001, 1192–95). In this connection he called attention to Hieronymus (*In Dan.* III 11.6 [*CCL* 75A: 903]). The latter describes how Ptolemy II Philadelphos accompanied his daughter, Berenike, to Pelousion (en route to her marriage to Antiochos II) and gave her a great quantity of gold and silver; as a result of this she was called Phernophores. Desanges suggested that in time this was transformed into a simpler nickname, Panchrysos, and that the latter came to be used to refer to BERENIKE near Sabai.

BERENIKE TROGODYTIKA

According to Pliny (*NH* 6.168) Berenike was named for the mother of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[1] Desanges suggested that Philadelphos's officer, Philon, who sent a large topaz stone found on an island off the Trogodytic coast to Queen Berenike (Pliny *NH* 37.108), founded the settlement on behalf of the king. It was founded in an area that apparently had no previous settlement.[2] According to Strabo (17.1.45) it had no harbor, only landing places. Strabo also mentions that elephants were hunted in the Trog(l)odytic country (16.4.4). It is generally agreed that during the Ptolemaic period elephants were brought to Berenike from harbors such as PTOLEMAIS Theron, which were located farther south. Thence they were transported overland to ports on the Nile. In fact, there is a fragmentary papyrus dated to 224 B.C. that mentions an elephant transport in connection with Berenike; unfortunately, there is no agreement regarding the identification of this Berenike. Furthermore, the sole archaeological evidence thus far discovered for elephants at Berenike is a fragment of an elephant tooth found in the excavations of 2000.[3]

A number of highways connected Berenike with the Nile River ports. A road, which Strabo says—in a problematic passage—Philadelphos built (17.1.45), connected it with Koptos (Pliny *NH* 6.102–3, 168). Both Strabo and Pliny tell us that the road was equipped with water stations.[4] Strabo says that Philadelphos built the road and stations; Pliny provides additional information regarding the names of the various stations and the distances between them. He also says that the voyage from Koptos to Berenike, which was normally undertaken at night because of the heat, took twelve days; he adds that the distance was 257 miles. By way of comparison Strabo said that it required six to seven days to travel from Koptos to MYOS HORMOS.[5]

Another highway that apparently was used primarily in the Ptolemaic period connected Berenike with Edfu (Apollonopolis Magna); the latter was south of Koptos and, hence, 64 kilometers closer to Berenike. A stele found at Bir 'Iayyan, 97 kilometers east of Edfu on the Edfu–Barramiya road, records

a distance marker from the Nile; it was set up by Rhodon son of Lysimachos from Ptolemais in 257 B.C. Still another road connected Berenike with Syene.[6]

Survey in the northwest part of the site yielded evidence for habitation in the Ptolemaic period: ceramic analysis indicated all the deposits found there were early Ptolemaic. Nevertheless, Sidebotham and Wendrich have observed that because excavation at the center of Berenike has not yet reached layers earlier than the fourth century A.D., the precise location, extent, and appearance of the Ptolemaic settlement are not yet known.[7]

In the 1994–1998 seasons excavators found a total of 384 coins, of which 8 (2 percent) were Ptolemaic, 231 were Roman and late Roman, and 145 were unattributable.[8] Interestingly, at least three of the Ptolemaic coins dated to the time of Ptolemy Philadelphos. A temple contained at least one inscription dating to Euergetes II.[9] Ostraca dating to the first century A.D. found at Berenike provide evidence for commercial activity there. Most of the ostraca served as passes for goods (mainly wine from LAODIKEIA by the Sea and from Italy) being sent through the customs station at Berenike on their way to ports on the African or Indian coast.[10] There is limited evidence from the Ptolemaic period for brick making, metalworking, shipbuilding, and ship repair. In addition, there is evidence (mainly Roman) for the local production of sculpture.[11] There is evidence from the Roman period for the worship of, among others, Sarapis, Isis, and Jupiter and Palmyrene deities.[12] The remains of the main part of Berenike cover an area of c. 300 × 500 meters. Sidebotham and Wendrich have suggested that the population of Ptolemaic Berenike was mainly Egyptian with some Greco-Roman presence. Estimates of the population range from 5,000 to 10,000. However, it is well to recall that during Berenike's existence—from the third century B.C. to the sixth century A.D.—there were large fluctuations in the population size. Furthermore, because very few in situ remains from the Ptolemaic period have come to light, little can be said regarding the size and economic status of the town during that period. At the very least, it would appear that the Ptolemaic settlement was smaller than the Roman.[13]

Berenike was located approximately 800 kilometers south of Suez on the western shore of Foul Bay at the site of the modern Medinat el-Haras.[14]

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In general see G. Long, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Berenice 1"; Sethe, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 5"; G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 143; Tcherikover, *HS,* 13–14; W. W. Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 22; H. Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 26; D. Meredith, *JEA* 39 (1935) 98–100; id., *JEA* 43 (1957) 56–70; C. Préaux, *CE* (1952) 270–71; S. E. Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 2–3, 49–53, and passim; id. in *Arabie préislamique,* 207; *Dizionario* s.v. "Berenike"; Casson, *Periplus,* 94–96; id., *TAPA* 123 (1993) 249; Thompson, *OCD*³ s.v. "Berenice (b)"; W. Z. Wendrich in *Fringe,* 243–51.

For the results of the archaeological excavations at Berenike see S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, eds., *Berenike 1994; AN* 21–22 (1996–1997) 34–40; *Berenike 1995; Berenike 1996; Berenike 1997; Berenike 1998; Sahara* 10 (1998) 85–96; *Sahara* 13 (2001–2002) 23–50; and *Minerva* (May/June 2002) 28–31; Sidebotham, *EAAE* s.v. "Berenike"; id., *Topoi* 6 (1996) 779–80; J. Leclant and A. Minault-Gout, *Orientalia* n.s. 68 (1999) 416; *Orientalia* n.s. 69 (2000) 305; *Orientalia* n.s. 70 (2001) 455–56, and so on.

1. For other **literary references to Berenike** see Sidebotham in *Berenike 1994,* 5–11. I am not convinced by Tcherikover's suggestion (*HS,* 15) that Stephanos s.v. "Berenike 3" (*ἐν τῇ Τρωγλοδυτικῇ*) was referring to BERENIKE Panchrysos. Pomponius Mela mentions two Berenikes in the Red Sea region (3.80); Silberman (*RPh* 59 [1985] 59–60; id., *Mela,* 305–8) would identify the first as Trogodytika and the second as EPI DIRES; see also BERENIKE EPI DIRES, n. 1.

For ostraca from a first-century A.D. Roman dump see R. S. Bagnall et al., *Documents from Berenike,* vol. 1, *Greek Ostraka from the 1996–1998 Seasons* (Brussels, 2000).

2. For the suggestion that **Philon** founded the settlement see Desanges, *Recherches,* 271; Desanges also suggests Philon was one of the governors of the islands (Pliny *NH* 6.169).

For the **term *Τρωγοδύται*** (rather than *Τρωγλοδύται*) to refer to some African people in the Eastern Desert see Jahn, *RE* s.v. "Trogodytai"; G. W Murray, *GJ* 133 (1967) 24–25. See also E. H. Warmington, *GJ* 133 (1967) 24: "Scholars to-day are agreed that the right 'hellenized' name for some primitive peoples of Africa is *Τρωγοδύται* (Trogodytae) without the letter l; that, whatever the meaning may be, this was what the Greeks and Romans normally called them; that the chief land of such people was called by them *Τρωγοδυτική* (Trogodytica); and that, wherever the letter l occurs in these names in the manuscripts of authors, it is an error, most probably having its origin in a popular mistaken alteration of the right name to one which had a simple and recognizable meaning." The term "Trogodytika" referred to the whole African coastline, from Suez to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb; see, for example, Pliny *NH* 6.164, 167–68; Diod. 3.38.4; and R. G. Morkot, *OCD*^{3} s.v. "Trogodytae."

For the **absence of evidence for a prior settlement at the site** see Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 13 (2001–2002) 28–29.

3. For the papyrus dated to 224 B.C. that mentions **an elephant transport ship at Berenike** see the fragmentary *P. Petrie* 2: 40(a) (= *Chrest. W.* 452) and BERENIKE EPI DIRES, n. 3. For another reference to the elephant transport ships see Agatharchides frag. 85a and b (ed. Burstein).

For the fragment of the **elephant tooth** found at Berenike see Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 13 (2001–2002) 41. Objects made from elephant ivory have also been discovered at Berenike. However, as Sidebotham and Wendrich observed, the discovery of these objects (see W. Van Neer and A. M. H. Ervynck in *Berenike 1997,* 332, 348) does not necessarily indicate the presence of elephants at the site.

4. I would mention **two problems** connected with Strabo's narrative at 16.4.5 and 17.1.45 in regard to Berenike Trogodytika: the alleged proximity of Berenike to Myos Hormos and the highway connecting the Nile to the Red Sea coast. At one point (16.4.5) Strabo indicates Berenike was near Myos Hormos; he also describes Berenike as deep inland in the Akathartos Gulf, which he says was filled with reefs and shoals. Elsewhere (17.1.45) he refers to a Berenike that he describes as "not far" from Myos

Hormos; he says it had no harbor, only landing places. Following this reference to Berenike, Strabo describes the highway. It has been often been noted that Strabo's account is either confused or erroneous (see, for example, Desanges, *Recherches,* 268–69; F. De Romanis, *Cassia,* 125; H. Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 5–10).

First, the highway. At 17.1.44–45 Strabo mentions Koptos, then refers to an "isthmus" that extends from Koptos to the Red Sea near Berenike. He continues: "It is said that Philadelphus was the first person, by means of an army, to cut this road, which is without water, and to build stations" (trans. Jones). We may ask, To what road is Strabo referring? The context clearly suggests the reference is to the highway from Koptos to Berenike Trogodytika. And this appears to be the only highway in the region of which Strabo was aware. He apparently did not realize that there were two major roads in the area connecting the Nile with the Red Sea coast (De Romanis, *Cassia,* 126; Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 10), one originating at Koptos and the other beginning at Edfu (Apollonopolis Magna). Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that these roads had multiple termini. Thus the road running eastward from Koptos (Qift) divided at el-Laqeita (Phoinikon); one branch continued eastward toward Quseir/Quseir al-Qadim, the other turned southeastward to Berenike. And the road running northward from Berenike divided at ed-Dweig; one branch continued northwestward, joined the Quseir-Koptos road at el-Laqeita, and then proceeded to Koptos; the other turned west to Edfu (Apollonopolis Magna).

The problem is that—despite what Strabo says—the archaeological evidence indicates that during the Ptolemaic period the highway connecting Berenike with the Nile ended at Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu), not at Koptos. Very briefly, the evidence is as follows: on the road running north from Berenike, Sidebotham found evidence for Ptolemaic activity at Vetus Hydreuma (Wadi Abu Greiya), the first major stop on the highway. In addition he found Ptolemaic evidence at many stations between Vetus Hydreuma and Edfu (*Rom. Front. Cong. XVI,* 506). Furthermore, at el-Kanaïs, which is also on the road, many Ptolemaic inscriptions have been found (see Bernand, *Le Paneion*). On the other hand, in their survey of the Berenike-Koptos road Sidebotham and Zitterkopf found practically no Ptolemaic pottery on the segment north of ed-Dweig–Gerf where the road splits (*Expedition* 37 [1995] 48–50). J.-P. Brun also noted that no Ptolemaic remains have yet been discovered between Koptos and el-Laqeita nor at Laqeita itself (in *Myos Hormos,* 191). This has prompted the suggestion that the Berenike-Koptos road was used (only) from the early Roman period until the sixth–seventh century A.D. and that Strabo might have erred in attributing the construction of the Berenike-Koptos road to Philadelphos (Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 10). Cuvigny suggested that either the road had not yet been built at the time Strabo was writing (i.e., early first century A.D.) or that it was only beginning to be used at this time. Nevertheless, we should be careful about drawing any firm conclusions about this apparently anomalous situation. After all, it is based on the absence of evidence. Further survey work or excavation could turn up Ptolemaic evidence. In this connection it is interesting to note, for example, that in 2001 three inscriptions were published (two for the first time) indicating that in 76/7 A.D. *praesidia* were built at Sikayt, which is c. 7 km west-northwest of Berenike, and at Aphrodites and Didymoi on the Berenike-Koptos road (R. S. Bagnall, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, and H. Cuvigny, *JRA* 14 [2001] 325–33).

As for Strabo's claim that Berenike Trogodytika was close to Myos Hormos: the

latter is actually 300–320 km northwest of Berenike. Hence we may assume either that Strabo was referring to another Berenike (this is unlikely) or—more probably—that he was unclear about the relative position of these two places (see, for example, Bagnall, *O. Florida,* 34, n. 90). In this connection H. Cuvigny has suggested two possible solutions. First, Cuvigny called attention to Strabo's description of Berenike as lacking a harbor and suggested that Myos Hormos served as a "port d'attache" for ships that had off-loaded their cargo at Berenike (in *Myos Hormos,* 7; see also De Romanis, *Cassia,* 126). Alternatively, Cuvigny pointed to Strabo's claim that the region enclosing the ports of Koptos and Apollonopolis on the Nile and the ports of Myos Hormos and Berenike on the Red Sea coast was an isthmus. In his narrative Strabo does say that Myos Hormos and Berenike were "not far" from each other; he then says that Apollonopolis was "not far removed" from Koptos. In fact, there are two towns named Apollonopolis upstream from Koptos: Apollonopolis Parva (Qus), which is c. 12 km away, and Apollonopolis Magna (Edfu), which is still farther south. It would appear, therefore, that Strabo confused the two towns named Apollonopolis. This possible confusion in Strabo and the apparent desire to draw a parallel between the relative locations of the two coastal towns and the two Nile River towns may lie behind the geographer's suggestion that Myos Hormos was close to Berenike (see Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 10).

Finally, in connection with Strabo's remark that Berenike had no harbor, only landing places, we may note Sidebotham and Wendrich's observation (*Berenike 1997,* 449) that excavation has not yet revealed anything about the Ptolemaic harbor facilities. However, the excavators have noted that because of silting the shore line gradually moved farther east and south. Hence they suggest that the Ptolemaic harbor might have been located farther north and west of the Roman harbor.

5. The **Berenike-Koptos road** is also mentioned in the *Itin. Ant.* (171.5, ed. Cuntz). For the highway see, for example, J. Ball, *Egypt,* 83–84; G. W. Murray, *GJ* 133 (1967) 28–30; R. S. Bagnall in *O. Florida,* pp. 34–37; Desanges, *Recherches,* 268; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 58–61; Sidebotham and Zitterkopf, *Expedition* 37 (1995) 48–49; Sidebotham in *Profumi,* 385–93 and map; J. Leclant and A. Minault-Gout, *Orientalia* n.s. 70 (2001) 453–54. For an ostracon (first cent. A.D.) recording the shipment of grain from Koptos to Berenike see *O. Ber.* I 106.3–4. For other ostraca found at Koptos recording mercantile relations with Berenike and MYOS HORMOS see, for example, *O. Petr.* 220–304.

For the Koptos-Myos Hormos highway (and the identification of the site of the latter settlement) see MYOS HORMOS and n. 6. On the roads between Berenike and the Nile Valley see also the results of survey by Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 13 (2001–2002) 43–45.

6. We know about the **Berenike-Edfu highway** from inscriptions found at el-Kanaïs, which was on the road from Edfu to Berenike. Surprisingly, practically no inscriptions or graffiti have been published from other sites along this route. Furthermore, in the corpus of inscriptions found at el-Kanaïs, which was published by A. Bernand (in *Le Paneion*), eighty-five are Ptolemaic, while only six are Roman. As a result Bernand questioned whether the road was used in the Roman period (*Le Paneion,* 31). For this road see also Murray, *GJ* 133 (1967) 28–29; Sidebotham and Zitterkopf, *Expedition* 37 (1995) 45–47; Sidebotham in *Profumi,* 385–93 and map. For the **inscription found at Bir 'Iayyan** see R. Bagnall, *CE* 142 (1996) 320–27.

For the **Berenike-Syene** highway see Préaux, *CE* (1951) 154–55.

7. For the **archaeological evidence for Ptolemaic Berenike** see Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Berenike 1996,* 101–8; *Berenike 1997,* 447; *Berenike 1998,* 414.

8. For **coins** found at Berenike see especially Sidebotham in *Berenike 1998,* 169–78; as well as *Berenike 1994,* 47–48; *Berenike 1996,* 181–92; *Berenike 1997,* 183–89; *Berenike 1998,* 169–78; Sidebotham and J. A. Seeger in *Berenike 1995,* 179–85.

With regard to the low percentage of Ptolemaic coins found, compare the low percentages found at various settlements in the Arsinoite nome: thus, for example, 50 out of 30,000 at Karanis. The earliest coins are of Ptolemy II; 3 out of 95 at Soknopaiou Nesos; 2—"too much worn for certain identification"—out of 4,421 at Bakchias (Hogarth and Grenfell in *Archaeological Report: Egypt Exploration Fund* [1895–1896], 17; Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *P. Fayum,* pp. 65–68). All of the coins thus far discovered at the site of Dionysias date from the Roman period (J. Schwartz and H. Wild, *Fouilles franco-suisses, Rapport I: Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias, 1948* [Cairo, 1950], 39–48, 87; J. Schwartz et al., *Fouilles franco-suisses, Rapport II: Qasr-Qarun/Dionysias, 1950* [Cairo, 1969], 123).

9. For the **inscription found in the temple** dating to Euergetes II see *SB* 2039 and Meredith, *JEA* 43 (1957) 69.

10. For the **ostraca** found at Berenike see R. S. Bagnall et al., *O Ber.* I and LAODIKEIA by the Sea, n. 4.

11. For **brick making, metalworking, shipbuilding and repair, and the locally made sculpture** see, for example, Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 13 (2001–2002) 25–27.

12. For the **religious life in Roman Berenike** see, for example, Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 10 (1998) 93–95, 13 (2001–2002) 29–35.

13. For the **ethnic makeup of the population of Ptolemaic Berenike** see, for example, Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Sahara* 13 (2001–2002) 28–29. The population of Roman Berenike was much more diverse. From the late Ptolemaic to the late Roman period the excavators have found evidence for eleven written languages. For the estimated **size and population** of Berenike see Meredith, *JEA* 43 (1957) 57; Wendrich in *Fringe,* 242–43; Sidebotham and Wendrich, *Berenike 1997,* 451; *Sahara* 10 (1998) 88.

14. For the **location and site** of Berenike see F. G. Aldsworth, S. E. Sidebotham, and W. Z. Wendrich in *Berenike 1994,* 13–20, 103–6, figs. 1 and 2, 66, 67 (maps and plans), and photographs. As for the **identification of Berenike with Medinat el-Haras,** *n. b.* Sidebotham and Wendrich (in *Berenike 1994,* 103): "The present site of Medinat el-Haras has been identified by early travellers as the ancient harbour of Berenike. The site fits the location and natural circumstances as described in ancient accounts of the harbour itself and the routes to the Nile valley. The Berenike project, therefore, takes the identification of Medinat el-Haras with Berenike as a working hypothesis." In a private communication (March 16, 2003) Sidebotham kindly informed me that the identification of Berenike with Medinat el-Haras is certain.

DIOSKORIDES

Agatharchides (frag. 105a) noted that the "Blessed Islands" in the Indian Ocean were in contact with the port Alexander built at the mouth of the

Indus, namely, PATALA. Many scholars believe that Socotra was one of these islands.[1]

The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (30), which probably dates to the first century A.D., mentions the presence of Greeks among the inhabitants of the island of Dioskorides (Socotra) in the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, according to Cosmas Indicopleustes, who lived in the sixth century A.D., the inhabitants of the island included colonists who were settled by the Ptolemies and who still spoke Greek (*ἐν τῇ νήσῳ τῇ καλουμένῃ Διοσκορίδους κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ Ἰνδικὸν πέλαγος, ἔνθα καὶ οἱ παροικοῦντες ἑλληνιστὶ λαλοῦσι, πάροικοι τῶν Πτολεμαίων τῶν μετα Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν Μακεδόνα ὑπάρχοντες καὶ κληρικοί εἰσιν ἐκ Περσίδος χειροτονούμενοι καὶ πεμπόμενοι ἐν τοῖς αὐτόθι καὶ χριστιανοὶ πλῆθος,* 3.65, ed. W. Wolska-Conus).[2] Despite this information we have no extant physical evidence that there was actually a formal Ptolemaic settlement on the island.[3]

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In general see W. Otto and H. Bengtson, *Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches* (Munich, 1938) 195 and n. 4; H. Bengtson, *Historia* 4 (1955) 155–56; Thiel, *Eudoxus,* 7–20; Raschke, *ANRW* 2:9.2 (1978) 658 and n. 1210; Desanges, *Recherches,* 302; Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 169 n. 2; Casson, *Periplus,* 167; B. Doe, *Socotra* (London, 1992).

1. For the identification of Socotra as one of the "**Blessed Islands**" see, for example, J. Pirenne, *Le royaume sud-arabe de Qatabân et sa datation* (Louvain, 1961) 174–75 n. 26; Raschke, *ANRW* 2:9.2 (1978) 657; Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 169 n. 2; contra: H. von Wissmann (*De mari Erythraeo,* in *Hermann Lautensach-Festschrift* [Stuttgart, 1957] 304–5), who suggested an identification with Aden.

2. For **Dioskorides** see also Pliny *NH* 6.153; Ptolemy 6.7.45, 8.22.17 (ed. Nobbe). The geographer al-Masudi, writing in the tenth century A.D., recorded a tradition that on the advice of Aristotle Alexander settled Greeks on the island; see Doe, *Socotra,* 136–37.

3. Otto and Bengtson (*Zur Geschichte des Niederganges des Ptolemäerreiches,* 195 and n. 4) and Bengtson (*Historia* 4 [1955] 155–56) believed the Greek colony on Dioskorides was established in the "early Ptolemaic period." Desanges (*Recherches,* 302) suggested this happened under Ptolemy IV, i.e., around the end of the third century B.C. Fantasia in (*Profumi,* 400 n. 20) pointed to the late Ptolemaic period.

Archaeological survey of Socotra found no trace of any occupation earlier than the late Middle Ages; see P. L. Shinnie, *Antiquity* 34 (1960) 100–10; V. V. Naumkin and A. V. Sedov, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 569–623; see also the results of the survey conducted by L. Weeks et al. in *AAE* 13 (2002) 95–125.

KLEOPATRIS

See ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS.

KLYSMA

All of the extant literary and papyrological references to Klysma date from the Roman period or later.[1] The earliest references are found in Lucian (early second century A.D.) and Ptolemy (mid-second century A.D.). The former says Klysma was a port of embarkation for India (*Alexander* 44); the latter described it as a *phrourion* (4.5.14, ed. Nobbe). Hierokles 728.7 described it as a *kastron*.[2] Epiphanios (*Panarion* 66.1.9–11, ed. Holl) mentions Klysma as one of the three ports of the Red Sea along with Aila and BERENIKE. Philostorgios (*Ecclesiastical History* 3.6, ed. Bidez) says the Red Sea had two main gulfs, one that extended toward Palestine and ended at Aila and another that reached toward Egypt and ended at Klysma; Philostorgios also noted that the latter gulf took its name from the town.[3]

If the literary and papyrological evidence is all post-Hellenistic, surface finds as well as partial excavation (and limited publication) by Bruyère at Kulzum, just north of Suez, indicate the existence of a Ptolemaic foundation. Thus Bourdon noted the discovery at Kulzum of fragments of pottery and glass that could be dated to the early Ptolemaic period. Bruyère reported the discovery of, among other things, Ptolemaic coins (bronze) of Ptolemy II, Arsinoe, and Cleopatra VII, as well as stamped Rhodian amphoras. In addition, he demonstrated that it was laid out on an orthogonal plan. As a result, he suggested that Ptolemy II Philadelphos founded the settlement.[4]

The relationship of Klysma to ARSINOE is not clear. Since the *Tab. Peut.* (VIII.4) records both Arsinoe and Klysma on the gulf, we may conclude they were separate towns. In fact, the various ancient and later literary sources mention at least three towns at the head of the Heroonpolitan Gulf (Gulf of Suez): ARSINOE, KLEOPATRIS, and Klysma. Despite this, a number of scholars have identified Arsinoe with Klysma.[5]

Klysma was an important naval station in late antiquity and the early Byzantine period. Peter the Deacon, citing the pilgrim Egeria, who apparently lived in the latter part of the fourth century A.D., says that Klysma was the only port in Roman territory for trade with India.[6] The ancient toponym is preserved in the modern Kulzum.[7]

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In general see Moritz, *RE* s.v. "Klysma"; C. Küthmann, "Die Ostgrenze Ägyptens" (Diss., Berlin, 1911) 5–11; Tcherikover, *HS*, 13; H. Guthe, *ZDPV* 50 (1927) 67–92 ; C. Bourdon, *Anciens canaux, anciens sites et ports de Suez* (*Mémoire de la Société Royale de Géographie d'Égypte* 7 [1925]) 55–83, 141–54; id., *RB* 37 (1928) 232–56 (see also maps on pp. 234, 237, 243); Bruyère, *Clysma; Dizionario* s.v. "Klysma"; Desanges, *Recherches,* 267; E. Honigmann and R. Y. Ebied, *Encyclopedia of Islam* (new ed.) s.v. "al-Kulzum"; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 198–201; id., *Erythra Thalassa* 3, 49, 57, 92; P. Mayerson, *JNES* 55 (1996) 119–26.

For the results of the excavation at el-Kulzum see Bruyère, *Clysma.*

1. For **other attestations for Klysma** see, for example, *Itin. Ant.* 170.4; *CIL* 3: 6633 (306/7 A.D.); it is frequently mentioned in late papyri, especially in the eighth century A.D.; see, for example, *P. London* IV 1336, 1346, 1386, 1387, 1388, 1397, 1414, 1416, 1433, 1434, 1435, 1436, 1438, 1439, 1440, 1441, 1449, 1465, 1507, 1515. In general, see Bruyère, *Clysma,* 26–28; *Dizionario* s.v. "Klysma"; below, n. 3; and Mayerson, *JNES* 55 (1996) 120–23.

2. The description of Klysma as a *phrourion* and a *kastron* has prompted various suggestions that the town consisted of two parts and, furthermore, that these two parts may have been somewhat removed from one another; thus H. Guthe (*ZDPV* 50 [1927] 67–92, esp. 73ff.), J. Clédat (who also suggested that the toponym Klysma [the port] was derived from *κλύσμα,* "beach"; on the other hand, Clédat related Klysma [the *kastron*] to *κλεῖσμα,* "enclosure, barrier," or fortress: *BIFAO* 18 [1920] 185–86; 21 [1923] 178), and C. Bourdon (*RB* [1925] 632; [1928] 241, 246). Bruyère concluded that Klysma consisted of two adjacent quarters, an upper and a lower (port) city (*Clysma,* 120). Connected to the problem of whether Klysma consisted of one or two sections and where precisely these were in relation to each other is the question of the relation of Klysma to Arsinoe. I.e., was Klysma simply a later name for Arsinoe or was Klysma a separate foundation? See below, n. 5.

3. See also Eusebius *Onomast.* s.v. "Beelsefon" (ed. Klostermann): *πρὸς τῇ ἐρήμῳ σταθμὸς τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραήλ, ἐξιόντων ἐξ Αἰγύπτου διὰ τοῦ κλύσματος, παρὰ τὴν ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν,* i.e., the children of Israel went through or via the sea beach. Interestingly, Hieronymus says only: "in deserto castra filiorum Israel iuxta mare rubrum egredientibus Aegyptum"; i.e., he does not incorporate the phrase *διὰ τοῦ κλύσματος*. On Beelsefon see, for example, Bourdon, *RB* (1928) 252.

4. For **surface finds** see Bourdon, *RB* (1928]) 244. For the **Ptolemaic coins** discovered at the site see Bruyère, *Clysma,* 89–90; for the **Rhodian amphoras** see *Clysma,* 110. For the **orthogonal plan** of the settlement see *Clysma,* 51; note that orthogonal planning is also found in pharaonic Egypt (see pp. 65–66). For Ptolemy Philadelphos as **founder** see *Clysma,* 50. For an earlier survey at the site see Bourdon (*RB* [1928] 244), who also observed the presence of pottery and glassware that he dated to the early Ptolemaic period. Note, however, Mayerson, who described the results of Bruyère's excavation as "inconclusive" (*JNES* 55 [1996] 119 n. 2).

5. See, for example, **Arsinoe:** Diod. 1.33.12; Strabo 17.1.25, 26; *Tab. Peut.* VIII.4; **Klysma:** *Tab. Peut.* VIII.4; **Kleopatris:** Strabo 16.4.22, 17.1.25, 6.

Despite the evidence of the *Tabula Peutingeriana* for the contemporaneous existence of both Arsinoe and Klysma, Sidebotham (*Arabie préislamique,* 198, and *Erythra Thalassa,* 3, 49) identified Arsinoe with Klysma. In this he followed J. Clédat (*BIFAO* 16 [1918] 216; 17 [1919] 114; 18 [1920] 185–86; 21 [1923] 178) and C. Bourdon (*Anciens canaux* 66; *RB* [1928] 244). Bourdon claimed the discovery of artifacts of early Ptolemaic date at the site (see above) demonstrated that Clysma was preceded at the site by a Ptolemaic foundation, i.e., Arsinoe. On the other hand, H. Guthe (*ZDPV* 50 [1927] 77) separated the two settlements: he believed that Arsinoe was located at Fayed, 60 km north of Klysma on the western shore of the Great Bitter Lake (see map in Bourdon, *RB* [1928] 234). And Bruyère observed (*Clysma,* 120) that his excavation had yielded no evidence to support the identification of Arsinoe with Klysma. In general see Bruyère, *Clysma,* 30–35.

6. For **Peter the Deacon,** who lived in the first half of the twelfth century A.D., see *CCL* 175: 101, Y6 (= Röwenkamp and Thönnes, eds., 348). See also Egeria, *Itinerarium* 7.1 (*CCL* 175: 47 = Röwenkamp and Thönnes, 148); Antoninus Placentinus *Itinerarium* 41 (*CCL* 175: 150).

7. **Location.** For a map of the region see Bruyère, *Clysma,* 9.

LEUKE KOME

According to Strabo (16.4.23–24), Leuke Kome (i.e., "White Village") was a large emporium where Aelius Gallus stopped in 25 B.C. on the return from his Arabian expedition.[1] This is the first extant notice of Leuke Kome. Strabo also says that an overland trade route for aromatics ran from there to Petra and on to Rhinokoloura (el-Arish). According to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (19), Leuke Kome was located two or three runs eastward from MYOS HORMOS on the Arabian coast. The *Periplus* describes it as a harbor and a fortress and also notes that a highway ran from Petra to Leuke Kome.[2] We do not know who founded Leuke Kome or when it was founded.[3] The exact site has not yet been definitively identified. However, most authorities place it in the region of ʻAynunah near the entrance to the Gulf of Aqaba.[4]

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In general see Moritz, *RE* s.v. "Leuke Kome 3"; A. Dietrich, *KP* s.v. "Leuke Kome 2"; J. Pirenne, *Le royaume sud-Arabe de Qatabân et sa datation* (Louvain, 1961) 178; L. P. Kirwan, *GJ* 147 (1981) 83; id. in *Pre-Islamic Arabia,* 55–61; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 208; id., *Erythra Thalassa,* 3, 74, 106–7, 120–26, 187; Casson, *Periplus,* 143–44.

1. On the **expedition of Aelius Gallus** see Strabo 16.4.22–24; Pliny *NH* 6.160; see also, for example, Desanges, *Recherches,* 308; G. Bowersock, *Arabia,* 46–49; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 120–30. For the possibility that *P. Oxy.* XXXVII 2820 is an account of Gallus's preparations see N. Lewis, *GRBS* 16 (1975) 295–303.

2. For the **trade route** from Leuke Kome to Rhinokoloura see G. W. Van Beek, *BA* 23 (1960) 76.

3. Tarn speculated (*JEA* 15 [1929] 22 n. 2) that Leuke Kome was the renamed AMPELONE; see also Sidebotham (in *Arabie préislamique,* 208; *Erythra Thalassa,* 3).

An inscription that Cosmas Indicopleustes found and copied at Adoulis (2.60–63 [ed. Wolska-Conus], immediately following the well-known "Adoulis" inscription [= *OGIS* 54]) records the exploits of a king who, among other things, conducted an expedition along the Arabian coast of the Red Sea "from Leuke Kome to the country of the Sabaeans" (2.62). In the past the king was identified as one of the Ptolemies. If correct, this would have provided evidence for the existence of Leuke Kome in the Ptolemaic period. However, scholars now agree that the inscription refers to a much later period and to an Axumite king (see, for example, Wolska-Conus, note to Cosmas, 2.60; Rougé in *Arabie,* 66–67; Gatier and Salles in *Arabie,* 186; C. Robin in *Proceedings of the Eighth International Conference of Ethiopian Studies,* vol. 2, ed. T. Beyene [Huntingdon, 1989] 155).

4. For the **location** of Leuke Kome in the area of ʻAynunah see, for example, A. Beeston, *BSOAS* 44 (1981) 356; L. Kirwan, *GJ* 147 (1981) 83; id. in *Pre-Islamic Arabia,* 55–61; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 208; id., *Erythra Thalassa,* 124–26; Bowersock, *Arabia,* 48; M. Ingraham et al., *Atlal* 5 (1981) 77–78; Casson, *Periplus,* 144. Note, for example, Kirwan's observation (in *Pre-Islamic Arabia,* 59): "Aynuna, then, seems to meet all that one would expect of the site of ancient Leuke Kome: a spacious harbour, an ample and potentially productive hinterland, fresh water . . . and close proximity to Wadi Ufal along which Strabo's camel caravans could have travelled easily to Petra." On the other hand, note that the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (19) specifies that Leuke Kome was *east* of MYOS HORMOS. In fact, ʻAynunah is northeast of Quseir al-Qadim. ʻAynunah is opposite (i.e., east, northeast) of Abu Sha'ar, and if the identification of Abu Sha'ar with Myos Hormos were secure, this would support identification of ʻAynunah as the site of Leuke Kome. However, the identification of Abu Sha'ar with Myos Hormos has now been rejected. It is now generally agreed that Myos Hormos was located farther south, at Quseir al-Qadim (see MYOS HORMOS, n. 6). As for Quseir al-Qadim, it is south, southwest of ʻAynunah. This has prompted some scholars to suggest that el-Wadjh—which is farther south along the Arabian coast and opposite Quseir al-Qadim—was the site of Leuke Kome (H. Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 28–30; P.-L. Gatier and J.-F. Salles in *Arabie,* 186–87).

Other suggested identifications of Leuke Kome (all south of el-Wadjh) have included the mouth of the Wadi Hamd (J. Starcky in *Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplément* VII (Paris, 1966) col. 912; el-Hawra (e.g., Fabricius, *Periplus,* 137; Schoff, *Periplus,* 101); and Yanbu el-Bahr (Huntingford, *Periplus,* 100; H. von Wissmann, *SAWW* 246 [1964] 65 n. 155); see the map in Kirwan, *GJ* 133 (1967) 81. In general, see Sidebotham, *op. cit.;* and Kirwan in *Pre-Islamic Arabia,* 57.

Incidentally, Ingraham (*Atlal* 5 [1981] 78), who surveyed the region, mentions the discovery of Roman/Nabataean pottery and associated large buildings at ʻAyunah. On the other hand, the surveyors found few sherds at el-Hawra. In survey work around el-Wadjh no sites with Roman/Nabataean pottery were found. Ingraham also noted that the coast of the Yanbu area was poorly surveyed.

LEUKOS LIMEN

Ptolemy, who lived in the mid-second century A.D., is our only extant literary source for the existence of Leukos Limen (4.5.15, ed. Nobbe). There is no extant evidence that it was a Hellenistic foundation. As a result, there is no firm agreement as to its location or, in fact, its very existence.

Sidebotham and Casson, noting that Leukos Limen is mentioned neither by Strabo (who lived in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D.) nor in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (which probably dates to the mid-first century A.D.), suggested it was founded or flourished after the mid-first century A.D.[1] Although the location is not definitely known, most scholars believed it was at Quseir al-Qadim rather than 8 kilometers south at Quseir.[2]

On the other hand, A. Bülow-Jacobsen, H. Cuvigny, and J.-L. Fournet have suggested that Ptolemy had confused Leukos Limen with the well-attested

LEUKE KOME on the Arabian shore of the Red Sea. In support of this contention, they noted that Ptolemy did not mention the latter settlement. They also pointed out that although Myos Hormos is mentioned in eight ostraca probably dating to the second century A.D. found at el-Zerqa, 65 kilometers inland on the Qift (Koptos)–Quseir road, Leukos Limen is not.[3]

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In general see Kees, *RE* s.v. "Leukos Limen"; G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 142; *Dizionario* s.v. "Leukos Limen"; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 205 and n. 43; id., *Erythra Thalassa,* 3–4, 51–56; id. in *Rome and India,* 19–20.

1. Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 55; Casson, *Periplus,* 96. As for the **founding date,** Sidebotham called attention to (a) the fact that the archaeological evidence at Quseir al-Qadim indicates the settlement was founded in the first half of the first century A.D. and (b) Strabo's silence regarding Leukos Limen ("This suggests that the port did not exist in his day, but was founded only later"). Thus he dated the founding of Leukos Limen to the Tiberian period or a few decades thereafter. Sidebotham was writing in 1989. Interestingly, a little over a decade later D. P. S. Peacock reported the discovery of Ptolemaic coins and pottery in the mud flats (the sabkha area) behind Quseir al-Qadim; see further, MYOS HORMOS.

2. For the suggested **location** of Leukos Limen at Quseir al-Qadim see the previous claims of, for example, J. Couyat, *CRAI,* 1910, 528; D. S. Whitcomb and J. H. Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim, 1978: Preliminary Report* (Cairo, 1979) 4; *Quseir al-Qadim, 1980: Preliminary Report* (Malibu, 1982) 2; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 53–56; Casson, *Periplus,* 96; C. Meyer, *Glass from Quseir al-Qadim and the Indian Ocean Trade* (Chicago, 1992) 1–6; for the view that Leukos Limen was located at Quseir see, for example, G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 142; D. Meredith in *TIR Coptos.* On the competing claims for the identification of Quseir and Quseir al-Qadim see also MYOS HORMOS, n. 6. Note that archaeological discoveries in the last decades of the twentieth century have demonstrated that Quseir al-Qadim is the site of Roman MYOS HORMOS and possibly of the Ptolemaic settlement as well.

In the course of excavation at Quseir al-Qadim, members of the University of Chicago team found fragmentary texts—probably dating to the first century A.D.—that apparently contain possible references to both Leukos Limen and Myos Hormos (see R. S. Bagnall, *BASP* 23 [1986] 1–60). Thus no. 18 is a papyrus containing a list of names; on the back is an address to Serenus, the curator of *Le[. . .* Bagnall restored this as *Seren[o c]ura[(tori)] Le[uci Limenis].* No. 54 is a fragment of a pot on which is written *ΛΕΥΚ.* As Bagnall suggests, this may indicate the destination of the pot. On the other hand, Bülow-Jacobsen et al. suggested reading *Γ*]*ΛΕΥΚ*[*ΟΣ*; that is, perhaps the pot contained sweet wine (*BIFAO* 94 [1994] 27). In short, the possible occurrence of "Leukos Limen" in discoveries at Quseir al-Qadim is too fragmentary to have any probative value. There may also be references to Myos Hormos in these texts. For example, at ostracon no. 45.5, *muos*[is probably a reference to Myos Hormos. Bülow-Jacobsen et al. also suggested that the reading,]*Π̣ΟΣΟΡΜ.*[in papyrus no. 21.3 may be either *M*]ῡ̣ὸς Ὅρμο̣[. . . or Ὅρμω̣.

3. For the **eight ostraca found at el-Zerqa,** on the Qift (Koptos)–Quseir road, see

Bülow-Jacobsen, *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 27–42. For the suggestion that Ptolemy might have confused Leukos Limen with LEUKE KOME see *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 28 n. 7; see also H. Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 28. On the other hand, note that the Chicago excavators found possible mention of both Leukos Limen and Myos Hormos at Quseir al-Qadim; see above, n. 2.

MYOS HORMOS

According to Strabo (16.4.5) Myos Hormos ("Harbor"), which was also called Aphrodite's Harbor, was located below ARSINOE.[1] It had a large port with a "curved entrance"; offshore were three islands.[2] Pliny adds the important fact that there was a spring ("ubi fons est Ainos") nearby (*NH* 6.168). Elsewhere (17.1.45) Strabo describes Myos Hormos as a *polis* containing a naval station for sailors; he also adds that it was not far from BERENIKE and was a six or seven day's journey from Koptos.[3] Strabo remarked (2.5.12, 16.4.24) that in his day, that is, in the latter part of the first century B.C., as many as 120 ships sailed (presumably annually) from Myos Hormos to India and that goods from Arabia and India landed there were then transported overland to Koptos. He also observed (17.1.45) that in his day both Koptos and Myos Hormos were held in high esteem and were much used.

Finally, Strabo noted that earlier, under the Ptolemies, very few were involved in trade with India. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (1), which dates to the mid-first century A.D., mentioned only Berenike and Myos Hormos as "designated harbors of the Erythraean Sea and emporia on it." Interestingly, Pliny (*NH* 6.102–3), who lived in the second half of the first century A.D., refers to Berenike as a terminus of the overland trade route from Koptos but does not mention Myos Hormos in this context.

There is no extant literary evidence confirming that Myos Hormos was founded by a Hellenistic monarch. Nevertheless, scholars are nearly unanimous in asserting it was a foundation of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. The toponym, Myos Hormos, is Greek. However, it may represent the Hellenizing of an Egyptian toponym, *mstj,* which is found on the seventh pylon of the temple of Karnak.[4] This would therefore provide evidence for a harbor at Myos Hormos during the New Empire. In any event, the other, later name—Aphrodite's Harbor—by which the town was known (Agatharchides frag. 83) is obviously Greek. The fact that Artemidorus (in Strabo 16.4.5) was aware of both names means, of course, that it already existed in the Hellenistic period. It is quite possible, therefore, that this was a Ptolemaic settlement, founded—like (ARSINOE) KLYSMA, BERENIKE Trogodytika, and PHILOTERA—in connection with Egyptian commercial activity in the Red Sea.

In the past, there has been much discussion regarding the site of (Ptolemaic and Roman) Myos Hormos. The various literary sources provide es-

sentially four indications regarding the site: (a) it was 1,800 stades from BERENIKE (*Periplus* 1), (b) it was near a red mountain (Strabo 16.4.5), (c) there were three islands nearby (Strabo 16.4.5), (d) there was a freshwater spring nearby (Pliny *NH* 6.168). Previously, the most widely accepted site had been Abu Sha'ar. However, trial excavations only revealed evidence for late Roman/early Byzantine habitation at the site. Other—less likely—suggestions included Ras Abu Soma and Safaga.[5] There remained, therefore, two other possibilities: Quseir or Quseir al-Qadim, 8 kilometers north of Quseir. In the course of the twentieth century each of these was considered as a possible candidate by various scholars.[6] Beginning in the last decades of the twentieth century the unearthing of papyri and ostraca at Quseir al-Qadim and on the Qift (Koptos)–Quseir road finally resolved the question.

In the course of the University of Chicago excavation at Quseir al-Qadim (1978–1982), researchers found the probable mention of Myos Hormos in at least two fragmentary documents (probably dating to the first–early second centuries A.D.) discovered there.[7] In 1994 A. Bülow-Jacobsen, H. Cuvigny, and J.-L. Fournet working at el-Zerqa (Maximianon), 65 kilometers inland on the Qift–Quseir road, discovered, among other things, eight ostraca (probably dating to the second century A.D.) that contained the name Myos Hormos in private letters. Other ostraca discovered on the Qift–Quseir road were inscribed ὁδὸς Μυσορμιτική, namely, "the Myos Hormos Road"; and another ostracon found at el-Muweih (Krokodilo) on the same road mentioned a wagon transport of wood for shipbuilding in Myos Hormos. In all, Hélène Cuvigny and Adam Bülow-Jacobsen kindly inform me in a private communication that the mention of Myos Hormos has thus far been found in 33 ostraka (published and unpublished) discovered on the Qift–Quseir road; 11 were from el-Zerqa, 22 were from el-Muweih. These discoveries gave the definitive indication that Roman Myos Hormos was situated on the coast at the end of the road, either at Quseir or Quseir al-Qadim.[8] Finally, in 1999 and 2000 excavators from the University of Southampton working at Quseir al-Qadim discovered two documents there—a papyrus dated to 93 A.D. and an ostracon—containing the name Myos Hormos.[9] In short, the combined evidence of these various discoveries demonstrates that Roman Myos Hormos was located at Quseir al-Qadim.

What about the site of Ptolemaic Myos Hormos? In 2000 extensive trenching for telephones at Quseir uncovered no ancient remains. This prompted D. P. S. Peacock to suggest that Quseir was an Ottoman foundation, built some time after Quseir al-Qadim had ceased to be occupied. As for Quseir al-Qadim, in a private communication Peacock kindly informs me that Ptolemaic coins and pottery have been found in the sabkha area (the mud flats behind Quseir al-Qadim). Noting that the water table restricted deep excavations there, he nevertheless suggested that this is the site of Ptolemaic Myos Hormos, possibly at a lower level than the excavators were able to investigate.[10]

There may have been a grid plan at Quseir al-Qadim.[11] In 2000 the Southampton archaeologists discovered a wharf or docking area of the harbor as well as empty amphoras that were lined up. Most of the amphoras were Italian; in addition, there were some from Rhodes and the Istrian Peninsula, and some of local origin. The harbor is datable by the pottery to the early Roman period.[12]

Regarding the history of Myos Hormos (and BERENIKE) in the first century A.D. Casson remarked that "in Strabo's day [i.e., late first century B.C./early first century A.D.] Myos Hormos apparently was the chief port for trade with Africa and India, for it is the only one he mentions . . . in that connection. In the archive of Nicanor [i.e., 6 B.C.–68/9 A.D.] Myos Hormos and Berenicê seem of equal rank. By the time the author of the *Periplus* was writing (i.e., mid-first century A.D.), Berenicê clearly took precedence: it was from here that he starts the trade routes to both Africa and India and from here that he reckons the length of the voyage down the Red Sea."[13]

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In general see Lesquier, *Armée,* 435; Tcherikover, *HS,* 13; Kees, *RE* s.v. "Myos Hormos"; Leider, *Handel,* 51; *Dizionario* s.v. "Myos Hormos"; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 51, 56–60 and passim; Desanges, *Recherches,* 269–70; Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 136 n. 1; Casson, *Periplus,* 13–14, 94–97; D. P. S. Peacock, *JRA* 6 (1993) 226–32; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 134–36, 147–50; Cockle, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Myos Hormos"; D. Whitcomb, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 762–65; and Cuvigny, *Myos Hormos.*

For the results of the University of Chicago excavation at Quseir al-Qadim see D. S. Whitcomb and J. H. Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim, 1978: Preliminary Report* (Cairo, 1979), *Quseir al-Qadim, 1980: Preliminary Report* (Malibu, 1982); C. Meyer, *Glass from Quseir al-Qadim and the Indian Ocean Trade* (Chicago, 1992); for the preliminary results of the University of Southampton excavation see D. P. S. Peacock et al., www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/Quseir; and L. Blue, *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 32 (2002) 139–50.

1. On the **relative order of the Red Sea ports** recorded by Strabo (16.4.5), Pliny (*NH* 6.167–68), Ptolemy (4.5.14–15, ed. Nobbe) and Diodorus (3.39.1) see ARSINOE Trogodytika and NECHESIA.

On the **toponym** Myos Hormos see, for example, De Romanis, *Cassia,* 147–50. The temporal relation of the name Aphrodite's Harbor to the toponym Myos Hormos—i.e., which came first—is not clear. And in this regard, the three later sources that preserve the writings of Agatharchides offer contradictory information (see above, pp. 13–14). Thus Diodorus (3.39.1) mentions Aphrodite's Harbor. Strabo (16.4.5, following Artemidorus) says the port was called both Myos Hormos and Aphrodite's Harbor. Photius (*Biblio.* 250.81 [ed. Henry]) specifies that it was first called Myos Hormos and later (the port) of Aphrodite. If Agatharchides, who lived c. 215—post 145 B.C., had actually referred to Myos Hormos, this would indicate the port already existed under one of the early Ptolemies; see also n. 4. In any event, this port of Aphrodite should be distinguished from the island of Aphrodite recorded by Ptolemy

(4.5.35) and from the Ethiopian city of that name mentioned by Stephanos (s.v. "Aphrodite").

2. Re **the relative location of the islands:** Photius *Biblio.* 250.81 (ed. Henry) has *Ἐφεξῆς δὲ λιμὴν μέγας ἐκδεχέται, ὃς πρότερον μὲν μυὸς ἐκαλεῖτο ὅρμος, ἔπειτα δὲ Ἀφροδίτης ὠνομάσθη. Ἐν οἷς καὶ νῆσοι τρεῖς εἰσι προκείσμεναι.* Diod. 3.39.1–2 says: *ὑπέρκειται δὲ τούτου νῆσοι τρεῖς.* Strabo 16.4.5 says: *προκεῖσθαι δὲ νήσους τρεῖς.*

3. Compare the journey from Koptos to BERENIKE Trogodytika, which, according to Pliny, took twelve days (*NH* 6.103).

For a **commentary on Strabo 17.1.45 and Pliny NH 6.102–3** see Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 3–13. For **ostraca** (first cent. A.D.) found at Koptos recording mercantile relations with Myos Hormos and BERENIKE Trogodytika see, for example, *O. Petr.* 220–304; below, n. 6 (the Nikanor Archive) and LAODIKEIA by the Sea, n. 4.

4. For the **assertion that Myos Hormos was founded by Ptolemy II** see, for example, Tarn, *JEA* 15 (1929) 22; Peacock, *JRA* 6 (1993) 226; see also Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 2–3. Burstein (*Agatharchides,* 136 n. 1), noting (a) the fact that the toponym was not derived from a royal name and (b) the silence in the Pithom Stele regarding Myos Hormos, suggested this was "not an official Ptolemaic foundation, but one that developed because the experience of sailors along the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea demonstrated its usefulness as a port." It is interesting to note, incidentally, that one of the arguments against the claim that APOLLONIA in Cyrenaica was a Ptolemaic foundation is the fact that its name is not derived from the dynasty.

For the suggestion that "Myos Hormos" reflected the Hellenizing of **an Egyptian toponym** see De Romanis, *Cassia,* 147–50; Brun in *Myos Hormos,* 189.

5. For **Abu Sha'ar** see, for example, Kees, *RE* s.v. "Myos Hormos"; Fabricius, *Periplus,* 115; Woelk, *Agatharchides,* 195; Murray, *GJ* 133 (1967) 32; Kirwan, *GJ* 147 (1981) 82; id. in *Pre-Islamic Arabia,* 57; Meredith, *TIR Coptos;* Casson, *Periplus,* 96; contra: see, for example, A. Tchernia, *Topoi* 3 (1993) 526. For the earlier literature see references cited in Sidebotham et al., *JARCE* 26 (1989) 131–33; Sidebotham, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 774–75 nn. 2–3. For the result of excavation at Abu Sha'ar see Sidebotham, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 773–78.

Desanges (*Recherches,* 270) had reservations about the Abu Sha'ar/Myos Hormos equation; he observed in 1978 that "aucune certitude ne sera acquise tant que nous posséderons pas une preuve épigraphique." In fact, since that time a number of epigraphic discoveries with topographic implications have been made; on this, see below. For the results of fieldwork at Abu Sha'ar see S. Sidebotham, *JARCE* 31 (1994) 133–58. In favor of the identification of Myos Hormos with Abu Sha'ar the following points have been noted: (a) based on the information in Ptolemy the latitude of Myos Hormos has been calculated at 27° 30', which agrees with the latitude of Abu Sha'ar; (b) the "red mountain" may be identified with the Shayib el-Banat, 2,237 meters high, which rises behind Abu Sha'ar; (c) the three islands may be identified with Jubal, Tawila, Shadwan islands in the Strait of Jubal; (d) the fountain Ainos may be identified with the water source at Bir Abu Sha'ar, 5 km north of Abu Sha'ar. An ostracon that was found at the watering station at el-Heita on the Abu Sha'ar–Qift road (*SB* VI 9166) was dated palaeographically by D. Meredith to the second century B.C. (D. Meredith, *CE* [1956] 360–62). If correctly dated, it would provide evidence for activity at the station during the Ptolemaic period and perhaps (by extension) at Abu Sha'ar. Against the identification we may note the following:

i. H. Cuvigny argued convincingly (in *Mélanges Étienne Bernand* [Besançon, 1991] 194) that the ostracon found at el-Heita should be dated to the Imperial period.
ii. The information in Ptolemy regarding the site of Myos Hormos would place it much farther away from Berenike than the 1,800 stades (i.e., 320 km) mentioned by the *Periplus*. Note, however, that the information in Ptolemy is not always correct or reliable.
iii. "Red" mountains are common along the Red Sea coast (Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 135 n. 2, citing G. Schweinfurth, *Zeitschrift für Allgemeine Erdkunde* n.s. 18 [1865] 135, and H. Kees, *RE* s.v. "Miltodes Mons").
iv. There are more than three islands in the Jebel Zeit archipelago.
v. Abu Sha'ar is actually 2,550 stades (not 1,800, as given by the *Periplus*) from Berenike.
vi. The road from Abu Sha'ar on which el-Heita is located reaches the Nile at Qena (ancient Kainepolis), 20 km downstream from Qift (Koptos). In the late first century B.C., at least, Koptos—not Kainepolis—was the main Nile terminus for trade from Myos Hormos (Strabo 17.1.45; see also Pliny *NH* 5.60). As Reddé and Golvin ask, we may wonder why merchants coming from Abu Sha'ar would go farther upstream to Koptos when the overland route from Abu Sha'ar actually reached the Nile at Kainepolis. In fact, based on surface survey, Sidebotham suggested that the Abu Sha'ar–Qena road was not a commercial road in the same manner as the Quseir al-Qadim–Qift (Koptos) or the Berenike–Qift/Edfu road. Rather he speculated that it was used to facilitate the transportation of stones from the quarries at Mons Porphyrites and Mons Claudianus, as well as communication and the movement of troops. In short, Sidebotham does not believe this is the road that Strabo (17.1.45) described. (For the Abu Sha'ar–Qena road see S. E. Sidebotham et al., *AJA* 95 [1991] 571–662; *Rom. Front. Cong. XV,* 494–96.)
vii. Most significantly, Sidebotham noted that a survey of the area found no significant evidence for human habitation other than at the abandoned fort at Abu Sha'ar, which dates to the fifth–seventh century A.D., and at the smaller Bir Abu Sha'ar. He also remarked that no evidence for a commercial port has been found (*Archaeology* [July–August 1989] 59; *Rome and India,* 17–19; *JARCE* 26 [1989] 130–31; 31 [1994] 156–58; *Arabie préislamique,* 203–5; *Rom. Front. Cong. XV,* 494; *DOP* 48 [1994] 268–75). As a result, he rejected the identification of Abu Sha'ar with Myos Hormos.

For **Ras Abu Soma** see, for example, Müller, *GGM,* 1: 167–69; Schoff, *Periplus,* 52; for **Safaga** see J. Couyat, *CRAI,* 1910, 527–28; L. B. Fanfoni, *Aegyptus* 77 (1997) 53–59.

6. For **Quseir** as the site of Myos Hormos see, for example, Huntingford, *Periplus,* 86; Desanges, *Recherches,* 269; A. Bülow-Jacobsen et al., *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 27–42; see also D. Whitcomb, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 747–61; and J.-P. Brun in *Myos Hormos,* 190 (the Ptolemaic settlement). In support of the identification of Ptolemaic Myos Hormos with Quseir, Whitcomb also called attention to the blocks of a Ptolemaic temple that were discovered by A. E. P. Weigall at "the older Kossair" (*Travels in the Upper Egyptian Desert* [London, 1909] 61, 81). Whitcomb pointed to four hieroglyphic inscriptions on the blocks. While the reading of the inscriptions is disputed, Whitcomb noted that the stones do seem to indicate a temple of the goddess Hathor, that Hathor was identified with Aphrodite, and that Myos Hormos was also known as Aphrodite's Har-

bor. Note, however, Peacock's observation that "it appears that these fragments were reused in the buildings of modern Quseir . . . , but in the absence of other antiquities at Quseir there is a strong possibility that they were robbed from Quseir al-Qadim" (*JRA* 6 [1993] 232; incidentally, Sidebotham could no longer find any traces of a temple [*Erythra Thalassa,* 53]).

M. Reddé and J.-C. Golvin (*Karthago* 21 [1987] 61–63) and D. P. S. Peacock (*JRA* 6 [1993] 226–32) had argued for **Quseir al-Qadim** as the site of Myos Hormos. In favor of Quseir al-Qadim it was noted that (a) according to the *Periplus* (1) it is 1,800 stades from Myos Hormos to Berenike; in fact, this is the distance (i.e., 320 km) from Berenike to Quseir al-Qadim; (b) the channel is curved; (c) Quseir al-Qadim is the closest of the Egyptian Red Sea ports to the Nile; in this connection we may note that the Nikanor Archive (an archive from Koptos, dating to between 6 B.C. and 68/9 A.D., of a family transportation business) contains receipts for goods sent to Red Sea ports (*O. Petr.* 220–304, on which see M. Rostovtzeff, *Gnomon* 7 [1931] 21–26; A. Fuks, *JJP* 5 [1951] 207–16; D. Meredith, *CE* 31 [1956] 356–62; Sidebotham, *Erythra Thalassa,* 50–51; K. Ruffing, *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 12 [1993] 1–26; Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 274–75); the only ports recorded in the extant part of the archive are Koptos (in 30 ostraca) and Myos Hormos (in 28 ostraca); (d) the blocks of the Ptolemaic temple that were found by Weigall (see above) suggested, according to Peacock (*JRA* [1993] 231) that Quseir al-Qadim was Myos Hormos. Against the identification of Quseir al-Qadim and Myos Hormos (a) Whitcomb had argued that there are no offshore islands nearby (*Topoi* 6 [1996] 758–59); however, in a private communication D. S. P. Peacock kindly informs me that the three islands are to be found in the sabkha area; (b) a number of scholars had also argued that aside from a single, worn bronze coin of Ptolemy III and the blocks of the Ptolemaic temple, no archaeological evidence had yet been uncovered for habitation in the Hellenistic period (G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 [1925] 142; R. E. Zitterkopf and S. E. Sidebotham, *JEA* 75 [1989] 171; Sidebotham, *AJA* [1991] 573); however, the discovery by the Southampton excavators of some Ptolemaic coins and pottery in the sabkha area (see above) would appear to meet this concern.

7. For the **two fragmentary texts** that were found at Quseir al-Qadim in the course of the University of Chicago excavation there in 1978–1982 that contained possible references to Myos Hormos (as well as the possible mention of Leukos Limen), see LEUKOS LIMEN, n. 2.

8. For the **ostraca found at el-Zerqa** on the Qift–Quseir road see A. Bülow-Jacobsen et al., *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 27–42. For the discovery of (unpublished) **ostraca inscribed ὁδὸς Μυσορμιτική** (K005) and the **ostracon mentioning the transport of wood** (K315) see Bülow-Jacobsen in *Fringe,* 65–66 (no date given).

On the **Qift–Quseir road** see Bernand, *Koptos,* 1–37; J.-C. Golvin and M. Reddé, *CRAI,* 1986, 172–96; R. E. Zitterkopf and S. E. Sidebotham, *JEA* 75 (1989) 171–89; M. Reddé and T. Bauzou in *Arabie préislamique,* 485–90; A. Bülow-Jacobsen et al., *BIFAO* 95 (1995) 103–24; id. in *Fringe,* 63–74; J.-L. Fournet, *BIFAO* 95 (1995) 173–233 (map on p. 209); J. Leclant and G. Clerc, *Orientalia* n.s. 66 (1997) 329–31; n.s. 67 (1998) 411–12; Leclant and Minnault-Gout, *Orientalia* n.s. 68 (1999) 414–15; n.s. 69 (2000) 302–4; Bülow-Jacobsen in *Myos Hormos,* 399–426; and BERENIKE Trogodytika, n. 4. On **el-Zerqa** see Golvin and Reddé, *CRAI,* 1986, 182–83; Zitterkopf

and Sidebotham, *JEA* 75 (1989) 176–77; J.-P. Brun, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 685–95; J. Leclant and G. Clerc, *Orientalia* n.s. 65 (1996) 331–32.

9. For the **papyrus and ostracon mentioning Myos Hormos** that were found at Quseir al-Qadim by the Southampton excavators see Peacock, www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/Quseir/, and select Interim Reports for the 1999 and 2000 Seasons: Written Material.

In general, on the **site of Myos Hormos** see, for example, Lesquier, *Armée,* 435 n. 1; Peacock, *JRA* 6 (1993) 226–32; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 134 n. 34; Reddé and Golvin, *Karthago* 21 (1987) 59–63; for a map see *TIR Coptos.* For a brief history of modern attempts to identify the site of Myos Hormos see Cuvigny in *Myos Hormos,* 14–23.

10. For **Ptolemaic Myos Hormos** see Peacock et al., www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/Quseir/Interim reports 2000/Introduction. Earlier, Meyer had mentioned (*Glass,* 4) that a few Ptolemaic fragments were found at the site (of Quseir al-Qadim) and recalled A. Weigall's claim that some inscribed blocks were found at the town of Quseir (see above, n. 6). As a result, she suggested that the Ptolemaic port was located in the vicinity of Quseir. Cuvigny (in *Myos Hormos,* 190) also pointed to the inscribed blocks to support her suggestion that Ptolemaic Myos Hormos might have been located at Quseir. Sidebotham noted (in *Arabie préislamique,* 205) that there is no evidence the port at Quseir al-Qadim existed or functioned in the Ptolemaic period. In a private communication he suggested that during the Ptolemaic period Quseir was the site of Myos Hormos and that, as a result of silting in the harbor in the late Ptolemaic/early Roman period, the port was subsequently moved to Quseir al-Qadim, which he also identified with LEUKOS LIMEN.

11. For the **grid plan** at Quseir al-Qadim see Meyer, *Glass,* 5; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 214; id. in *Rome and India,* 27. On the other hand, in a private communication David Peacock kindly informs me that the evidence suggests a much more rambling town with narrow curved streets. For a plan of the site see Whitcomb and Johnson, *Quseir al-Qadim, 1980,* plate 1; and Meyer, *Glass,* 6–7; for a photograph see *Quseir al-Qadim, 1978,* fig. 1.

12. For the **Roman harbor and the amphorae** see Peacock et al., www.arch.soton.ac.uk/Research/Quseir/, and select Interim reports 2000, 2001, 2002: Introduction and The harbour area.

13. *Periplus,* 96–97.

NECHESIA

Ptolemy, who lived in the mid-second century A.D., is our only extant literary source for Nechesia (4.5.14–15, ed. Nobbe). He mentions it after ARSINOE, KLYSMA, MYOS HORMOS, PHILOTERA, and LEUKOS LIMEN and before BERENIKE.[1] We do not know who founded it or the exact location. Meredith provisionally placed it in the bay of the Wadi Mubarak; Sidebotham tentatively suggested it was at Mersa Nakari. Furthermore, he suggested that a road connected Nechesia—via Rod el-Buram, Barramiya, and el-Kanaïs—to Edfu.[2] A season of survey and excavation at Mersa Nakari has provided evidence for activity during the first century A.D. ("and perhaps earlier") and the fourth century.[3]

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In general see Kees, *RE* s.v. "Nechesia"; G. W. Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 142–43; D. Meredith, *JEA* 39 (1953) 103 and n. 1; *Dizionario* s.v. "Nechesia"; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 207; id., *Erythra Thalassa,* 3, 49–50.

1. For the order of the settlements in the enumeration of **Ptolemy** see ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 1.

2. For the **location** see Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 142; Meredith, *JEA* 39 (1953) 103 and n.1 (survey of other opinions) and map, p. 96.

For the equating of Nechesia with Mersa Nakari and the road from there to Edfu see Sidebotham, *Rom. Front. Cong. XVI,* 505; and Bagnall et al., *CE* (1996) 317–30, esp. 320. Note, however, that Sidebotham acknowledged that survey work had only recovered Roman pottery (first/second and mid-fourth/fifth centuries A.D.); nevertheless, he speculated that "an original Ptolemaic foundation for the port is probable."

3. For the **results of survey and excavation** at Mersa Nakari see J. A. Seeger, *JARCE* 38 (2001) 77–88.

PHILOTERA

According to Strabo (16.4.5) Philotera was founded by Satyros, who was exploring the Troglodytic country in search of elephants.[1] We do not know exactly when this happened.[2] This Satyros is probably identical with the Satyros who made a dedication to Arsinoe Philadelphos at the Paneion at el-Kanaïs after 268 B.C.[3] Strabo also says it was named for the sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos.[4] The Pithom Stele may contain a reference to Arsinoe and Philotera (ll. 20–21): "After these things [i.e., after the sixteenth year—270/69 B.C.] His Majesty went to Kemuer; he founded there a large city to his sister with the illustrious name of the daughter of King Ptolemy; a second abode was built likewise to his sister."[5] Pliny, who calls this settlement "Philoteriae," adds (*NH* 6.168) that it was also called Aenum, and describes it as a "small town." Ptolemy (4.5.14, ed. Nobbe) notes that it had a harbor. We do not know the precise location of Philotera.[6]

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In general see *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Philotera 1"; Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 23–25; Murray, *JEA* 11 (1925) 142; id., *GJ* 133 (1967) 26; Tcherikover, *HS,* 14; Kees, *RE* s.v. "Philoteras 1"; PM 7: 338–39; Desanges, *Recherches,* 268; Sidebotham in *Arabie préislamique,* 205; id., *Erythra Thalassa,* 3, 49–50; Hofmann, *Wege,* 86–87; *Dizionario* s.v. "Philotera"; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 129, 139, 150.

1. Neither Diodorus nor Photius mentions Philotera. This prompted Jehan Desanges to suggest (in a private communication) that Strabo's source, Artemidorus, did not get this information from Agatharchides. The latter's silence regarding Philotera (in the extant texts) remains problematic. For other **literary references** to

Philotera see Pomp. Mela 3.80 ("Philoteris"); Stephanos s.v. "Philotera." For letters on ostraca mentioning *proskynema* offered to Philotera (possibly at the like-named port) in the second century A.D. see A. Bülow-Jacobsen et al., *BIFAO* 94 (1994) 32–33, nos. II.3–4 and III.5.

On the **Ptolemaic interest in elephants and the Red Sea elephant-hunting stations** see Scullard, *Elephant,* 123–45 and map on p. 129; L. Casson, *TAPA* 123 (1993) 247–60; and PTOLEMAIS Theron, n. 2.

2. Regarding the **date of the founding,** Tarn (*CQ* [1926] 99) argued—unconvincingly—that Satyros established Philotera before the marriage of Ptolemy II to Arsinoe II, which he dated to 276/5 B.C. On the other hand, Kortenbeutel (*Osthandel,* 24) claimed that Philadelphos decided to employ elephants in his army as a result of the First Syrian War (274–271 B.C.). Thus he claimed that he could not have founded Philotera before 271 B.C. Fraser (*Alexandria,* 2: 300) argued that "the city was founded after the death of both Philotera and Arsinoe, i.e., after 270" (though he admitted that the dedication to Arsinoe "unfortunately cannot be dated beyond doubt to the period after her death . . . but it looks to be of that date" [305]). Casson (*TAPA* 123 [1993] 248) thought this happened around 270 B.C.

3. On **Satyros** see Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 25; Däbritz, *RE* s.v. "Satyros 7"; Desanges, *Recherches,* 268; Casson, *TAPA* 123 (1993) 248; *Pros. Ptol.* 184, 16551. For the **dedication by Satyros to Arsinoe found at el-Kanaïs,** which was a station on the road from Edfu to BERENIKE, see *OGIS* 30 (= Strack, *Dynastie,* no. 26 = Bernand, *Le Paneion,* no. 9). This Satyros is probably not the same person as the like-named architect of Ptolemy II mentioned by Pliny (*NH* 36.67); see further, Dittenberger ad *OGIS* 30 and Bernand, *Le Paneion,* p. 43. For the dating of the dedication to after 268 B.C. see Bernand, *Le Paneion,* p. 43. Grzybek's suggestion that Arsinoe II died in 268 rather than 270 B.C. (*Du calendrier macédonien au calendrier ptolemaïque* [Basel, 1990] 103–12; followed by H. Hauben, *CE* 67 [1992] 160–62) has not met with general acceptance; see, for example, L. Criscuolo, *Aegyptus* 71 (1991) 286–88; M. Minas in *Aspekte Spätägyptischer Kultur,* ed. M. Minas and J. Zeidler (Mainz, 1994) 203–9; Thompson, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Arsinoë II Philadelphus."

4. On Ptolemy's sister, **Philotera,** see, for example, R. Pfeiffer, *Kallimachosstudien* (Munich, 1922) 14–37; Tarn, *CQ* (1926) 99–100; Kortenbeutel, *Osthandel,* 23–24; Volkmann, *KP* s.v. "Philotera." For **two other similarly named settlements** see PHILOTERIA in southern Syria and PHILOTERA in Lycia; note also Philoteris in the Arsinoite nome.

5. For the **Pithom Stele** see above, ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS, n. 4, and ARSINOE Trogodytika, n. 4.

6. For the possible **location** of Philotera see, for example, G. W. Murray (*JEA* 11 [1925] 141–42), who placed it on the coast at Mersa Gawasis; see also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 300; and A. M. A. H. Sayed, *CE* (1983) 34.

G. W. Murray (in J. Ball, *Egypt,* 184–85) originally placed Philotera at Mersa Gawasis. Later he suggested that somewhere inland in the Wadi Gawasis was the site of Aenum, which Satyros renamed Philotera. D. Meredith (*JEA* 38 [1952] 105 and 39 [1953] 101–2 and 101 n. 3; followed by Desanges, *Recherches,* 268) sited Philotera at Mersa Gawasis and Aenum 14 km west in the Wadi Gawasis; i.e., Meredith suggested that Philotera was the port city for Aenum. Fraser also located Philotera at Mersa Gawasis but questioned Meredith's separation of it from Aenum (*Alexandria,* 2: 300);

for a map see *TIR Coptos* 9c. Casson (*TAPA* 123 [1993] 248) located Philotera at about latitude 26° 30' North (approximately 70 nautical miles south of the entrance to the Gulf of Suez). Sidebotham (*Erythra Thalassa,* 50) remarked only that the location of Philotera is "debated." In any event, the various suggested locations of Philotera would place it parallel to the point where the bend of Nile River north of Koptos brings it to within 160 km of the Red Sea.

On Mersa Gawasis ("Harbor of the Spies") and the Wadi Gawasis see H. Frost, *Topoi* 6 (1996) 869–902.

PTOLEMAIS THERON

According to Strabo (16.4.7) Ptolemais was founded on behalf of Ptolemy II Philadelphos by Eumedes.[1] It was founded for the purpose of hunting elephants in the nearby hunting grounds.[2] Strabo adds that Eumedes successfully won over the local inhabitants who initially opposed his enclosing the hunting grounds.[3] Pliny (*NH* 6.171) gives some of the same information but also says that it was located near Lake Monoleus, that it was called Ptolemais epi Theras, and that it was 602 miles from BERENIKE. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (3), which probably dates to the mid-first century A.D., describes Ptolemais as a small trading station that did not have a harbor, only a refuge for small boats (*σκάφαις . . . τὴν ἀποδρομήν*), and says it was called Ptolemais Theron (*Πτολεμαὶς ἡ τῶν θηρῶν*). It adds that Ptolemais was the base of operations for royal huntsmen and a port of trade for tortoise shells and, occasionally, ivory.[4] The Pithom Stele, which is dated to between 270/69 and 265/4 B.C., describes the founding of Ptolemais as follows (ll. 22–24): "He [Eumedes?] navigated towards the coast of the Red Sea; he arrived at Khemtit, the end of the land of the Negroes . . . he brought provisions to the king . . . on his return he steered towards the island in the Lake of the Scorpion. He brought all the things which are agreeable to the king and to his sister his royal wife. He built a great city to the king with the illustrious name of the king, the lord of Egypt. And he took possession of it with the soldiers of his Majesty and all the officials of Egypt and the land of . . . ; he made there fields and cultivated them with ploughs and cattle; no such thing took place from the beginning. He caught elephants in great number for the king and he brought them as marvels to the king, on his transports on the sea."[5]

A graffito that was apparently from the region of Redesîeh on the east bank of the Nile (c. 50 km west of the Paneion of el-Kanaïs in Upper Egypt) and is dated palaeographically to the third century B.C. contains a dedication to Pan, "affording a good hunt" (*εὔαγρος*).[6] The dedication was made on the dedicator's return to the "harbor of Ptolemais" (*εἰ[ς λιμ]ένα Πτολεμαΐδος*) from the land of the Trogodytes. It is likely that this refers to Ptolemais Theron and that the dedicator was sailing north after having completed a hunting expedition.

Although there is agreement on the general location of Ptolemais—on the African coast between 19° and 18° latitude—the site has not yet been definitely identified. The weight of scholarly opinion, however, places it at the modern Aqiq.[7]

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In general see J. W. Crowfoot, *GJ* 37 (1911) 529–47; Treidler, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 8, Ptolemais Theron"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 14; C. Conti Rossini, *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 5–10; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 304; Desanges, *Recherches,* 272–74; Casson, *Periplus,* 100–101; id., *TAPA* 123 (1993) 248, 255; Cockle, s.v. *OCD*[3] s.v. "Ptolemais (3) Theron"; De Romanis, *Cassia,* 20, 129, 139.

1. For mention of **Ptolemais in the literary evidence** see, for example, Agatharchides frags. 86, 107; unplaced frag. 3 (both Diodorus's [3.11–48; on Ptolemais see especially 3.18, 40] and Strabo's [16.4.5–20] accounts of the Red Sea are derived from Agatharchides, the former directly, the latter indirectly via Artemidorus; see further, Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 21–29); Strabo 2.5.36 (= Hipparchus frag. 46, ed. Dicks); Pomponius Mela 3.80; Ptolemy (ed. Nobbe) 1.8.1 ("Ptolemais Troglodytika"), 4.7.7 ("Ptolemais Theron").

2. The literature on the Ptolemaic interest in hunting **elephants** is extensive; see, for example, M. Rostovtzeff, *Archiv* 4 (1908) 301–4; W. Krebs, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Universität Rostock, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe* 17 (1968) 427–47; J. Desanges in *Actes du Quatre-vingt-douzième Congrès National des Sociétés Savants, Strasbourg et Colmar 1967: Section d'archéologie* (Paris, 1970) 31–50; Scullard, *Elephant,* 123–37; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 177–80, 2: 303–9; Hofmann, *Wege,* 98–111; Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 7–9; Casson, *Periplus,* 108; id., *TAPA* 123 (1993) 247–60.

3. An inscription found on a rock east of the temple of Wadi Abâd near el-Kanaïs (Bernand, *Le Paneion,* no. 9bis [not seen by Bernand]) records a thanks offering made by Dorion, a carpenter who was part of the elephant-hunting party headed by Eumedes (ll. 1–4). To the left of the inscription was a drawing of an elephant. It is quite probable that the **Eumedes** mentioned in the inscription is the person mentioned by Strabo as the founder of Ptolemais. See also Willrich, *RE* s.v. "Eumedes 7"; *Pros. Ptol.* 4420; and Bernand, *Le Paneion,* 45.

4. On **tortoise shells and ivory** see Casson, *Periplus,* 101–2, 108.

5. For the **Pithom Stele** see above, ARSINOE/KLEOPATRIS, n. 4. See also Desanges, *Recherches,* 273.

6. For the **dedication to Pan** see F. W. Householder and D. W. Prakken, *TAPA* 76 (1945) 108–16; Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques,* no. 164 (= *Le Paneion,* no. 8; note that the graffito is in a private collection in New York and that its exact provenience is not known; for the suggestion that it came from the vicinity of Redesîeh see Householder and Prakken, *TAPA* 76 [1945] 114–15.). On the land of the Trogodytes and on the Trogodytes see K. Jahn, *RE* s.v. "Trogodytai"; Householder and Prakken, 111; Casson, *Periplus,* 98–99; and BERENIKE Trogodytika, n. 2.

7. The suggestions for the **location** focus on three sites: (a) Aqiq (Crowfoot, *GJ* 37.5 [1911] 529–34; Murray, *GJ* 133 [1967] 26; Hofmann, *Wege,* 89–94; Burstein, *Agatharchides,* 144 n. 2; Cockle, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Ptolemais [3] Theron"); (b) Trinkitat (Trei-

dler, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 8," 1879–80; Woelk, *Agatharchides,* 203–4); (c) Ras Maqdam (Treidler, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 8"; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 304). Burstein brought four points in favor of Aqiq: (a) Crowfoot, who sailed in the area, reported finding a piece of Greco-Roman molding at Aqiq (see *GJ* [1911] 534, "Hellenistic"); (b) Ptolemais was located south of the mouth of a branch—the Baraka—of the Atbara River (Strabo 16.4.8; in fact, the headwaters of the Baraka are near those of the Atbara); (c) it is described by the *Periplus* (3) as a small trading station that did not have a harbor, only an *ἀποδρομή*; (d) the coast turns eastward after Ptolemais.

In general see Casson, *Periplus,* 101 and map 3 on p. 95.

VII

EGYPT

EUERGETIS

Two papyri acquired by the University of Trier and published in 1997 revealed the existence of a previously unknown city, Euergetis.[1] The papyri are, respectively, the rough and final drafts of a document dated to 132 B.C. that is concerned with the grant of a *stathmos* to Tanoupis, daughter of Tpheophis in Euergetis. Of the four personal names mentioned in the document three—Tanoupis, Tpheophis, and Petosiris—are Egyptian. The fourth, Paniskos, is a Greek theophoric name that may mask the name of an Egyptian deity, Min. The document describes Euergetis as a *polis* that is in the process of being founded by Boethos (*κατεμετρήθη σταθμὸς ἐν τῆι κτιζομένηι πόλει Εὐεργέτιδι ὑπὸ Βοήθου,* ll. 3–4).[2] The document refers to Boethos as the *suggenes, epistrategos,* and *strategos* of the Thebaid and then specifically refers to Boethos as the founder (*κτίστης,* l. 5). Boethos, incidentally, was also the founder of PHILOMETORIS and KLEOPATRA.[3] The military character of the foundation is made clear by the fact that Tanoupis was permitted to leave her property only to relatives or persons having a military status (l.10). In this connection, we may recall that Boethos's sphere of responsibility included a region that posed serious security risks to the Ptolemies.

Tanoupis, who was an innkeeper, received the *stathmos* in full ownership (*ἔχειν κυρίως τὴν κτῆσιν ἰδιόκτητον. ἐξέσται δ' αὐτῆι ἀπολείπειν ἐγγόνοις καὶ τῶι ἰδίωι ἀνδρὶ κτλ.,* ll. 8–9). The *stathmos* is described as a dwelling place (*οἰκητήριον*), though Kramer suggests it was also a tavern and a little shop.[4] The text stipulates that no *ἐμβαδάν* tax is to be paid.[5]

The papyrus mentions "the square agora" (l. 17). This suggests that there may have been more than one agora at Euergetis.[6] We do not know the location of Euergetis; however, the fact that Boethos was *strategos* of the Thebaid suggests it might have been in that region.[7]

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In general see B. Kramer and H. Heinen, "Der *κτίστης* Boethos und die Einrichtung einer neuen Stadt, I & II," *Archiv* 43 (1997) 315–39, 340–63; Heinen in *Politics,* 123–51.

1. For the **papyri** (*P. UB Trier* S 135–3, the rough draft; *P. UB Trier* S 135–1, the final draft) see Kramer, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 328–31.

2. For ***poleis*** in Egypt and in the Red Sea basin see H. Cadell, *Ktema* 9 (1984) 235–46; Heinen in *Politics,* 128–29.

3. On **Boethos** see, for example, Heinen, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 340–50; id. in *Politics,* 123–51. For other examples of Ptolemaic **nonroyalty founding a settlement** see, in addition to Philometoris and Kleopatra, PHILOTERA on the Red Sea, PTOLEMAIS Theron, and ARSINOE in Cilicia. For Seleucid and other examples see ANTIOCH in Mygdonia, EDESSA/ANTIOCH on the Kallirhoe, DOKIMEION, DOURA EUROPOS, and THEMISONION.

4. On the ***stathmos*** and its status as private property see Kramer, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 321–23, 325–26.

5. The ***ἐμβαδάν*** tax is nowhere else attested; it is, however, probably to be equated with the *ἐμβαδικόν,* a tax paid on the purchase of land; see further, Kramer, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 324–25.

6. On the **agora** see Kramer, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 327–28.

7. **Location.** In the *Dizionario* Calderini identified six different places named Euergetis. Subsequently, in Supplement 1 to the *Dizionario,* he combined various attestations and concluded there were three places with this name, in the Arsinoite, Lykopolite, and Kynopolite nomes; see also N. Litinas, *Archiv* 40 (1994) 143–55.

i. The Arsinoite. "Euergetis" apparently replaced "Krokodilopolis" as the toponym for the main city of the Arsinoite nome shortly after the death of Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II in 116 B.C. (*P. Tebt.* I 14 and 26; both 114 B.C.). Normally, however, the name is found as "Ptolemais Euergetis" rather than simply as "Euergetis"; it is found in the papyri from the late second century B.C. to the fourth century A.D. (For the toponym "Ptolemais Euergetis" see, for example, Riad, *Arsinoé,* 19 and references cited in n. 1; Oates, *BASP* [1975] 13–14; and especially the references cited in Casarico, *Aegyptus* [1987] 159, 166–67.) Note, however, a papyrus that probably dates to 135/4 B.C. that refers to *Εὐεργέτις ἡ πρὸς Κροκοδίλων πόλει* (*PSI* XIII 1310.22); this suggests a village of that name adjacent to Krokodilopolis. In any event, the fact that Boethos's *provincia* was farther south argues against his being the founder of this settlement.

ii. The Kynopolite. A possible identification is offered by the *polis* of Euergetis mentioned in *P. Köln* 55.4 (238–44 A.D.[?]) and *BGU* XIII 2234.7–8 (219 A.D.), which Litinas placed in the Kynopolite nome.

iii. The Lykopolite. A Euergetis near Lykoplis (*Εὐεργέτις ἡ κατὰ Λύκων τὴν λαμπρὰν πόλιν*) is attested in a papyrus dated to 300 A.D. (*SB* IV 7338.1). Support for the identification of this Euergetis with the Euergetis founded by Boethos is the fact that in the same lot of papyri as *P. UB Trier* S 135–3 and S 135–1 there was another papyrus also dated to 132 B.C. (*P. UB Trier* S 132–5). This document is concerned with the affairs of a slave *ἐν Ἀνταίου πόλει τῆς Θηβαίδος*. One of the *gnosteres* mentioned in the document is a Lichas son of Herakleios, *Πέρσης τῶν Βοήθου πεζῶν κληρούχων*. Furthermore, we may note that Antaiopolis is closer to Lykopolis than to Kynopolis. Heinen identified the Lykopolite Euergetis as the town founded by Boethos, but also noted that the Kynopolite town could not be excluded as a candidate.

In general see the discussion of N. Litinas, *Archiv* 40 (1994) 143–55; Heinen, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 359–61; id. in *Politics,* 139–43.

KLEOPATRA

See PHILOMETORIS.

PARAITONION

The *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle* (*P. Oxy.* I 12, col. V.1–5), which probably dates to the first or second century A.D., and two other sources—Hieronymus (124,

ed. Helm²) and the *Alexander Romance* (1.31, ed. Kroll)—tell us that on the way to visiting the oracle of Ammon at Siwah, Alexander the Great founded a city, Paraitonion.[1] Furthermore, the *Alexander Romance* preserves an aetiological story to explain the toponym: Alexander saw a deer and called on one of his archers to shoot it. The archer missed, whereupon Alexander remarked that his bow was ill strung, that is, *παράτονος*. As a result the town was called Paratone. According to Strabo (17.1.14) and Stephanos s.v. "Paraitonion" the city was also called Ammonia.

Arrian (3.3.3) does mention that before visiting the oracle of Ammon Alexander marched along the coast as far as Paraitonion. However, he says nothing about Alexander founding a settlement there.[2]

According to Diodorus (1.31.2) Paraitonion was one of only two good harbors on the Egyptian coast; the other was ALEXANDREIA. Strabo (17.1.14) says it was 1,300 stades from Alexandreia; the *Stadiasmus* (19; *GGM,* 1: 434) gives the figure as 1,550. Paraitonion was located at the site of the modern Mersa Matruh.

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In general see E. B. James, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Paraetonium"; Droysen, *Hist.,* 2: 668; H. Kees, *RE* s.v. "Paraitonion"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 8–9; Jones, *CERP*², 305–6; *Dizionario* s.v. "Paraitonion"; D. White in *Archaeological Research,* 61–81.

1. For other **literary references** to Paraitonion see, for example, Ps.-Scylax 107 (*GGM,* 1: 82); Plutarch *Anton.* 69; Pliny *NH* 5.39; Flor. 2.21.9; Ovid *Meta.* 9.773, *Amores* 3.390; Lucan *Phars.* 3.295; Pomp. Mela 1.40 ("portus Paraetonius"); Ptolemy 4.5.3; Ammianus 22.16.5; Stephanos s.v. "Paraitonion"; *Itin. Anton.* 72.4 ("Parecomo," ed. Cuntz); Procop. *De Aed.* 6.2; Justinian *Edict.* 13.18; Hierokles 733.5; George of Cyprus 787c; and Kees, *RE* s.v. "Paraitonion." For **papyrological references** to Paraitonion see, for example, *P. Oxy.* III 653, IX 1221.5–6, XVI 2032.70; *P. Tebt.* II 508.

2. Droysen (*Hist.,* 2: 668) included Paraitonion among those settlements "que l'on dit avoir été fondées par Alexandre." Tcherikover (*HS,* 8–9), who was skeptical about the historicity of this foundation tradition, suggested that—somewhat like ILION—there might be a reference here to Alexander's intention to implement some future improvement for the city. Jones (*CERP*², 305) noted that Paraitonion was "stated by several inferior authorities to have been founded by Alexander"; he cited the *Alexander Romance* and Hieronymus.

PHILOMETORIS

A dedication to Ptolemy VI Philometor and Kleopatra (*OGIS* 111 = *Dynastie* 95 = *FHN* 141), which dates to between 152 and 149 B.C., refers to Boethos as the founder of two cities in the Triakontaschoinos, Philometoris and KLEOPATRA ([*κτί*]*στου τῶν ἐν τῇ*[*ι*] *Τριακονταςχοίνωι πόλεων Φιλομητορίδ*[*ος*] *καὶ Κλεοπάτρας*, ll. 9–10).[1] Neither of these cities is mentioned in any other

extant source. We do not know the exact location of either city. Boethos also founded EUERGETIS.[2]

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In general see Tcherikover, *HS,* 12; H. Heinen, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 343–44; id. in *Politics,* 129–51.

1. For the **possible time frame for the founding** see Heinen, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 343–44.

2. For **Boethos** see Kramer and Heinen, *Archiv* 43 (1997) 316–17, 340–49; and Heinen in *Politics,* 129–39.

PTOLEMAIS IN THE THEBAID

An inscription dated to the mid-second century A.D. from Philae refers to Ptolemy I Soter as the founder of Ptolemais. There is also evidence for a cult of Soter at Ptolemais.[1] Strabo (17.1.42) described Ptolemais as the largest city of the Thebaid; he added that it was no smaller than Memphis and that its constitution was in the Greek manner (*σύστημα πολιτικὸν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ τρόπῳ*). The papyrological and epigraphic evidence bears out Strabo's observation about the government.[2]

From the Hellenistic period we have evidence, for example, for decrees passed by the *boule* and *demos* (*OGIS* 47, etc.; *SEG* 20: 665; *SB* IV 7286), for the *ekklesia* (*OGIS* 48.10), *prytaneis* and *prytaneion* (*OGIS* 48.2, 49.13–14, 50.4), *agones* (*OGIS* 49.14), *agonothetes* (*SB* IV 7286.3), *grammateus* (*OGIS* 49.16, 728.3–4), *archiprytanis* and *gymnasiarch* (*SB* I 2264.5–7), *dikastai* (*BGU* VI 1249.6), *dikasteria* (*OGIS* 48.14), tribes and demes (*OGIS* 49.15; *P. Amherst* II 36.4), and the use of Macedonian month names (e.g., *OGIS* 51.17).[3] A fragmentary inscription that apparently was from Ptolemais records a copy of Imperial date of a decree voted by the *boule* and *demos.*[4] The decree is concerned with a "Greek city" (*πόλιν Ἑλληνίδα*) that was apparently founded by Ptolemy Soter. The fact that (a) *Πτολεμα̣*[ίδα] is mentioned in line 3 of the inscription and (b) the stone was said to have come from south of Cairo combine to suggest strongly that the city in question can only have been Ptolemais. The surviving part of the decree contains a reference to the introduction—after the initial founding—of new settlers to the city. These new settlers apparently were brought over from the Peloponnese, northern Greece, and possibly other areas as well. We do not know when this refoundation took place. There was a garrison at Ptolemais. A stele found at Bir 'Iayyan, 97 kilometers east of Edfu on the Edfu–Barramiya road, records a distance marker from the Nile; it was set up in 257 B.C. by Rhodon son of Lysimachos from Ptolemais.[5]

In addition to the evidence for the worship of Ptolemy Soter (see above),

there also is evidence for the worship of Zeus (*OGIS* 103), Dionysos (*OGIS* 51), and Isis (*OGIS* 52). The latter is possibly to be identified with the temple of Isis that was made tax-exempt and inviolable (*Asylia,* 226 [46 B.C.] = *SB* I 3926 [76/5 B.C.] = *C. Ord. Ptol.*[2] 67 [75 B.C.]). Eponymous priests are attested at Ptolemais from the reign of Ptolemy IV to VIII. A sale document of 139 B.C. is so dated (*P. Grenfell* II 15.5).[6] In the cultural sphere there is reference to the existence of a theater (*OGIS* 49.8).

The name of the city is attested as *Πτολεμαὶς τῆς Θηβαίδος* (*BGU* VI 1249.6, 148/7 B.C.) and *Πτολεμαὶς ἡ ἐν Θηβαίδι* (*P. Oxy.* XXXIV 2723.3, third cent. A.D.), the ethnic as *Πτολεμαίεων τῶν ἐν Θηβαίδι* (*P. Fouad I* inv. 211, II.10–11, 160 A.D.). The toponym *Πτολεμαὶς ἡ Ἑρμείου* (*P. Oxy.* II 268.2, 58 A.D.; *CPJ* II 424.30, 87 A.D.; Ptol. 4.5.31) is also found in the Roman period. No satisfactory explanation has yet been offered for the latter name. Ptolemy (4.5.31) and an Oxyrhynchus papyrus (*P. Oxy.* XLIV 3198.1–2, second cent. A.D.) record the fact that Ptolemais was the metropolis of the Thinite nome.[7] There is no evidence that Ptolemais minted its own coinage.

Ptolemais was located at the site of a native village—Psoi—in Upper Egypt on the west bank of the Nile River below Akhmim at the site of the modern el-Manshâ.[8]

* * * *

In general see Helck, *RE* s.v. "Ptolemais 4"; G. Plaumann, *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (Leipzig, 1910); Tcherikover, *HS,* 11–12; Bevan, *Ptolemy,* 104–8; Gauthier, *Dict.* s.v. "nch(i)t" [3: 105]; Noshy, *Arts,* 7–8; Scherer, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) 66–73; P. M. Fraser, *Berytus* 13.2 (1960) 123–33; Jones, *CERP*[2], 305; *Dizionario* s.v. "Ptolemais he Hermeiou"; Shenouda, *PECS* s.v. "Ptolemais Hermiou"; Cockle, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Ptolemais (2) Hermiou."

1. For the **inscription from Philae** see *I. Philae* 166 (= Strack, *Dynastie* 9 = *CIG* 4925); see also the fragmentary *SEG* 20: 665.2–3 and Fraser's comments (*Berytus* 13.2 [1960] 128–29, 131). For the **cult of Soter at** Ptolemais in the Roman period see *P. Lond.* III 604B.115, 118 (p. 80; 47 A.D.); *IGR* 1: 1153; *SB* IV 7396 ([?], from Edfu) and *SB* VIII 9820 (see below, n. 4; second cent. B.C.); *P. Fouad I* inv. 211 = Scherer, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) 46–48). See also Scherer, 71–73; C. Habicht, *Gott.*[2], 123; Bernand, *I. Philae,* p. 162; and Fraser, *Berytus* 13.2 (1960) 128–29 and n. 18.

2. For other **literary references** to Ptolemais see, for example, *Itin. Anton.* 158.3 ("Ptolomaida," ed. Cuntz); Hierokles 731.8. For the many **papyrological references to Ptolemais** see *Dizionario* s.v. "Ptolemais he Hermeiou."

3. On the **tribes and demes** of Ptolemais see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 20–25. On the **magistrates of Ptolemais** see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 17–20. For two *ekklesiai* at Ptolemais (*OGIS* 47) see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 9–11. For the survival of Greek political institutions into the Roman period see *P. Fouad I* inv. 211; J. Scherer, *BIFAO* 41 (1942) 66–71.

4. For the **fragmentary inscription from Ptolemais** P. M. Fraser, *Berytus* 13.2 (1960) 123–33 = *SEG* 20: 665 = *SB* VIII 9820.

A fragmentary papyrus dating to c. 265 B.C. (*P. Hibeh* I 28 = *Chrest. W.* 25) contains constitutional regulations that may refer to Ptolemais rather than to ALEXANDREIA. However, given the state of the document, it is not possible to ascribe it with certainty to a particular city (for example, Plaumann [*Ptolemais,* 22] believed that—if it referred to an Egyptian city—it referred to Alexandreia; see also J. Seyfarth, *Aegyptus* 35 [1955] 3–17; contra: Fraser, *JEA* 42 [1956] 110). Cockle (*OCD*[3] s.v. "Ptolemais [2] Hermiou") has suggested that another fragmentary papyrus (*P. Lille* 29 = *Chrest. M.* 369, third cent. B.C.) may contain part of the municipal law code.

5. For the **garrison** see *P. Amherst* II 36 (c. 135 B.C.); *P. Grenfell* I 42 (= *Chrest. W.* 447, second cent. B.C.); *P. Merton* I 5 (149–35 B.C.). For the **inscription found at Bir 'Iayyan** see R. Bagnall, *CE* 142 (1996) 320–27.

6. For the **eponymous priests** in Ptolemais see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 47–49; id., *RE* s.v. "Hiereis"; Otto, *Priester,* 1: 160–63, 193–96; Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 191, 198; Ijsewijn, *De Sacerdotibus,* 122–25; Clarysse and van der Veken, *Priests,* 40–52.

On the **religious life** at Ptolemais see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 39–58; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 215–16, 2: 365–66. There is also evidence from the Roman period for the worship of Asklepios (*IGR* 1: 1154, Trajan). In addition, R. S. Bagnall has demonstrated that *P. Oxy.* VI 984 is a census register from Ptolemais that was drawn up in 91/2 A.D. (in *Studies Quaegebeur,* 1093–1101). All of the theophoric names mentioned in the list—with the exception of Herakles—were native and attested locally. For the temple in honor of the *Theoi Soteres* recorded in *IGR* 1: 1151 (80/1 A.D.) see P. Scherer, *BIFAO* 41 [1942] 71–72 (Ptolemy Soter and his wife, Berenike, rather than the Dioskouroi).

7. For Ptolemais in the **Thinite nome** see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 82–83. According to Hierokles (731.8) Ptolemais was in the eparchy of the Thebaid; George of Cyprus (771) referred to Ptolemais as the metropolis of the Thebaid.

8. For the **location** of Ptolemais see E. Bernand, *I. Philae,* pp. 161–62 and n. 13. The site has not been excavated.

On the **evidence for Ptolemais in the Imperial period** see Plaumann, *Ptolemais,* 69–114.

VIII

ALEXANDREIA NEAR EGYPT

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Alexander the Great founded Alexandreia in 331 B.C.[1] The site he chose was located approximately 75 kilometers northwest of Naukratis, at the western side of the Nile Delta, between Lake Mareotis and the Mediterranean.[2] According to Arrian, "it struck him that the position was admirable for founding a city there and that it would prosper. A longing for the work therefore seized him; he himself marked out where the city's marketplace was to be built, how many temples there were to be and the gods, some Greek, and Isis the Egyptian, for whom they were to be erected, and where the wall was to be built around it. With this in view he offered sacrifice, and the sacrifice proved favourable. . . . Alexander desired to leave the builders outlines of the fortifications, but had no means of marking the ground. One of the builders, however, had the happy thought of collecting the meal which the soldiers carried in vessels, and of dropping it on the ground wherever the king indicated. In this way was the circle of the surrounding wall . . . marked out" (3.1.5–2.1, trans. Brunt).[3] The *Alexander Romance* records the names of two persons who assisted the king in the founding: Kleomenes of Naukratis and <Deinokrates> of Rhodes (1.31.6, ed. Kroll).[4] The latter was the architect for the new city. According to Ps.-Aristotle (*Oecon.* 1352a29–30) Alexander commanded Kleomenes to found the city near the island of Pharos; furthermore, he ordered Kleomenes to transfer to the new settlement the *emporion* at Canopus. In addition, Kleomenes transferred the priests and the men of property. These, of course, would soon be joined by Greeks, Macedonians, and others. How much actual work was done in Alexander's lifetime is not clear. In any event, Tacitus recorded a tradition that Ptolemy I Soter added to the walls, temples, and religious rites of Alexandreia (*Hist.* 4.83.1).

In the past it had generally been accepted that Alexandreia was founded on the site of a native village named Rhakotis. In support of this, scholars pointed to various Greek and Latin literary sources, beginning with Strabo, which made this claim.[5] In fact, Michel Chauveau has demonstrated that "Rhakotis" was not a proper noun, but rather the Hellenized form of the Egyptian R ʿ-qd and that it meant "under construction" or "building site." In short, it was one of the ways the native Egyptians referred to Alexandreia.[6] On the other hand, a papyrus dated to the third century B.C. (*P. Ryl.* IV 576) attests to the fact that the Greeks used the term "Rhakotis" to refer to a quarter of the city.

It was probably in the late fourth/early third century B.C. that a mole—the Heptastadion—was built between the new settlement and the offshore island of Pharos.[7] This, in turn, resulted in the creation of two harbors, the Great Harbor and the Eunostos.[8] The outstanding feature at the entrance to the Great Harbor was the great lighthouse—built in the first quarter of the third century B.C.—on the island of Pharos. Excavation in the waters near

the likely site of the lighthouse has revealed, among other things, the fragments of five colossal Egyptianizing statues: one has been identified as that of Ptolemy II, another as that of his sister-wife, Arsinoe. The statues were found side by side, at the foot of their bases; that is, they were found nearly in situ.[9]

From various literary sources and in particular Strabo, who visited the city in the latter part of the first century B.C. and left a reasonably detailed description, we know of the existence of numerous structures and monuments at this time. For example, Strabo says the shape of Alexandreia was like a *chlamys;* he then mentions (17.1.8–10) the lighthouse on Pharos, the Heptastadion, the two harbors, the royal palaces, the Mouseion, the Sema, the Timonion, the Kaisarion, the *emporion,* the theater, the Poseidion, the Sarapion, the *gymnasion,* the *dikasterion,* the Paneion, and the Hippodrome; the latter was known as the Lageion (*Etym. Gudianum* col. 360, ed. Sturz).[10] Elsewhere we find mention of a *stadion* (Polyb. 15.30.4), an agora (Arrian 3.1.5), and the *akra,* as well as the Royal Library and the Sarapion Library (see below).[11] Nevertheless, most of these ancient structures have either disappeared or are inaccessible. This is because of, among other things, the later history of the area, modern building construction, or land subsidence; the remains of many ancient structures that were on the coast are now underwater, while others that were in the interior of the city are now below groundwater level.[12]

The city was surrounded by a wall in the Ptolemaic period, and the streets were laid out on a grid plan.[13] In the Ptolemaic period Alexandreia was divided geographically into five quarters that were represented by the letters *A* to *E*.[14] According to the *Alexander Romance* (1.32, ed. Kroll), Alexander himself marked out the boundaries of the quarters. In any event, the earliest extant reference to one of the quarters dates to 221 B.C. (*P. Enteux.* 8.7). Alexander was ultimately buried in Alexandreia; nevertheless, attempts to identify the burial place—the Sema—have thus far been unsuccessful.[15]

From as early as the third century B.C. we encounter the distinction between Alexandreia and Egypt itself (the *chora*), and by the middle of the second century B.C. we find reference to the city as "Alexandreia near Egypt."[16] However, there is no evidence that at this time the city was considered to be juridically distinct from the rest of Egypt. The population of the city may be divided into two large categories, Greeks and non-Greeks (native Egyptians, foreign immigrants [e.g., Jews, Syrians, etc.], and slaves).[17] The Alexandreian citizens were organized into tribes, demes, and phratries. It would appear—based on a papyrus of c. 265 B.C., which probably refers to Alexandreia—that there were 5 tribes, 60 demes, and 720 phratries. It has been suggested that the five tribes corresponded to the five quarters in the city.[18] Three tribal names are known: the dynastic names Berenike and Ptolemais, as well as Dionysia.

Practically all the extant deme names derive from names of divinities or heroes (Olympian gods, Dionysiac titles, Greek mythological figures associ-

ated with Egypt, and heroes with ties to the Argead and Ptolemaic houses) or cult titles drawn from the Ptolemaic house. In addition, a few demotics—derived from historical figures or topographical locations—are also attested.[19] In addition to those individuals with demotics, there is evidence for other persons who were called simply Ἀλεξανδρεύς; it is not entirely clear whether persons so designated in the Ptolemaic period were full or partial citizens.[20] The phratries were apparently small divisions of the city, associated with the division into streets.[21] In addition to the urban core of Alexandreia there was also the Alexandreian *chora* that extended beyond.[22]

A fragmentary inscription dated to the mid-third century B.C. records a decree that provides evidence for the existence of a *boule,* secretary of the council, *ekklesia,* a board of higher magistrates, an eponymous priest, and a college of *prytaneis.*[23] It is probable there was a *gerousia* as well.[24] Elsewhere we have evidence for a board of *tamiai,* as well as for *hierothytai* and *gynaikonomoi.*[25] Finally, Strabo says that the magistrates in his days had also existed "under the kings" (17.1.12); these included the *exegetes,* the *hypomnematographos,* the *archidikastes,* and the Night General. The *exegetes* is also attested in inscriptions of the later Ptolemaic period.[26] A royal official "in charge of the city" (ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως) is attested in the third century B.C. and later. This was a civilian rather than a military appointment. In addition, there was a garrison.[27] It would appear that a mint at Alexandreia actively produced tetradrachms as early as 326/5 or 325/4 B.C. Subsequently, Ptolemy I Soter minted coins at Alexandreia.[28]

In his description of Alexandreia Strabo mentions the gymnasium, which he describes as "most beautiful" (17.1.10) and as having a colonnade that was more than a stade long. In fact, there were a number of gymnasia in Ptolemaic Alexandreia. Thus a Tebtunis papyrus dated to 124 B.C. (III.1 700.37), as well as Caesar (*Bell. Alex.* 13.2) and Appian (*Bell. Civ.* 5.11), mentions the presence of gymnasia *(sic)* there.[29]

There has been some discussion regarding Alexander's motives in founding the settlement.[30] For example, Bosworth emphasized the military factor: there was no citadel in the west to compare with Pelousion in the east. Tarn thought the new foundation was intended to replace the recently destroyed Tyre as a "great trade emporium" and that it would also serve to maintain a link with the Aegean. Ehrenberg also suggested that Alexandreia was intended to replace Tyre and to be the capital of the "First Empire." Fraser pointed to the economic factor: Alexandreia provided the western Delta coast with a secure harbor that could challenge the mercantile primacy of Naukratis. Alexandreia was, of course, an important port city. In addition to being a manufacturing center, it also served as the major import/export center of Egypt for products going to and from the interior of the country and as the major transshipping point for goods traveling via the Nile River to and from the Red Sea ports. A number of sources point to the economic con-

siderations that underlay the establishment of the city. Aristotle observed that Alexander had ordered Kleomenes to found Alexandreia and to transfer to it the market that had previously been held at Canopus (*Oecon.* 1352a30). At the very founding of Alexandreia one of the prophecies regarding the city's future said that it would be "prosperous in general, but particularly in the fruits of the earth" (Arrian 3.2.2, trans. Brunt). And Strabo described Alexandreia as "the greatest emporium in the inhabited world" (17.1.13). Among other products and mercantile items at Alexandreia we may mention shipbuilding, glass, pottery, papyri, grain, and unguents. Evidence for overseas trade may be seen, for example, in the (mainly) Rhodian amphoras dating to the Hellenistic period that were discovered in the course of underwater excavation in the sea near the site of the ancient lighthouse. There is also evidence for banks and banking activities.[31]

The precise size of the population is difficult to estimate.[32] Diodorus—who flourished in the mid- and latter part of the first century B.C./early first century A.D. and who claimed to be relying on official information—estimated the free population of Alexandreia was 300,000 (17.52.6). It is not clear if this number included women and children. Strabo, who lived at the end of the first century B.C./early first century A.D., would appear to suggest a figure of approximately 500,000–600,000. In any event, Diodorus also said that "it is generally reckoned the first or second city of the inhabited world." Elsewhere he observed that "many reckon it to be the first city of the civilized world, and it is certainly far ahead of all the rest in elegance and extent and riches and luxury. The number of its inhabitants surpasses that of those in other cities" (17.52.5 and 1.50.7, trans. Welles).

In the religious sphere, there is evidence—as Arrian observed (3.1.5)—for the worship of the Olympian and other Greek gods, as well as the "Egyptian" gods, especially Sarapis. Of the Olympian gods, the worship of Dionysos, Demeter, and Aphrodite in particular received royal support.[33] There is also evidence for a founder cult of Alexander and a (dynastic) cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies. The priests of the latter were eponymous priests. In addition, we know of, among other things, cults of individual dynastic members, such as that of Ptolemy Soter (the Ptolemaieia), Berenike (a temple—the Berenikeion), Ptolemy Soter and Berenike (the "Theoi Soteres"), Arsinoe Philadelphos (the Arsinoeia), Ptolemy Philadelphos and Arsinoe (the "Theoi Adelphoi"), and the commemoration of Philadelphos's birthday (the Basileia).[34] Although evidence is sparse, it is clear that—as was usual in Greek festivals—competitions and processions were an important part of the various cults. The best attested is, of course, the great procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos.[35]

The Ptolemies were much concerned about developing Alexandreia as a cultural center. To that purpose in the third century B.C. they patronized science and learning and built various institutions; the best known were the

Mouseion and the Library.[36] According to Strabo (17.1.8) the Mouseion as well as the Sema was located in "The Palaces" (*τὰ βασίλεια*). This area near the coast consisted of royal buildings, shrines, pleasure gardens, and so on. Extending out from here on Cape Lochias was another royal palace (Strabo 17.1.9).[37]

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In general see, for example, E. Breccia, *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* (Bergamo, 1922); Berve, *Alexanderreich,* 1: 292; *Dizionario,* s.v. "Alexandreia" and Suppl. 1 and 2; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I–II (1966); R. Cavenaile, *Ant. Cl.* 41 (1972) 94–112; Fraser, *Alexandria* (vol. 1: text; vol. 2: footnotes, which contain an extensive collection of primary [frequently quoted] and secondary sources); Shenouda, *PECS* s.v. "Alexandria"; Bowman, *Egypt,* 204–33; N. Hinske, ed., *Alexandrien; Studi Adriani;* G. Argoud, *Science et vie intellectuelle à Alexandrie* (Centre Jean-Palerne, Univ. de St. Étienne, 1994); M. C. J. Miller, *LGRC* s.v. "Alexandria" (bibliography); Bernand, *Alexandrie* and *Ptolémées;* H. Heinen in *Alexandrien,* ed. Hinske, 3–12; M. Saad el-Din et al., *Alexandria* (New York and London, 1993); *Studies Daoud;* Jacob and de Polignac, *Alexandrie;* A. Bernand and J.-Cl. Golvin, eds., *Alexandrie* (*Les dossiers d'archéologie* no. 201 [mars, 1995]); D. I. Sly, *Philo's Alexandria* (London and New York, 1996); Rathbone, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Alexandria (1)"; Empereur, *Alexandria;* Grimm, *Alexandria;* Goddio, *Cléopâtre;* Pfrommer, *Alexandria;* W. Kolataj, *EAAE* s.v. "Alexandria"; D. J. Thompson, *BSAA* 46 (2000) 73–79.

For the history of archaeological excavation at Alexandreia see, for example, Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 18–24; M. Rodziewicz in *Alexandrie entre deux mondes,* 38–48; Tkaczow, *Topography,* 15–19; A. Abd el-Fattah in *Commerce,* 37–53; Empereur, *Alexandria,* 19–33.

For the results of excavation see, for example, Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I–II (1966, 1963); Y. el Gheriani in *Alessandria,* 156–68; J. McKenzie, *The Architecture of Petra* (Oxford, 1990) 61–104, 123–26; Tkaczow, *Topography;* Empereur in *Les dossiers d'archéologie* no. 201 (mars, 1995) 82–87; id., *Alexandria;* id., *Alexandrina 1,* ed. Empereur (Cairo, 1998) 1–6 (bibliography); id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 25–39; La Riche, *Alexandria* (photographs); F. Goddio et al., *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters* (London, 1998); M. Sedge, *Discovering Archaeology* (March/April 1999) 38–46; see also the reports in *BCH, BIFAO,* and *Orientalia.*

1. The major **literary sources** for Alexandreia include Strabo 17.1.6–10 (description of Alexandreia; on which see especially Yoyotte, *Strabon*); Arrian 3.1.5–2.2; Diodorus 17.52.1–6; Ammianus 22.16.7–24; Achilles Tatius 5.1–6; *Alexander Romance* 1.31–32; Stephanos s.v. "Alexandreia." In general, for the literary sources see *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia"; and A. Bernand in *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters,* 59–138. For the relatively few inscriptions see E. Bernand in *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters,* 143–45. For the founding of Alexandreia in the Arabic sources see, for example, R. Polignac in *Alexandrie entre deux mondes,* 55–63; and S. K. Harmaneh, "The Ancient Monuments of Alexandria According to Accounts by Medieval Arab Authors," *Folia Orientalia* 13 (1971[1972]) 77–92. Harmaneh also includes (pp. 93–110) a previously unpublished description of Alexandreia by Abu Abd Allah Muhammad b. Abd al-Mun'im al-Himyari in his work, *Ar-Rwad al Mi'tar* (twelfth cent. A.D.).

2. For the **site** of Alexandreia see, for example, Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 13–269; id., *Enciclopedia* s.v. "Alessandria" (bibliography); Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 7–37, 2: 13–111 (annotated bibliography on pp. 13–18); M. Rodziewicz in *Alexandrie entre deux mondes,* 38–48; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 88–94; Empereur, *Alexandria* (photographs).

See also the map of the ancient city by Mahmoud Bey (made in 1866) and other maps and plans in Breccia, *Alexandrea,* and in Adriani, *Repertorio* C.II (1963).

3. For the **founding** of Alexandreia see, for example, B. A. van Groningen in *Raccolta Lumbroso,* 200–11; V. Chapot in *Mélanges Glotz,* 1: 173–81; Cavenaile, *Ant. Cl.* (1972) 102–12; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 1–7, 134, 2: 1–28, 237–38.

For the story of the **use of barley meal for the outline of the site** see, in addition to Arrian, Strabo 17.1.6; Plutarch *Alex.* 26.5; Curtius 4.8.6 (who specifies that marking out the circuit of a new settlement with barley was a Macedonian custom); Val. Max. 1.4 ext. 1; *Itinerarium Alexandri* 49; *Fragmentum Sabbaiticum* (*FGrH* 151.11); *Alexander Romance* 1.32.2; Stephanos s.v. "Alexandreia." In general see Bosworth, *Comment.,* 1: 263–66; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 1–2; Green in *Alexandrianism,* 12. The use of meal to mark out the perimeter of the new settlement was echoed by Libanius in his account of the founding of ANTIOCH near Daphne (*Or.* 11.90); there he tells how Seleukos placed elephants where the towers would later be and marked out the streets with wheat.

It is **unclear precisely when Alexander founded Alexandreia;** i.e., was it before or after he visited the oracle of Ammon at Siwah? Briefly, there is an apparent conflict in the primary sources. The vulgate tradition (Diod. 17.52; Curtius 4.8.1–2; Justin 11.11.13; *Alexander Romance* 1.30–31) placed the foundation of Alexandreia *after* Alexander visited Siwah. On the other hand, Arrian (3.1.5) and Plutarch (*Alex.* 26.2–3) indicate that Alexander founded Alexandreia *before* he visited the temple of Ammon. Furthermore, Arrian records two views (3.4.5) regarding Alexander's return from Siwah: he says that according to Aristoboulos Alexander traveled back to Egypt "by the same road" (*ἀνέζευξεν ἐπ' Ἀἰγύπτου . . . τὴν αὐτὴν ὀπίσω ὁδόν*), but that according to Ptolemy he went "by another way, direct to Memphis" (*ἄλλην εὐθεῖαν ὡς ἐπὶ Μέμφιν*). We are concerned, therefore, with two (related) questions: (a) Did Alexander found Alexandreia before or after the visit to Siwah, and (b) after leaving Siwah where did Alexander go?

Arrian's version of events (which was based on Ptolemy) was formerly accepted by historians (see C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11 [1962] 271 n. 1: "Every historian of Alexander has mentioned or discussed the foundation of Alexandria, and if there is any who has failed to follow the statement of Ptolemy [in Arrian III, iv, 5] placing the event before the expedition to Siwah, I have not seen him. Since Droysen there has been unanimity on this point"). However, in the article published in 1962 Welles rejected Arrian's account in favor of the vulgate tradition (271–98; followed by E. N. Borza, *Historia* 16 [1967] 369; Hamilton, *Comment.* 67). Among other things he noted the following:

i. In accordance with Greek custom, Alexander must have consulted a god—i.e., the oracle of Ammon—before founding Alexandreia. This is something the *Alexander Romance* (1.30.6)—but not Ptolemy—mentions. On the other hand, Plutarch (who also followed Ptolemy's sequence of events) does introduce divine guidance to the founding. Thus he records how, in the course of founding the city, Alexander fell asleep at night and had a vision in which an old man recited

verses from the *Odyssey* referring to the island of Pharos (26.3, on which see Préaux, "Étrangers," 154 n. 1). (Cf., incidentally, the account of Alexander's alleged [re]founding of SMYRNA: the king fell asleep under a plane tree and Nemeses appeared to him, telling him to refound the city [Paus. 7.5.2–3].)

ii. Ptolemy probably did not visit Siwah. As a result, Ptolemy incorrectly said that Alexander went directly from Siwah via the desert to Memphis. In fact, according to Welles, Alexander could not have made the return journey as recounted by Ptolemy, i.e., via the desert to Memphis. Welles claimed there is no evidence such a route existed. As regards Ptolemy's alleged erroneous account, he remarked: "It is possible that he (Ptolemy) is wrongly quoted. It is possible that he knew nothing of the trackless wastes of the western Desert. It is possible that he wished to slur over Alexander's return from Siwah and to avoid further mention of Alexandria. It is likely in any case that Ptolemy gave very little space to the entire episode" (279).

iii. The date of the founding of Alexandreia and its birthday, 25 Tybi, corresponds to April 7 (on the Ptolemaic calendar; on the date see P. Jouguet, *REA* 42 [1940] 192–97). This would have been *after* the visit to Siwah. Furthermore, Alexander would have been at the (future) settlement site (i.e., Alexandreia) on the occasion of its official founding. Hamilton found this last point "most convincing" (*Comment.,* 67).

iv. Aristoboulos placed the visit to Siwah before the founding.

Fraser mounted a strong counterattack against Welles (*OA* 7 [1967] 23–30, esp. 30 n. 27; *Alexandria,* 2: 3; see also Cavenaile, *Ant. Cl.* [1972] 94–102; Fox, *Alexander,* 522). He pointed out that we don't know the actual route Alexander took back from Siwah to the Nile. Furthermore, he noted there are a number of eastward routes from Siwah that avoid the inhospitable Qattara depression; Bosworth agreed (*CQ* 26 [1976] 136; *Comment.,* 1: 274). Bosworth also remarked that in the winter travelers preferred the inland route because it avoided the rain and cold of the coastal route, and it was in the winter that Alexander visited Siwah. (On the region west of Alexandreia see M. Rodziewicz in *Commerce,* 93–103; Rodziewicz, however, does not discuss the question of Alexander's travels to and from Siwah.) Hence, Alexander might have taken an inland road back to Egypt. Of course, the question still remains, Did he go from Siwah to (the site of the future) Alexandreia, or did he go directly to Memphis? (Note that Curtius [4.7.4–5, 8.2] and Arrian [3.1.4, 4.3–5.1] mention two trips to Memphis: before the founding of Alexandreia and after the visit to Siwah. The *Alexander Romance* [1.34] places the trip to Memphis after the founding. On the other hand, neither Diodorus nor Plutarch nor Justin mentions a trip to Memphis either before or after the founding of Alexandreia.) Fraser also noted that it is unlikely that Ptolemy, on whose account Arrian's narrative is based, would have preserved an incorrect account of the founding. Finally, regarding the founding date, Fraser claimed that—calculated according to the Roman calendar—25 Tybi would be January 20. However, the 25 Tybi = 20 January equation has been effectively challenged by Bagnall (*AJAH* 4 [1979] 46–49, though see Green in *Alexandrianism,* 23 n. 98). In this connection, we should also note that Arrian says Alexander left Egypt in the early spring (3.6.1); whether this demonstrates that Alexander actually left Egypt before April 7, as Brunt (*Arrian,* 1: 467–68) claimed, is ques-

tionable. Bagnall has observed—correctly, I believe—that Arrian's remark should not be pushed for precision. It could also allude to a departure later in April.

Finally, we should consider Welles's claim that Aristoboulos placed the founding after the visit to Siwah. In fact, according to Arrian (3.4.5), Aristoboulos said only that Alexander returned to Egypt "by the same road." Where did he go? Bosworth answered that he retraced his steps to the coast and founded Alexandreia on the return journey (*CQ* 26 [1976] 136–38; *Comment.,* 1: 263–64). In this connection he also suggested a compromise solution: he noted that, according to Arrian (3.1.5), Alexander visited Lake Mareotis before founding Alexandreia. (What Arrian does not say is whether Alexander stopped at Pharos in the course of his trip around the lake.) Bosworth also pointed to Curtius (4.8.1–2), who says that Alexander "as he returned from Ammon, came to the Mareotic Lake, situated not far from the island of Pharos. Contemplating the nature of the place, he *had decided* to build a city on the island itself *(primum in ipsa insula statuerat urbem novam condere);* then, as it was apparent that the island was not large enough for a large settlement, he chose for the city the present site of Alexandria . . . and having left men to take charge of building the city, he went to Memphis" (trans. Rolfe; italics mine). Citing Curtius's use of the pluperfect, "statuerat," Bosworth suggested: "All that is necessary is to assume that Alexander was, as Arrian says, impressed by the site on his outward journey. On his return he laid the foundations for the new city" (*CQ* 26 [1976] 137–38; followed by Green in *Alexandrianism,* 23 n. 99; see also Bagnall, *AJAH* 4 [1979] 49 n. 15). In other words, before going to Siwah he had decided to build a city and to locate it on the island of Pharos; when he returned from Siwah he implemented his plan, not on Pharos but rather on the present site of the city.

In support of this reconstruction we might look again at Plutarch (*Alex.* 26.2–3). He gives the following information: (a) Alexander wanted to build a city that would bear his name; (b) the king was on the point of measuring and enclosing a certain site; (c) that night he fell asleep; an old man appeared to him in a vision and quoted these lines from the *Odyssey* (4.354–55): "Now, there is an island in the surging sea in front of Egypt, and men call it Pharos" (trans. Murray and Dimock); (d) Alexander rose up and went to Pharos; (e) "and when he saw a site of surpassing natural advantages (for it is a strip of land like enough to a broad isthmus, extending between a great lagoon and a stretch of sea which terminates in a great harbour), he said he saw now that Homer was not only admirable in other ways, but also a very wise architect, and ordered the plan of the city to be drawn in conformity with this site" (trans. Perrin). In other words, it would appear from Plutarch's narrative that Alexander first considered the island of Pharos but ultimately chose the site opposite it. Having said this, we should, however, note that if in the version preserved by Plutarch and Curtius (and probably Arrian) Alexander is portrayed as considering Pharos before choosing the site on the mainland opposite, the account in the *Alexander Romance* shows him having no such doubts. That is because according to the *Romance* the oracle of Ammon specifically told him to found his city "opposite the island of Proteus" (1.30.7). And once he had determined which was the island of Proteus, he could begin work.

In general see, Hamilton, *Comment.,* 67; Cavenaile, *Ant. Cl.* (1972) 94–102; Schachermeyr, *Alexander,* 253 and n. 287; Bosworth, *CQ* 26 (1976) 136–38; *Comment.,* 1: 263–64, 274; Brunt, *Arrian,* 1: 467–68; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 3; Yardley and Heckel, *Justin,* 156.

4. For **Kleomenes** and **Deinokrates** see Pliny *NH* 5.62 ("Dinochares"); Vitruvius 2 *Praef.* 1–4; Val. Max. 1.4, ext. 1; Amm. Marc. 22.16.7 ("Dinocrates"); *Alexander Romance* 1.31.6. On Kleomenes see also, for example, Berve, *Alexanderreich,* 2: 210; B. A. van Groningen, *Mnemosyne* (1925) 101–30; id., *Aristote: Le second livre de l'Économique* (Leiden, 1933) 183; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 4, 2: 4; P. Green in *Alexandrianism,* 14–16; G. Le Rider, *BCH* 121 (1997) 71–93 and literature cited in nn. 2–9.

5. For **Rhakotis as the site of the later Alexandreia in the Greek and Latin literary sources** see, for example, Strabo 17.1.6; Pliny *NH* 5.62; Pausanias 5.21.9; *Alexander Romance* 1.31.2 (ed. Kroll), which says there were sixteen villages (of which Rhakotis was one) on the site of Alexandreia (in his edition of the *Alexander Romance* Kroll obelized all the village names); Stephanos s.v. "Rhakotis"; Malalas 8.192 (*CSHB* XXVIII); also Tacitus *Hist.* 4.84. See also *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Rhakotis)"; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 240; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 5–6, 2: 7; Quaegebeur, *Lex. Ägypt.* s.v. "Rakotis."

6. Rhakotis is mentioned in the hieroglyphic **Satrap Stele,** which dates to 311 B.C. It states that Ptolemy I Soter "made his residence, whose name is 'the fortress of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Setepenkare-Meriamnon, son of King Alexander,' on the bank of the *Ouadj-our* of the *Haou-Nebou,* its prior (*hnt*) name being Rhakotis (*R-qd*)" (based on the French trans. of M. Chauveau in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 2; compare Bevan's translation [based on that given by Mahaffy and Bouché-Leclercq]: "made his residence the fortress of King Alexander . . . Alexandria it is called, on the shore of the Great Sea of the Ionians, Rhakoti was its former name" [*Ptolemy,* 30]). For other references to Rhakotis in hieroglyphic inscriptions see M. Chauveau in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 6. For Rhakotis in demotic documents see, for example, E. A. A. Jelínková, *JEA* 43 (1957) 53; *JEA* 45 (1959) 61, 63 n. 4; *P. Tebt. Tait.* 13.5, 9; J. W. B. Barns, *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 28 n. 24; Chauveau in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 4.

For the demonstration that **"Rhakotis" is the Hellenized form of the Egyptian R ʿ-qd** see Chauveau, *Egypte,* 77–78; and especially id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 1–10; supported by M. Depauw, *CE* (2000) 64–65. According to Chauveau, the ancient authors beginning with Strabo (and the modern historians who have followed them) misunderstood the term and believed it was the Egyptian name of the village that antedated the founding of Alexandreia. This would obviously remove a key piece of literary evidence for the presence of a native village at the site of the later Alexandreia. For the few pre-Hellenistic artifacts found at Alexandreia see PM 4: 2–6; see also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 6, 2: 8.

7. The construction date of the **Heptastadion** is not known. However, the story of the translation of the Septuagint in the *Letter of Aristeas* (301) apparently presupposes its existence. There we read how Demetrios of Phaleron *(sic)* led the translators across the mole to their quarters on the island. And the chronological setting for the *Letter* is the reign of Ptolemy II Philadelphos. Note, however, that there are problems with the purported date—and reliability—of the *Letter* (see below, n. 36; for other legends and traditions regarding the translation of the Septuagint, and the connection with the island of Pharos, see M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates* [New York, 1951] 73–84). In any event, Fraser concluded it is reasonable to expect that the Heptastadion was built in the late fourth/early third century B.C. (*Alexandria,* 1: 21).

Ammianus (22.16.9–10) mistakenly ascribed the construction of both the Heptastadion and the lighthouse on Pharos to Cleopatra VII (see also the *Chronicon*

Paschale 363 [*CSHB* IV] = *PG* 92, col. 472; Malalas 9.218 [*CSHB* XXVIII] = *PG* 97, col. 337; Kedrenos, *Hist. Comp.* P173 [*CSHB* XXIV.1: 304] = *PG* 121, col. 340). In this connection, Bernand suggested (*Alexandrie,* 119) that she repaired the lighthouse. In general see Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 220–21; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Heptastadion)"; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 21–22, 2: 56–57; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 48–49; A. Hesse in *Alexandrina 1,* 21–29.

8. There were actually two **harbors** at Alexandreia: the Great Harbor and the Eunostos (e.g., Strabo 17.1.9–10). In general, see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 17 (bibliography); Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 35–37, 46–47; id., *Ptolémées,* 46–48. For the results of underwater excavations in and outside the Eastern ("Great") Harbor see Goddio and Empereur cited above.

9. For the **lighthouse** on the island of Pharos see, for example, Strabo 17.1.6; for the sources see also *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Pharos)" and *I. Alexandrie* 3. In addition, see Kees, *RE* s.v. "Pharos 1"; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 114–26; id., *Ptolémées,* 49–53; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 17–20, 2: 42–54 (bibliography on p. 44); P.A. Clayton in Clayton and M.J. Price, *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (New York, 1989) 138–57; J.-Y. Empereur, *Le phare d'Alexandrie* (1998). For the probable location of the lighthouse at the site of the Fort Qai't-Bey see Empereur and N. Grimal, *CRAI,* 1997, 697; Empereur, *Le phare,* 35–37; id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 25–27; cf. the reservations of Bernand (*Alexandrie,* 371–72) and J. Yoyotte (in *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters,* 214). For the results of underwater excavation outside of Qa'it-Bey see Empereur and Grimal, *CRAI,* 1997, 693–712; Empereur, *Alexandria,* 82–87; id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 25–29.

For the **colossal statues** and for other Egyptianizing elements—the Aigyptika or Pharaonica—found at Alexandreia see Empereur, *Alexandria,* 64–81; id., *Le phare,* 86–95; id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 25–27; Empereur and N. Grimal, *CRAI,* 1997, 698–700; J. Yoyotte in *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters,* 199–220.

Posidippus, who lived in the third century B.C., said that Sostratos "built" or "set up" (ἔστησεν) the lighthouse (Posidippus XI, in Gow and Page, *The Greek Anthology,* 1: 169). Strabo (17.1.6) said that Sostratos "dedicated" (ἀνέθηκε) it. Pliny (*NH* 36.83), writing at the end of the first century A.D., was the first writer to call him an architect. And in the second century Lucian said that Sostratos had built (οἰκοδομήσας, *Hist. Conscr.* 62) the lighthouse. There is no agreement among scholars as to whether Sostratos acted as architect (so, for example, Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 50–53; C. Préaux, *Monde,* 222) or dedicant (so, for example, Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 19) of the lighthouse, or whether he was originally responsible only for the statue of Zeus Soter at the top of the lighthouse (so P. Bing in *Genre in Hellenistic Poetry,* ed. M.A. Harder et al. [Groningen, 1998] 21–29).

As for the date of construction, the *Suda* (s.v. "Pharos") says that Sostratos built/set up (ἀνέστησεν) the lighthouse when Pyrrhos had taken over the dynasty in Epirus, i.e., 297 B.C. (for the date see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 20, 2: 52). However, according to all the other extant evidence the lighthouse was built a decade or more later. Thus Eusebius dates it to 283/2 B.C. (*Chron.* p. 200, ed. Karst). Finally, inscriptions from Delphi and Delos that refer to Sostratos date from the period c. 280–270 B.C. (cited in Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 50–54). It is quite conceivable, as Fraser has suggested (*Alexandria,* 1: 20), that construction began in 297 and continued for approximately fifteen years.

In general see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 17–20, 42–54; F. Chamoux in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux,* ed. J. Bingen et al. (Brussels, 1975) 214–22.

10. In general see Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon,* nn. 96–123. For the lighthouse on Pharos, the Heptastadion, the two harbors, the royal palaces, the Mouseion, the Sema, the *emporion,* the Sarapion and the *gymnasion* see the various footnotes, above and below.

For the shape of the ***chlamys*** see F. B. Tarbell, *CP* 1 (1906) 283–89; K. Zimmermann in *The Hellenistic World,* ed. D. Ogden (Swansea, 2002) 23–40. For the ***dikasterion***: Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 168–69. The **Paneion:** Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 233; Yoyotte and Charvet, *Strabon,* n. 121. The **Hippodrome:** 3 Macc. 4.11, 5.46, 6.16 (note, however, the serious questions regarding the historicity of the events described; see, for example, M. Hadas, *The Third and Fourth Books of Maccabees* [New York, 1953] 3–16; H. Anderson, *ABD* s.v. "Maccabees, Books of; Third Maccabees"; and id. in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. H. Charlesworth [New York, 1985] 2: 509–16, esp. 512–13); Plut. *Antony* 74, Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 167–68.

We may also note the various buildings and topographic monuments of Ptolemaic date that Strabo does *not* mention: e.g., the *bouleuterion, prytaneion, stadion,* Akra, and agora. See further, Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 30–31.

11. For the ***stadion*** see also Polyb. 15.32.2, 33.2, 8; Athen. 5.197c ("the city stadion") and Walbank, *Comment.,* 2: 490. This stadion should be distinguished from the hippodrome near Nikopolis mentioned by Strabo (17.1.10).

There are two extant references in the third century B.C. (*P. Hal.* 194–95, 215) to the **agora.** The fact that both references are in the singular has prompted the suggestion (e.g., Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 30) that at the time there was only one agora in the city. Furthermore, it is probably the same agora that Cassius Dio (50.5.2) says Antony and Cleopatra visited. Surprisingly, Strabo does not refer to the agora in the course of his description of the city, though he does mention an *emporion* (17.1.9).

Martin (*Agora,* 421–25) followed F. Noack's suggestion (*MDAI(A)* 25 [1900] 269–72) that there were two agoras: a commercial one near the port and a public place in the interior of the city. Bernand (*Ptolémées,* 65) suggested that in addition to the main city agora, there were other, secondary agoras in the various quarters of the city.

In general see, for example, Martin, *Agora,* 412–15; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 203–4; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Agora, Agoraion)"; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 30, 2: 96; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 70–72.

There are three extant references in a Hellenistic context to the **Akra**: Polyb. 5.39.4; *Letter of Aristeas* 181; Callixenus in Athenaeus 5.196a. It was apparently in or near the palace area. It is not clear whether this *akra* is the one mentioned in *P. Oxy.* XXII 2339.27 (first cent. A.D.). Note that the hill in the Rhakotis quarter was also called an *akra;* see, for example, Clement of Alex. *Protr.* 4.48.2; see also Aphthonius *Progymnasmata* 12 (38, ed. Rabe). In general see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 30–31, 2: 98–99; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Akra)"; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 204.

12. See, for example, M. Radziewicz in *Alexandrie entre deux mondes,* 38; M. Sedge, *Discovering Archaeology* (March/April 1999) 39; Empereur, *Alexandria,* 16 ("one frequently has to dig down ten metres or more to reach the installations of Alexandria's first citizens").

13. Both Arrian (3.1.5) and Diod. (17.52.2) indicate that Alexander laid out the

lines of the **city wall;** Tacitus (*Hist.* 4.83.1) says that Ptolemy I Soter added ("adderet") walls, temples, and cults. Callimachus (frag. 191.9–11, ed. Pfeiffer) provides the first extant attestation for the wall. Livy (44.19.11) also mentions the walls, this in connection with the invasion of Antiochos IV Epiphanes in 168 B.C. On the other hand, neither Strabo nor Caesar (in his accounts of the Alexandrine War; see *Bell. Civ.* 3.106ff. and *Bell. Alex.*) refers to the wall. Lucan's reference to the wall (*Phars.* 10.439–44) is, as Fraser noted, "purely conventional." Fraser remarked that no traces of the Ptolemaic perimeter have been positively identified (*Alexandria,* 1: 11–13, 2: 25–26); Empereur (*Alexandria,* 48–53) identified the outcropping in the Shallalat Gardens as the only surviving vestige of the Hellenistic wall.

The evidence for the **grid plan** is as follows. In the fourteenth century Abu al-Fida described Alexandreia as "built in the form of a chessboard" (see Harmaneh, *Folia Orientalia* 13 [1971] 79). In 1866 Mahmoud Bey uncovered streets that were clearly late Roman. As there was no major earthquake or total destruction of the city recorded in antiquity we may assume that the late Roman grid system uncovered by Mahmoud Bey was essentially a continuation of the Hellenistic city plan. On the other hand, the size and shape of the blocks that he discovered are quite different—square rather than rectangular—and were much larger (330 × 278 meters, as measured by Adriani) than those found at other Hellenistic settlements. Höpfner, following the investigations of Adriani, calculated the size as 310 × 277 meters (in *Akten XIII Kong.,* 275). Cf., for example, the city blocks at ANTIOCH near Daphne (112 × 58 m), LAODIKEIA by the Sea (112 × 57 m), and APAMEIA on the Axios (107 × 54 m).

In general for the **city plan** see, for example, R. Tomlinson in *Alessandria,* 236–40; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 13–45; Martin, *Urbanisme*², 116–18; W. Höpfner in *Akten XIII Kong.,* 275–85; M. Rodziewicz in *Alessandria,* 227–33; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 54–56; G. Grimm in *Alexandrianism,* 55–74. For a critical reassessment of Mahmoud Bey's work see J.-L. Arnaud, *BCH* 121 (1997) 721–33.

14. For the division of the city into **quarters** that were designated by the letters of the alphabet see, for example, Philo *In Flaccum* 55; Josephus *BJ* 2.488, *CAp* 2.35, *AJ* 14.115–17; Michael Bar Elias *Chronicle* 5.3 (J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Michel le Syrien* [Paris, 1899] 1: 113–15; see also P. M. Fraser, *JEA* 37 [1951] 103–8; C. Nicolet in *Mégapoles,* 245–52). The *Alexander Romance* (1.32) adds the delightful explanation that *A* was for *Ἀλέξανδρος*, *B* for *βασιλεύς*, *Γ* for *γένος*, *Δ* for *Διός,* and *E* for *ἔκτισε*. See also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 34–35; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 65; id., *Alexandrie,* 72–73; D. Hennig, *Chiron* 30 (2000) 594–611.

15. For **Alexander's tomb** see, for example, Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 229–37; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Soma, Sema)"; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 242–45; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 15–17, 2: 31–42; H. E. Tzalas, *GA* 5 (1993) 329–54; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 249–58; A. Adriani, N. Bonacasa, and P. Mina, *La tomba di Alessandro: Realtà, ipotesi e fantasie* (Rome, 2000); A. Chugg, *Greece and Rome* 49 (2002) 8–26; id., *AJAH* 2002 (2003) 75–108; Empereur, *Alexandria,* 145–53 ("Attempts to find the tomb at Alexandria itself have not been lacking. . . . In the last twenty-five years alone there have been more than fifteen of them" [146]). The latest extant reference to it is in connection with Caracalla's visit to the city in 215 A.D. (Herodian 4.8.9, on which see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 35–36; see also A. Chugg, *Minerva* 13 [2002] 35).

16. For the title **Alexandreia near Egypt** in the second century B.C. see Hypsik-

les *Anaphorikos* p. 36, l. 63 (ed. V. de Falco); in the mid-first century B.C. see *I. Didyma* 218.6–7 (= *OGIS* 193). See also Appendix IV.

17. According to Polybius, who was writing in the mid-second century B.C. and actually visited the city (34.14 = Strabo 17.1.12), there were three groups of inhabitants at Alexandreia: (a) "Egyptians," (b) "mercenaries," and (c) "Alexandrians," who, though "mixed," were "Greeks by origin and mindful of the culture common to the Greeks" (*τρίτον δ' ἦν γένος τὸ τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων . . . καὶ γὰρ εἰ μιγάδες, Ἕλληνες ὅμως ἀνέκαθεν ἦσαν καὶ ἐμέμνηντο τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἔθους*). On this passage see Walbank, *Comment.,* 3: 629–30; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 61–62, 2: 145.

The fragmentary papyrus that records regulations concerning the division of the citizen body (*P. Hibeh* I 28 = *Chrest. W.* 25) does not mention the name of the city in the surviving portion. Nevertheless, as Fraser points out (*Alexandria,* 1: 39), it is a reasonable assumption that the city in question is Alexandreia. (The other two possibilities are Naukratis and PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid. The former is an unlikely candidate because it is improbable that fresh regulations for its constitution would be drawn up at this late date. In favor of Alexandreia over Ptolemais is the fact that [a] the information it contains is congruent with what we know about Alexandreia from other sources, and [b] the number of divisions suggests we are dealing with a large city). See also J. Seyfarth, *Aegyptus* 35 (1955) 3–17.

For the various groups that made up the Alexandreian **population** as well as their organization see Fraser's important discussion (*Alexandria,* 1: 38–92, 2: 112–72; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 40–42).

The literature on the **Jews** in Ptolemaic Alexandreia is quite extensive. See, for example, Tcherikover, *HCJ,* 320–28, 409–15; id., *CPJ,* 1: pp. 1–47; Préaux, "Étrangers," 158–75; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 54–58, 2: 138; Kasher, *Jews in Egypt;* J. Mélèze Modrzejewski, *Les Juifs d'Égypte, de Ramsès à Hadrien* (1991) 78–80; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 42–44; Barclay, *Jews,* 27–47.

18. For the suggestion that **five tribes corresponded to the five quarters** in the city see, for example, Schubart, *Archiv* 5 (1909) 92, 100; J. Seyfarth, *Aegyptus* 35 (1955) 14–15; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 40.

For the **tribe names:** Berenike (*P. Tebt.* III.2 879.3); Ptolemais (*Life of Apollonius* in A. Westermann, *ΒΙΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ* [Brunswick, 1845] p. 50; C. Wendel, *Scholia in Apollonium Rhodium Vetera* [Berlin, 1935] p. 1; Callimachus *Ep.* 10 [ed. Pfeiffer]; see also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 113). A tribe name, Dionysia, is also attested (Satyrus, *FGrH* 631) but it is not clear whether this was a separate tribe or—more probably—the renamed Berenike (see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 121).

19. For the **demotics** see, for example, Schubart, *Archiv* 5 (1909) 84–92; *WB* 3: 276–79; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 43–46, 2: 115–27; Clarysse and Swinnen in *Studi Adriani,* 1: 13–15.

Examples of demotics derived from (a) names of divinities or heroes: (a.1) Olympian gods (e.g., Athenaieus—*SB* I 5021, second century B.C. [?]), (a.2) Dionysiac titles (e.g., Thoantis—Satyrus, *FGrH* 631, on which see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 120 and literature cited there), (a.3) Greek mythological figures associated with Egypt (e.g., Andromacheios [?]—*P. Petrie* III 1, col. 2.20, 237 B.C.), (a.4) heroes with ties to the Argead and Ptolemaic houses (e.g., Argeades—*P. Mich. Zen.* 66.35, 244 [or 245] B.C.); (b) cult titles drawn from the Ptolemaic house (e.g., Philadelpheios,

P. Petrie III 1, col. 1.18, 237/6 B.C.); (c) historical figures (e.g., Leonnatus, *SB* I 597.5, 216–205/4 B.C.); or (d) place-names (e.g., Eleusinios, *P. Petrie* III 4 frag. 2.6 238/7 B.C.; Satyrus, *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2465, frag. 3, col. 2.4–5).

Two points need to be made. First, demotics drawn from female members of the Ptolemaic royal house are attested for PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid. Fraser noted the absence of male names at Ptolemais and suggested a possible distinction was purposely drawn between Alexandreia and Ptolemais. In general, demotics taken from royal cult titles (e.g., Philadelpheios, Euergesios, Philopatoreios, Philometoreios, Epiphaneios) are more commonly attested for Alexandreia than demotics derived from royal names (e.g., Berenikeios); see further, Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 45–46, 2: 124–25. Second, the names attested for demotics at Alexandreia frequently correspond to toponyms for settlements in the Arsinoite nome; for example, Andromachis, Eleusis, Lysimachis, Philadelpheia, Philopator; see W. Schubart, *Archiv* 5 (1913) 88–89 n. 2; W. Clarysse and W. Swinnen in *Studi Adriani,* 15.

20. For the ethnic **Ἀλεξανδρεύς** see G. M. Cohen in R. Alem, S. Blum, G. Kastl, F. Schweizer, D. Thumm, eds., *Mauerschau: Festschrift für Manfred Korfmann,* 3 vols. (Remshalden-Grunbach, 2002) 1065–74.

21. For the association of the **phratries** with the streets see, for example, *P. Tebt.* III.2 879.5 (early second century B.C.?); Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 40 and 2: 113 (on the date).

22. For the **Alexandreian *chora*** see, for example, *P. Tebt.* I 5.98 (118 B.C.); *Alexander Romance* 1.31.5; see also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 41, 2: 114; A. Jahne, *Klio* 63 (1981) 63–103; Chauveau, *Egypte,* 53–54.

23. ***Boule.*** The question of the *boule* in Ptolemaic Alexandreia is a complex one. It is clear that in the Imperial period—from Augustus to Septimius Severus—the city did not have a council. The question is whether or not it had one in the Ptolemaic period, and, if it did, for how long. There are essentially six extant pieces of evidence that bear on the problem: *PSI* X 1160; *P. Lond.* VI; *Iscrizioni* 164; Cassius Dio 51.17; *HA, Severus* 17.2; Caesar *Bell. Alex.* 12.

I begin with the two papyri. Both are, in fact, more relevant to the question of the *boule* in Roman than in Ptolemaic Alexandreia. (In general see, for example, discussion and bibliography in Musurillo, *Martyrs,* 83–87; Delia, *Citizenship,* 115–24; M. el-Abbadi in *Studies Daoud,* 2–3). The first is a fragmentary papyrus of early Roman date, the "Boule Papyrus" (*PSI* X 1160 = Musurillo, *Martyrs* I = *CPJ* II 150 = *SB* IV 7448). This papyrus preserves an Alexandreian petition to a Roman emperor (Augustus? [or Claudius?]) for the grant of a *boule.* A surviving portion suggests the council should be annual and subject to scrutiny *(euthene).* Whether the Ptolemaic council was similarly organized we do not know. (On the "Boule Papyrus" see, for example, the discussion and references to the extensive literature in Rostovtzeff, *SEHRE*², 560–61; Musurillo, *Martyrs,* 83–88; intro. to *CPJ* 150; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 176; Delia, *Citizenship,* 117–20).

The second papyrus is Claudius's letter to the Alexandreians (*P. Lond.* VI = *CPJ* II 153). In the letter the emperor says: "About the Council, what your custom was under the old kings I cannot say [I have nothing to say] (*περὶ δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ὅ τι μέν ποτε σύνηθες ὑμεῖν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων οὐκ ἔχωι λέγειν*), but that you did not have one under the emperors before me, you are well aware" (*CPJ* 153.66–68, trans. Tcherikover). Unfortunately, this document provides no firm information about the Alex-

andreian *boule* in the Ptolemaic period. It could be argued that the document indicates the Alexandreians had a *boule* under the "ancient kings" (*ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων*)—whatever that precisely means—but later lost it (so P. Viereck, *Aegyptus* 12 [1932] 215); but this is speculative. In fact, all that Claudius asserts is that the status of the *boule* under the "ancient kings" was in doubt.

There is fragmentary epigraphic evidence for both a *boule* and an *ekklesia* in the third century B.C. A lacunose inscription dated to this period records a decree that provides evidence for the existence of a *boule,* secretary of the council, *ekklesia,* a board of higher magistrates, an eponymous priest, and a college of *prytaneis* (*Iscrizioni* 164 = *SB* I 3996 = Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 173 n. 3 = *I. Alexandrie* 40). But the inscription in question *is* very fragmentary. In fact, the very attribution of the decree to Alexandreia was previously subject to some discussion, as was the question of its provenience. (Regarding the provenience: Botti [*Catalogue des monuments exposés au Musée Gréco-Romain d'Alexandrie* (Alexandria, 1901) 261] claimed it was Alexandreia; Wilhelm at first claimed the stone was Rhodian and had been brought by chance to Alexandreia [*Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* (Vienna, 1909) 323] but soon withdrew the suggestion [in G. Plaumann, *Klio* 13 (1913) 486–87]; see also Fraser, *JEA* 48 [1962] 150; id., *Alexandria,* 2: 173. Nevertheless it is now generally agreed that it is Alexandreian. Thus in line 8 we read [*τὴν πόλιν τὴν Ἀλεξανδ*]*ρέων,* a strong indication that this is Alexandreian in origin; see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 173.)

The references to the *boule* are, however, complete restorations. Thus in line 2 we read [. . . . . *τοῦ Ἀπο*]*λλοδώρου γραμματε*[*ύοντος βουλῆς, πρυτα*]*νέων* and in lines 4–5 we read [*ἔδοξε τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι*] *δήμωι, πρυτά*[*νεων γνώμη.* To quote Fraser, these restorations are "inevitable in view of the formula and the length of the lacuna; not only is the Council the natural body to appear here, but the supplement is in both cases of precisely the right length and an alternative supplement such as *γερουσίας* and *τῆι γερουσίαι* is both too long and irreconcilable with the fact that the decree is also passed by the demos. The restoration is, of course, of cardinal importance, and it is important to emphasize that it is virtually certain" (*Alexandria,* 2: 173–74). This, however, is our only extant attestation for a *boule* in Ptolemaic Alexandreia. (There are extant two other pieces of evidence that are concerned with the government of Ptolemaic Alexandreia: *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2465 [Satyrus] and *SB* VI 8993. Unfortunately, neither provides any useful information about the constitution or the magistracies; see also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 94, 225, 2: 174–75, 374). If we accept *Iscrizioni* 164 as evidence that there was a *boule* in third-century B.C. Alexandreia—as I think we should—then we must next ask whether it continued to function throughout the Ptolemaic period.

Cassius Dio (51.17.2) gives the following information: Augustus (a) prohibited the Alexandreians from belonging to the senate in Rome and (b) ordered them to conduct the government without the *boule;* (c) they did not have their own *boule* until Septimius Severus (*οὐ μέντοι οὐδὲ ἐκείνοις βουλεύειν ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐφῆκεν. ἀλλὰ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὡς ἑκάστοις, τοῖς δ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσιν ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε . . . καὶ σφων οὕτω τότε ταχθέντων τὰ μὲν ἄλλα καὶ νῦν ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσεται, βουλεύουσι δὲ δὴ καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, ἐπὶ Σεουήρου αὐτοκράτορος ἀρξάμενοι, καὶ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ, ἐπ' Ἀντωνίνου τοῦ υἱέος αὐτοῦ πρῶτον ἐς τὴν γερουσίαν ἐσγραφέντες*). In other words, the Dio passage makes clear that Augustus would not allow the Alexandreians to have a *boule.* The question is whether, according to Dio, Augustus (a) suppressed an existing *boule*

or (b) forbade the Alexandreians from reviving a *boule* that had already been suppressed by some previous Ptolemaic king. The wording ἄνευ βουλευτῶν πολιτεύεσθαι ἐκέλευσε does not allow a definite answer. Now our concern must focus on the *boule* in the Ptolemaic period: Did the *boule* continue to function throughout the Ptolemaic period until the time of Augustus, or was it abolished under one of the Ptolemaic kings?

An answer to this is given by the *HA* life of Septimius Severus. It says (*Severus* 17.2) that Septimius "gave the Alexandrians the privilege of a local senate, for they were still without any public council, just as they had been under their own kings" ("ius buleutarum dedit, qui sine publico consilio ita ut sub regibus ante vivebant," trans. Magie). However, the *Historia Augusta* is not always the most reliable authority. Furthermore, the evidence of the *Historia Augusta*—that there was no *boule* under the kings—contradicts the evidence of *Iscrizioni* 164 and, hence, should be ignored or reinterpreted. Fraser (*Alexandria,* 1: 94) would dismiss it; Jouguet would interpret "ita ut sub regibus" to mean not "as under the Ptolemies," but rather "as the subjects of a kingdom" ("comme les sujets d'un royaume"), i.e., a general statement, "as under Hellenistic monarchs" (*Vie municipale,* 28). This reading would, at least, avoid any possible contradiction between the *Historia Augusta* and the inscription. However, there is no real contradiction if we assume that there was a *boule* in early Ptolemaic Alexandreia and that it was subsequently abolished (see below). In fact, Jouguet later changed his mind and adopted this view.

Finally, M. el-Abbadi (in *Studies Daoud,* 3–4) called attention to Caesar *Bell. Alex.* 12, which mentions the fact that Ganymedes, the Ptolemaic general, "had declared in the council *(in concilio)* that he would not only make good the losses they had sustained but also increase the number of their ships" (trans. Way). El-Abbadi suggested that this might be a reference to the Alexandreian *boule.* If so, this would indicate the (continued) existence of the *boule* at the very end of the period of Ptolemaic rule. Note, however, that the term *concilium* was used far too widely (see *Oxford Latin Dictionary* s.v. "concilium") to have a probative force in the context of the present discussion.

In short, based on the combined evidence of *Iscrizioni* 164, Cassius Dio, and the *HA* life of Septimius Severus we may suggest that (a) there was a *boule* under the early Ptolemies, (b) it was suppressed under one of the later Ptolemies, (c) its revival was prohibited by Augustus, and (d) it was finally revived under Septimius Severus. See summary below.

(We may note in passing the expression ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων in *CPJ* II 153–67. I have mentioned that the *HA* life of Septimius Severus observed that the Alexandreians did not have a council "sub regibus" and that the emperor Claudius in his edict observed that the Jews of Alexandreia received their civic rights from the "kings," i.e., presumably from the Ptolemies [Josephus *AJ* 19.281; see also *BJ* 2.488]. The question is, Who were "the ancient kings"? Strabo uses the expression "the kings" in at least three places: 13.1.28, 13.1.58, and 14.2.25. In the first instance, he says "the kings" increased the depleted population of GARGARA by transferring colonists from Miletoupolis. Unfortunately Strabo does not indicate who "the kings" were. Leaf assumed he meant the Successors of Alexander [*Strabo on the Troad* (Cambridge, 1923) 151]; E. V. Hansen [*The Attalids of Pergamum*[2] (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971) 170; see also Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 560] assumed the reference was to the Attalids. At 13.1.28 Strabo

says "the kings" often transplanted Dardanos to Abydos. At 14.2.25 he says "the kings" made improvements at STRATONIKEIA in Caria. In neither case does Strabo identify "the kings." Elsewhere, in the course of his discussion of Alexandreia and Egypt, Strabo says that the magistrates in his days had also existed "under the kings" [17.1.12]. According to a fragment of Menander's *Misoumenos* [frag. 4, ed. Sisto], Thrasonides has just returned from Cyprus where he was in the service of "one of the kings." It would appear, therefore, the expression "the kings" was a general one and could be applied to different kings in different contexts. In the present context, the likelihood is, therefore, that the expressions ἐπὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων βασιλέων and "sub regibus" meant simply "the ancient [i.e., Ptolemaic] kings" [cf., for example, the Gallus inscription: τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτωι βασιλέων, *I. Philae* 128.10–11, 29 B.C.]. That having been said, it is important to note that there has been a great deal of discussion surrounding each of these points; see, for example, Bell, *Aegyptus* 12 [1932] 173–84 and literature cited above.)

To summarize briefly the various approaches to the problem of the *boule* in Ptolemaic Alexandreia:

i. There was a *boule* at Ptolemaic Alexandreia that continued to function until Octavian suppressed it; see, for example, M. Norsa and G. Vitelli, *BSAA* 27 (1932) 1–17; U. Wilcken, *Archiv* 9 (1930) 253–56; J. Carcopino, *REA* 51 (1949) 309–10; el-Abbadi in *Studies Daoud,* 3–4.
ii. There was no *boule* at Alexandreia when Octavian took control of Egypt, rather the embassy was asking for one. Furthermore, Dio was referring not to the Alexandreian *boule* but rather to the right of Alexandreians who were Roman citizens to enter the Roman senate; see, for example, Schubart, *Forschungen und Fortschritte,* 6: 274–75; id., *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 407–15; see also Jouguet, *BIFAO* 30 (1931) 527.
iii. There originally was a council at Alexandreia but one of the later Ptolemies—perhaps Ptolemy IV Philopator or Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II—abolished it. (This is the most widely held opinion; see, for example, H. I. Bell, *Aegyptus* 12 [1932] 173–84; P. Viereck, *Aegyptus* 12 [1932] 210–16; Jouguet, *BSAA* 37 (1948) 71–94; Jones, *CERP*², 303; and other references cited by el-Abbadi in *Studies Daoud,* 3 n. 12). In favor of the latter is the fact that in the course of reprisals against the Alexandrians Ptolemy VIII almost depopulated the city (Justin 38.8.7); the suggestion has been made that the abolition of the *boule* may have occurred at this time (Bell, *Aegyptus* 12 [1932] 184 and n. 1). Incidentally, if the *boule* was abolished by one of the Ptolemies, this would indicate the autonomy of the city was severely restricted.

As a postscript to this discussion I would mention here Tarn's view (*HC*³, 185) that Ptolemaic Alexandreia was not a *polis.* In this connection he pointed out that it did not have a *boule* (though he did note there were dissenting opinions on the latter point). Tarn suggested that what Alexander founded were not *poleis* but rather foundations "of a new mixed type." He also suggested that Alexandreia was a collection of *politeumata* based on nationalities; the Greek *politeuma,* of course, would have been the most important. Furthermore, he noted that the Greek *politeuma* approximated very closely to the *polis* (see also Jouguet, *Trois études,* 118; id., *BSAA* 37 [1948] 71–94; Bell, *Egypt* [Oxford, 1948] 52; contra: Musurillo, *Martyrs,* 85 n. 2).

Ekklesia. Fraser noted (*Alexandria,* 1: 95) that in the Cassius Dio passages referring to the abolition of the *boule* under Augustus (51.17.2) there is no reference to

the existence or suppression of the *ekklesia*. Fraser therefore assumed that the latter body was not functioning at this time. But this suggestion is *ex silentio*. He further suggested that the suppression of the *ekklesia* was one of the measures against the Greek population of the city undertaken by Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II after his return to the city in 145 B.C. (Justin 38.8.7). In any event, the speech by Germanicus to the Alexandreians (*P. Oxy.* XXV 2435) was delivered at a large assembly; this could have been the *ekklesia*.

24. For the ***gerousia*** at Alexandreia see, for example, A. Momigliano, *JRS* 34 (1944) 114–15; Musurillo, *Martyrs,* 108–9; el-Abbadi, *JEA* 50 (1964) 164; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 95, 2: 176–77; San Nicolo, *Vereinswesen*², 1: 40–42; Delia, *Citizenship,* 163. The suggestion that there was a *gerousia* at Hellenistic Alexandreia is based on (a) an inscription of the late Ptolemaic period that includes the office of "Honorary Archigeron" among those held by a certain Lykarion (*SB* I 2100, late Ptolemaic), (b) an inscription that appears to be an honorary decree, apparently from Alexandreia, of a *gerousia* (*Iscrizioni* 162.5, 31, second/first cent. B.C. = M. Strack, *Archiv* 3 [1906] 138–39, no. 21), and (c) the fact that Ptolemy I favored the establishment of *gerousiai* in Cyrene. We know, for example, that in the late fourth century B.C. the constitution of Cyrene provided for a *boule* of 500 alongside 101 *gerontes* (*SEG* 9:1.2–5; see also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 95).

It is not uncommon, incidentally, to find more than one council in a city. In classical Athens, for example, the Council of 500 coexisted with the older Council of the Areopagus, however slight the powers of the latter were. At SELEUKEIA on the Tigris it is possible that a number of councils of seniors may have coexisted.

25. For the board of ***tamiai*** see *P. Hal.* 24–26; for ***hierothytai*** see *BGU* IV 1050.25; for ***gynaikonomoi*** see *P. Hibeh* II 196.17 (see improved readings by J. Bingen, *CE* 32 [1957] 337–39 = *SB* VI 9559)

26. For the ***prytaneis*** see also *P. Oxy.* XXVII 2465, frag. 2, col. 1.10; and L. Robert in *Studies Welles,* 192–93.

For the phrase "**under the kings**" see above, n. 23. The ***exegetes*** is also attested in inscriptions of the later Ptolemaic period; see *OGIS* 104 (c. 125 B.C.) and *SB* I 2100. As Fraser noted (*Alexandria,* 1: 97), this office is quite removed from the notion of democratic magistracies, a prytanic system, and popular elections that we see in third-century Alexandreia. Fraser then suggested that the emergence of the *exegetes* took place around the same time as the suppression of the *ekklesia,* i.e., in the mid-second century B.C. This is all quite conjectural, as Fraser admits. Nevertheless, it is conceivable that in the flow of Alexandreian history under the later Ptolemies the power and influence of the magistracies grew.

Certainly, if we look to other parts of the Hellenistic world we can see instances of the influential position of the magistrates. For example, an inscription dated to 193 B.C. records a letter from Antiochos III to Menedemos (presumably the governor of the satrapy) establishing the office of high priestess for his wife, Laodike, and a cover letter from Menedemos to Apollodoros and to LAODIKEIA in Media (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 7 [1949] 5–29). Specifically, the cover letter was sent to *Λαοδικέων τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι πόλει*. The formula *τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι πόλει* is the same as that found, for example, in the letter sent by King Seleukos IV to SELEUKEIA in Pieria (*RC* 45.2, 186 B.C.) and ARSINOE in Cilicia (C. P. Jones and C. Habicht, *Phoenix* 43 [1989] 319–20). As M. Holleaux (*Ét.,* 3: 211–15) has pointed out, the formula

τῆι πόλει καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν χαίρειν represents both a later development than *τῆι βουλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι* and a reflection of the more influential role played by the magistrates. We may also note the absence of the *boule* from the formula. Apparently, for these particular decisions it was not consulted; whether it existed at these times is not known. It is, however, interesting to note that whereas in 186 B.C. the letter was sent to *τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι πόλει* at Seleukeia in Pieria, some seventy-seven years later, in 109 B.C., another letter was sent, in a heavily restored inscription, to [*τοῖς ἄρχουσι καὶ τῆι βο*]*υλῆι καὶ τῶι δήμωι* at Seleukeia (*RC* 72.2).

27. For the **official "in charge of the city"** see, for example, Polybius 5.39.3; Plutarch *Agis and Cleomenes* 37.4 (late third century B.C.); Diod. 31.20 (164/3 B.C.); *P. Bad.* IV 48.7 (126 B.C.) and Bilabel's commentary; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 106–7; Bengtson, *Strategie,* 3: 130–32. With this official compare the "*strategos* of the *polis*" at PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid. For *epistatai* in the Seleucid realm see AMYZON and references and literature cited there; see also ARSINOE on Keos, NAKRASON(?), PROUSA, and THESSALONIKE. For the **garrison** at Alexandreia see, for example, Fraser, *Berytus* 13 (1960) 149–50; id., *Alexandria,* 2: 152–53, 168–69, 195 n. 105.

28. In general, on the **coinage** see, for example, Svoronos, *Nomismata; SNG* (Cop) *Egypt* 6–424; Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins;* see also, for example, various articles in *Alessandria,* 36–104, and in *Commerce,* 403–65; G. Le Rider, *BCH* 121 (1997) 87–93 and in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 11–23.

There is no consensus as to whether or not Alexander established a mint at Memphis or Alexandreia. Svoronos (*Nomismata,* 2.5–6, 3.11–12) assigned some **early Alexander tetradrachms** to Alexandreia. E. T. Newell followed him and in his publication of the Demanhur hoard assigned additional Alexander tetradrachms, the earliest of which he assigned to c. 326/5 B.C., to Alexandreia (*Alexander Hoards II Demanhur 1905* [New York, 1923] 144–46 and nos. 4610–4747, 4820–4821); Mørkholm (*EHC,* 52) agreed with this attribution. As for the date, Le Rider opted for 325/4 B.C. (*JS* [1986] 40; *BCH* 121 [1997] 144–46; in *Essays Hersh,* 52–57; and in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 14; see also M. Thompson in *Studies Mildenberg,* 241–47). On the other hand, the discovery of (a) small bronze coins with the head of Alexander at Saqqara, the necropolis of Memphis, and (b) issues of Ptolemy I Soter with the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ* (see below) prompted Price to suggest that Alexander minted coins at Memphis and that Ptolemy I subsequently moved the mint to Alexandreia, probably around 314 or 313 B.C. (in G. T. Martin, *The Sacred Animal Necropolis at North Saqqara: The Southern Dependencies of the Main Temple Complex* [London, 1981] 156–65, esp. 162–64; Price, *Alexander and Philip,* 496 and no. 3960; see also Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins,* 73; and Mørkholm, *Chiron* 10 [1980] 149).

One of the relatively early issues of Ptolemy I has the legend ***ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ*** (e.g., Svoronos, *Nomismata* 32; *SNG* [Cop] *Egypt* 13; Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins,* nos. C1007–8) or—rarely—*ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ* (e.g., Jenkins, *ANS MN* 9 [1959] 25; O. H. Zervos, *ANS MN* 13 [1967] 9, 13; Mørkholm, *EHC,* 64) rather than the more common *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ* (e.g., *SNG* [Cop] *Egypt* 14; Hazzard, *Ptolemaic Coins,* no. C1008); on the early tetradrachms of Soter see O. H. Zervos, *ANS MN* (1967) 1–16. The question is whether *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ* on these coins is the adjectival form of the toponym Alexandreia or of the personal name Alexander. I.e., does it mean "Ptolemy's [coin/mint] of Alexandreia" or—less probably—"Ptolemy's [coin] of Alexander"?

Svoronos (*Nomismata,* 4: 11), Mørkholm (*Chiron* 10 [1980] 148–49), and Price (*Alexander and Philip,* 496; see also H. Nicolet-Pierre, *SM* 178 [1995] 27) suggested as a translation "Alexandreian money of Ptolemy," "Ptolemy's [coin] of Alexandreia," and "Alexandreian [mint] of Ptolemy." As a parallel Svoronos (followed by Mørkholm and Price) cited an issue at Cyrene with the legend *ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩ* or *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ* and the Cypriot *ΝΙΚΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΠΑΦΙΟΝ* (e.g., Mørkholm, *EHC,* no. 110; *HN*², 741; see also *EHC,* 64, 8): in these cases, *ΠΑΦΙΟΝ* and *ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ* can refer only to the city name. In this connection, Svoronos pointed to the *Suda,* which mentioned (s.v. "Alexandreia") two forms for the ethnic of Alexandreia: Ἀλεξανδρεύς and Ἀλεξάνδρειος. Mørkholm suggested the word to be understood with *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ* and *ΚΥΡΑΝΑΙΟΝ* would have been *νόμισμα,* i.e., money (*Chiron* 10 [1980] 149); Price suggested *ἀ(ρ)γυροκοπεῖον,* i.e., mint. The latter also observed that "the reform in minting arrangements which might have occasioned the introduction of such words [i.e., *ἀ(ρ)γυροκοπεῖον*] onto the coins may well have been the institution of mints at Alexandria and Cyrene, and it would have been at this point that the mint at Memphis would have been abandoned" (*Alexander and Philip,* 496).

B. V. Head (*HN*², 848) disagreed with Svoronos. Citing the absence of any local coinage of Alexandreia, Head argued that the legend meant "coin of Alexander, struck by Ptolemy." In support of this, Head called attention to Pollux, who used the term *Ἀλεξάνδρειον* in the same sense (*Onomast.* 9.84: *ἴσως δὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων καταλόγῳ προσήκουσιν οἱ Κροίσειοι στατῆρες καὶ Φιλίππειοι καὶ Δαρεικοὶ καὶ τὸ Βερενίκειον νόμισμα καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρειον καὶ Πτολεμαικὸν καὶ Δημαρέτειον*; on this passage see also M. Caltabiano and P. Colace, *QT* 16 [1987] 29–42; D. Knoepfler, *MH* 46 [1989] 205). Hazzard (*Ptolemaic Coins,* 72–73) agreed with Head and thus translated the legend "Alexander-coin of Ptolemy." Hazzard also called attention to a marriage contract dated to 311 B.C. in which there was a penalty clause of 1,000 silver drachmai *Ἀλεξανδρείου,* i.e., "the silver coinage of Alexander" (*P. Eleph.* 1.11–12; so Rubensohn in a note to *P. Eleph.* 1; A. S. Hunt and C. C. Edgar, *Select Papyri,* 1: 1). We should also note coins of Alexander of Pherai that bear the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ, ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ, ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ,* or *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΣ* (e.g., Head, *HN*² 308; Babelon, *Traité* 4.2, nos. 610–17). In this case, the reference can only be to Alexander rather than to [an] Alexandreia. In 1905 G. MacDonald suggested that one should understand the various forms of the legend with reference to the different denominations: e.g., *στατήρ, δραχμή, ἡμίδραχμον, τριώβολον,* etc. (*Coin Types* [Glasgow] 127, followed by Head). D. Knoepfler claimed that the adjective derived from the name Alexandros could not be the same as the adjective derived from the toponym Alexandreia. Thus he claimed that the ethnic for Alexandreia was *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ* and the adjective for Alexandros was *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΣ* (*MH* 46 [1989] 193–230, esp. 204–10; *Topoi* 7 [1997] 33–50, esp. 39–42; see also O. Masson, *RN* [1991] 69–70; G. Le Rider, *RSN* 71 [1992] 225; id., *BCH* 121 [1997] 88–89; and id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 19–23). Among other things, he noted that the expressions *nomisma Demetrieion, Lysimacheion, Antiocheion,* and *Antigoneion* do not refer to the coins minted at, respectively, Demetrias, Lysimacheia, Antioch, and Antigoneia. Knoepfler also called attention to the tetradrachm bearing the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ* without *ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ* (see above) and cited this as further proof that *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ* = *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*. He commented that Ptolemy would not have been likely to produce a coin with the name of the mint but no indication of the monarch under whose authority it was produced.

However, a caveat is in order. In the course of his discussion Knoepfler called attention to one exceptional case for the use of an -*ειος* termination for an ethnic: i.e., whereas the ethnic for practically all other cities named Herakleia was *HΡΑΚΛΕΙΩΤΗΣ,* the ethnic for Herakleia in Lucania was *HΡΑΚΛΕΙΟΣ* (*Topoi* 7 [1997] 39 n. 25). I would add that there is at least one other example of an -*ειος* termination for an ethnic: ANTIOCH on the Pyramos. The inscriptions provide evidence for both *Ἀντιοχεύς* (*IG* II^2 2316.49–50, 166/5 B.C.) and *Ἀντιόχειος* (*Syll.*^{3} 585.286, 172/1 B.C.) for this city. Interestingly, with regard to Antioch, Stephanos (s.v.) says: *τὸ ἐθνικὸν πασῶν Ἀντιοχεὺς καὶ Ἀντιόχειος*. Finally, as I have already mentioned, for the ethnic of Alexandreia the *Suda* (s.v. "Alexandreia") recorded two forms, *Ἀλεξανδρεύς* and *Ἀλεξάνδρειος*.

In any event the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ* (or *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ*) was short-lived; few coins with the legend were minted, and we soon find again the normal *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*.

29. For ***gymnasia*** in Ptolemaic Alexandreia see, for example Leonides, a gymnasiarch (*SEG* 2: 864 = *SB* III 6665, year 30 of either Ptolemy Soter or Philadelphos, i.e., 294 or 255 B.C.); a dedication by Hephaistion, a gymnasiarch (Rubensohn, *Archiv* 5 [1913] 161); Lykarion, a gymnasiarch (*SB* I 2100 = *I. Alexandrie* 42, second half of the second cent./early first cent. B.C.); dedication by an *agonothetes,* restored reference to a *gymnasion* as well as to Hermes and Herakles (Fraser, *Berytus* 13 [1959–60] 142–44 = *I. Alexandrie* 28, 163–145 B.C.); for dedications to Hermes and Herakles, the gods of the gymnasium, see, for example, *I. Nubie* 12 (provenience uncertain; possibly from Alexandreia; "Hermes" is restored), 17 (134/3 B.C. [?]); and Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 208, 2: 353; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 161. A metrical epitaph from the third century B.C. mentions a gymnasium; unfortunately, the provenience of the stone is not secure (*SB* I 4314.4; see Delorme, *Gymnasion,* 137). For literary references see also, for example, Appian *BC* 1.102; Plutarch *Ant.* 54.6, 80.2; Cassius Dio 50.5.1.

In general see *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (*Γυμνάσιον*)"; Delorme, *Gymnasion,* 137–39; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 222; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 160–64; id., *Ptolémées,* 86–87.

30. For **Alexander's alleged motives** in founding Alexandreia see, for example, Bosworth, *Comment.,* 1: 264; see also B. A. van Groningen in *Raccolta Lumbroso,* 200–11; and V. Chapot in *Mélanges Glotz,* 1: 173–81; Tarn, *Alexander,* 42; Ehrenberg, *Polis und Imperium* (Zurich, 1965) 414–16; id., *Alexander und Ägypten* (Leipzig, 1926) 23–28; Schachermeyr, *Alexander,* 241, 256–57; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 134; Cavenaile, *Ant. Cl.* (1972) 102–12; Mossé, *Alexandre,* 75–76. In this connection Heckel (Yardley and Heckel, *Justin,* 157) called attention to Strabo (15.3.9), who says that Alexander planned to make Babylon a royal residence (*βασίλειον*) and to build it up (*παρακατασκευάζειν*); hence, he suggested that at least by 330 B.C. Alexander considered Babylon his capital. On the other hand, we should bear in mind Green's observation (in *Alexandrianism,* 18) that "the capital . . . was wherever Alexander happened to be, his notion of imperial rule being (to put it kindly) dynamic rather than static."

31. For **trade and manufacturing** at Alexandreia see, for example, Préaux, *Économie,* passim; Rostovtzeff, *Journal of Bus. & Econ. Hist.* 4 (1930) 728–69; id., *SEHHW,* passim; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 132–88, 2: 235–322; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 280–303; id., *Ptolémées,* 69–71; H. Cuvigny in *Alexandrie entre deux mondes,* 23–28; various articles in Empereur, *Commerce.* For the **Rhodian amphoras** see J.-Y. Empereur in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 29. For evidence for the **importation of ceramic ware** from the Aegean

see A. Élaigne in *Céramiques hellénistiques,* 159–87; and C. Aubert, *RA* (2002) 207. For evidence for the **production of pottery** at Hellenistic Alexandreia see, for example, C. Harlaut in *Céramiques hellénistiques,* 263–88.

For **banks and bankers** at Alexandreia see, for example, A. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 18 (1938) 245–46; R. Bogaert, *Trapezitica Aegyptiaca* 10–11, 48–49, 51–57, 98–104; id., *ZPE* 120 (1998) 172–74.

32. For the estimated **population** of 500,000–600,000: Strabo (16.2.5) says the population of ANTIOCH near Daphne (probably in his time, rather than Artemidorus's) was not much less than that of SELEUKEIA on the Tigris or Alexandreia. Now according to Pliny (*NH* 6.122), the population of Seleukeia on the Tigris was 600,000; hence that estimate for Alexandreia at the time of Augustus; see, for example, D. Delia, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 284 and n. 32. K. J. Beloch relied on Diodorus's information and, with the arbitrary addition of 200,000 slaves, arrived at a figure of 500,000 (*Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt* [Leipzig, 1886] 259). Fraser suggested that Diodorus's figure of 300,000 referred only to all male free persons, adults and minors. He also called attention to Diodorus's assertion that Alexandreia was the "first city" in the world (note, however, Diodorus's remark at 1.50.7) and Kahrstedt's estimate that the population of Rome at the end of the Republic was 900,000. This prompted Fraser to suggest that at the end of the first century B.C. the population of Alexandreia was around a million (*Alexandria,* 1: 91, 2: 171–72); contra: M. I. Finley, *Ancient History* (New York, 1986) 62–63. Rostovtzeff suggested that by the time of Caligula the population was at least a million (*SEHHW,* 1138–39). Cf. also the estimated population of APAMEIA on the Axios (117,000 *homines cives* in the early first century A.D.—*CIL* 3:6687).

In general see, for example, Rostovtzeff, *SEHHW,* 1138–43; Préaux, *Monde,* 481; D. Thompson in *Trade in the Ancient Economy,* ed. P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, and C. R. Whittaker (Berkeley, 1983) 72; el-Abbadi, *Pap. Cong. XVIII,* 317–23; D. Delia, *TAPA* 118 (1988) 275–91.

33. For the **religious life** at Alexandreia see, for example, Visser, *Götter;* P. Bottigelli, *Aegyptus* 21 (1941) 4–8; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 189–301, 2: 321–461; L. Kahil in *Alexandrianism,* 75–84; and references cited below. For the temples see, for example, Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 139–55.

Other than Arrian's comment that Alexander established a temple of Isis in the city (3.1.5; see above), we know practically nothing about the religious life of the native Egyptians in Alexandreia from the extant literary sources. In this connection, Fraser noted (1: 189–90) that the native Egyptians had left very little trace in the field of religion. He suggested this corresponded to the "lack of religious activity" on the part of the Egyptian population. As an explanation, he pointed to the absence of any ancient tradition linking the site with a particular god. As he noted, the pharaonic divinities were closely associated with specific cities or localities. Hence, in Alexandreia—which was, after all, a new foundation at a new site—traditional local worship had no place.

Certainly this is a reasonable explanation, but it is essentially *ex silentio.* Furthermore, we may note that many of the settlements in the Arsinoite nome were built on land that had just been reclaimed as a result of the programs of the early Ptolemies. In other words, these settlements were built on land that had no tradition of local worship. Despite that, there is widespread evidence for worship of the Egyptian di-

vinities in many of the Fayum settlements, including those that were apparently built on virgin soil. For example, we find evidence for the worship of Egyptian deities at, among other places, Karanis: e.g., Pnepheros and Petesouchos: *I. Fayoum* 84; Grenfell, Hunt, and Hogarth, *P. Fayum,* pp. 30–32; Peterson in *Karanis . . . 1924–31,* 17–55; PM 4: 96; Rübsam, *Götter,* 100–101; Frankfurter, *Religion,* 150–51, 159–60. For the North Temple at Karanis see Boak in *Karanis . . . 1924–31,* 1–16. The loss of the inscription on the lintel and other dedicatory inscriptions makes it impossible to know definitely to whom the North Temple was consecrated. S. Yeivin (*Aegyptus* 14 [1934] 71–73) noted that among other objects found in the inner courtyard of the temple was a small, white limestone statuette of a hawk-headed crocodile (see *Karanis . . . 1924–31,* 9–10). Yeivin suggested that this was probably a representation of a little-known divinity from Upper Egypt, which was a combination of Horus with a crocodile god, and that it was a guardian divinity in the North Temple. More probably it is simply a representation of one of the crocodile deities already known from the Fayum. For evidence dating from the Roman period for religious life at Karanis—both Egyptian and Greek divinities—see, for example, Rübsam, *Götter,* 98–104. For Theadelpheia: e.g., Pnepheros: *I. Fayoum* 2: 107 (137 B.C.), 108 (between 137 and 116 B.C.), 116–18 (57 B.C.), *I. Fayoum* 116–18 (= Rigsby, *Asylia,* 223 [57 B.C.]). For the temple of Pnepheros see G. Lefebvre, *ASAE* 10 (1910) 167–70; E. Breccia, *Monuments de l'Égypte gréco-romaine,* vol. I.2, *Teadelfia e il tempio di Pneferôs* (Bergamo, 1926) 87–131 and plan (pl. 51); PM 4: 98; Bottigelli, *Aegyptus* 22 (1942) 212–13; Bernand, *I. Fayoum,* 2: p. 5; Davoli, *Fayyum,* 284–86. Premarres: *I. Fayoum* 111 (95 B.C.). Isis Sachypsis: *I. Fayoum* 112 (= Rigsby, *Asylia,* 221), 113, 121 (93 B.C.), 114 (70 B.C.). Petesouchos: *I. Fayoum* 120 (late Hellenistic). Isis Eseremphis: *I. Fayoum* 114 (= Rigsby, *Asylia,* 222 [70 B.C.]). For other evidence for religious activity relating to Egyptian divinities see *I. Fayoum* 109 (102 B.C.?), 110 (between 101 and 88 B.C.). In general see P. Bottigelli, *Aegyptus* 22 (1942) 210–15; Bernand, *I. Fayoum,* 2: pp. 7–8; Rübsam, *Götter,* 193–204; France, "Theadelpheia and Euhemereia," 263–77. Magdola: e.g., Temples of Souchos and of Orsenouphis (who is described as the "god of the village") and two Ibis shrines: *P. Tebt.* I 82.38, 40, 43. Soknopaiou Nesos: e.g., Isis, Harpokrates, and Premarres: *I. Fayoum* 1: 69 (= *Brooklyn Inscriptions* 9 (translation and commentary) = *SB* V 8884 = *OGIS* 175). Soknopaios: *I. Fayoum* 71 (= *SB* V 8888 = *OGIS* 179), 72 (= Boak, *Soknopaiou Nesos,* pp. 34–35 = *SEG* 7: 577 = *SB* V 7833). Soknopaios and Isis Nepherses: *I. Fayoum* 70 (= *SB* V 8886 = *OGIS* 177). For the religious life at Soknopaiou Nesos see Bottigelli, *Aegyptus* 22 (1942) 188–94; Bernand, *I. Fayoum,* 1: p. 125; Rübsam, *Götter,* 154–72; Frankfurter, *Religion,* 160. At none of these places is there firm evidence extant for habitation in the pre-Ptolemaic period. Nevertheless, we must be highly cautious: after all, not one of these sites has been completely excavated.

Finally, we should note that excavation (and in particular, underwater excavation) in the last decade of the twentieth century at Alexandreia has revealed the presence of significant amounts of *Aigyptika* (see above, n. 9). Much of it came from Heliopolis. Many questions remain regarding the *Aigyptika;* for example: (a) When and under what circumstances were the various objects brought to Alexandreia, and (b) what was their relationship to the cultural and religious life of the city? The discovery of these objects, incidentally, raises a number of issues. For example, the "Oracle of the Potter"—which is variously dated to the early Ptolemaic period and as late as c. 130

B.C.—prophesies that cult objects that had been taken would be returned to Egypt (see pp. 418–19). This, at least, raises the possibility that some of the *Aigyptika* found by the archaeologists may have been brought to Alexandreia during the Ptolemaic period. The discoveries suggest that native, Egyptian religious life at Alexandreia may have been more extensive than previously believed; see, for example, J. Yoyotte in Goddio, *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters,* 199–220; on the interaction between Greeks and Egyptians see L. Koenen in *Images and Ideologies,* ed. A. Bulloch (Berkeley, 1993) 25–115; and F. Walbank's response, 120–24.

We learn a great deal about the worship of **Dionysos** from Callixenus's description of the great procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos (in Athenaeus 5.197c–203b [= *FGrH* 627 F 2]; see also Rice, *Procession;* Visser, *Götter,* 35–36, 82–83); for the suggestion that the procession is depicted in the Palestrina mosaic see F. Coarelli, *Ktema* 15 (1990) 225–51; and below, n. 37. On **Demeter** and **Aphrodite** see, for example, Polyb. 15.27.2; *P. Cairo Zen.* I 59028.7; *OGIS* 83 = *SB* V 8867 = *I. Alexandrie* 22 (Demeter); Theocritus 15.100–144 (Aphrodite); Visser, *Götter,* 36–37, 78–79, 81–82; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 197–200, 2: 331–36. In general for the worship of the Olympian gods at Alexandreia see Visser, *Götter;* Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 193–212, 2: 326–61.

For the worship of **Sarapis, Isis, and Harpokrates** at Alexandreia see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 247–76, 2: 396–432, and references cited there.

The *Alexander Romance* (1.33.1) attributes the construction of the **Sarapion** to Alexander. However, the earliest extant inscription mentioning Sarapis dates to c. 278–277 B.C. and records a dedication to Sarapis made by Nikanor and Nikandros on behalf of Ptolemy I Soter (*OGIS* 21 = *SB* V 8849 = *I. Alexandrie* 1; see also A. Bernand, *Leçon de civilisation* [n.p., 1994] 219–20). See also *SEG* 18: 636 = *I. Alexandrie* 5 (c. 276 B.C.); *P. Cairo Zen.* III 59355.102–3, 128 (243 B.C., the "Sarapeion of Parmeniskos"); and Fraser, *OA* 7 (1967) 39–40. On the question of whether Alexander or—more probably—Ptolemy I introduced the worship of Sarapis to Alexandreia see, for example, C. B. Welles, *Historia* 11 (1962) 285–98 (Alexander); Fraser, *OA* 7 (1967) 23–29, 41–42 (Ptolemy I); see also J. E. Stambaugh, *Sarapis under the Early Ptolemies* (Leiden, 1972) 10–13. The discovery of three foundation plaques belonging to the reigns of Ptolemy III and Ptolemy IV Philopator provides the earliest extant evidence for a temple of Sarapis and helps fix the location of the temple built by Euergetes on the Hill of Rhakotis (A. Rowe, *Supplément aux Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte,* cahier n. 2 [1946] 8–10; A. J. B. Wace, *JHS* 65 [1945] 106–8; P. Jouguet, *CRAI,* 1946, 680–87; Fraser, *OA* 7 [1967] 37–38; id., *Alexandria,* 1: 265–69, 2: 418–22; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 77–83). For a description of the site see Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 90–100 (plan on p. 91).

In general for the Sarapion see Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 240–42; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Sarapion)"; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 265–69, 2: 418–23; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 123–29; id., *Ptolémées,* 77–84; Empereur, *Alexandria,* 90–99.

34. The only definite extant evidence for the **cult of Alexander the Founder** is late, dating to 120/1 A.D. (*SB* III 6611; Habicht, *Gott.*², 36). From the Ptolemaic period, note *P. Hal.* 242–45 that a fixed amount in the sale of property was to be "sacred to Alexander"; this may also be an allusion to the founder cult. See, for example, G. Plaumann, *Archiv* 6 (1913) 77–99; L. R. Taylor, *CP* 22 (1927) 162–67; Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 190–91; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 212, 2: 360–61. Separately, there was a **(dynastic) cult of Alexander** that Ptolemy Soter established; see Wilcken, *SPAW*

(1938) 306–8; Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 191; Nilsson, *Geschichte,* 2: 154–55; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 215–16, 2: 364–65. For the **eponymous priests and priestesses at Alexandreia** see Plaumann, *RE* s.v. "Hiereis"; H. Thompson in *Studies Presented to F. Ll. Griffith,* ed. S. R. K. Glanville (Oxford, 1932) 16–37; S. R. K. Glanville and T. C. Skeat, *JEA* 40 (1954) 45–58; Ijsewijn, *De Sacerdotibus;* Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 191, 198; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 215–16, 2: 365–66; Clarysse and van der Veken, *Priests,* 3–39.

For the **Ptolemaieia** see *Syll.*[3] 380; I. L. Merker, *Historia* 19 (1970) 141–60; T. L. Shear, *Kallias of Sphettos and the Revolt of Athens in 286 B.C.* (Princeton, 1978) 5–6 (ll. 55ff.), 33–37; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 231–32. On the question of whether the great procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos was part of a/or the Ptolemaieia see Rice (*Procession,* 4–5 [earlier opinions], 182–87), who follows Fraser (*BCH* 78 [1954] 57–58 n. 3; *Alexandria,* 2: 381) in denying there was a connection; contra: e.g., Goukowsky (*Essai,* 2: 81), who believed the procession was a celebration of the Ptolemaieia of 271–270 B.C. For the **Berenikeion** see Athenaeus 5.202d. For the "**Theoi Soteres**" see, for example, Theocritus 17.121–25; *OGIS* 90.4; and Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 373. For the **Arsinoeia** and the temple, the Arsinoeion, see Pliny *NH* 34.148; for the Arsinoeion see also the *Diegesis* (X.11–13) to Callimachus frag. 228 (ed. Pfeiffer, 1: 218; A. Vogliano, ed., *Papiri della r. Università di Milano* I [Milan, 1937; repr. 1966] 109). See also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 25, 229, 2:72, 377–78. A fragment of Satyrus's *On the Demes of Alexandreia* (*P. Oxy.* XXVII 2465, frag. 2, col. 1 = *Lancia*[2], no. 3) records part of an Alexandreian decree containing regulations for a procession and for sacrifices to Arsinoe Philadelphos; in a fragmentary passage it refers to the Arsinoeion (l. 4); see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 229. For the "**Theoi Adelphoi**" see, for example, Herodas *Mim.* 1.30 (ed. Cunningham); *OGIS* 90.4; *SNG* (Cop) *Egypt* 132; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 228. For the **Basileia** see, for example, *P. Hal.* 263; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 232, 2: 384.

In general, see Wilcken, *SPAW* (1938) 308–17; Cerfaux and Tondriau, *Culte,* 189–218 (bibliography, 9–73, 524–25); Nilsson, *Geschichte,* 2: 155–65; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 212–46, 2: 361–97.

35. For **games and processions** see above, n. 34; *P. Hal.* 262–63 (a letter of Apollonius to Zoilus); Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 230–33, 2: 379–81, 870; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 163–64.

36. On **learning and science** in Ptolemaic Alexandreia see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 305–12, 336–479, 2: 463–67, 495–692. For the **Mouseion** see, for example, Herodas *Mim.* 1.31 (ed. Cunningham); Strabo 17.1.8. See also Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 312–19, 2: 467–73; el-Abbadi, *Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria* (Paris, 1992) 84–90; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 127–34.

On the **Library** see, for example, *Letter of Aristeas* 9–11; Josephus *AJ* 12.11–16; Athenaeus 3b; Irenaeus *Adv. Haer.* 3.21.2; Epiphanios *De Mens. et Pond.* (*PG* 43, cols. 249, 252); Synkellos 518 (ed. Mosshammer); John Tzetzes (in Kaibel, *Comic.,* pp. 19 [Pb, 20], 31 [Mb, 29]); for modern discussions see, for example, C. Wendel and W. Göber in *Handbuch der Bibliothekswissenschaft,* vol. 3.1, *Geschichte der Bibliotheken* (Wiesbaden, 1955) 63–82; E. A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (London, 1952) esp. 3–162; A. J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*[2] (Oxford, 1978) 406–26; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 320–35, 2: 473–94; L. Canfora, *The Vanished Library* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1990), esp. 137–44; Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 134–37; id., *Ptolémées,* 96–101; el-

Abbadi, *Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria,* esp. 73–179; J. Sirinelli in *Égypte et Grèce,* 82–93; H. Blanck, *Das Buch in der Antike* (Munich, 1992) 138–45; N. L. Collins, *The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek* (Leiden, Boston, and Cologne, 2000) esp. 82–114; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 211; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Bibliothekai)."

In his account of Alexandreia (see above), Strabo does not mention the Royal Library. It is not clear, therefore, whether the Library was a separate institution or whether it was actually a part of the Mouseion. The precise site of the Library has not yet been identified (see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 2: 30–31 and references cited there).

The earliest extant mention of the Royal Library is found in the *Letter of Aristeas.* According to the *Letter* the translation of the Septuagint came about because Ptolemy II Philadelphos wanted to include a copy of the Hebrew Bible in the Library collection. To that purpose he ordered Demetrios of Phaleron, who was in charge of the Royal Library, to arrange for a translation. However, this assertion is problematic because quite soon after his accession Philadelphos imprisoned Demetrios (Diog. Laert. 5.78; see also Martini, *RE* s.v. "Demetrios 85," col. 2822). This and other inconsistencies and factors (see, especially M. Hadas's discussion, cited below) have prompted the general belief that the *Letter* is not a contemporary account (as it claims to be) of the translation of the Septuagint; rather, it was composed sometime in the second century B.C. On the dating of the *Letter* see, for example, Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates,* 3–54 (shortly after 132 B.C.); A. Pelletier, *Lettre d'Aristée à Philocrate* (Paris, 1962) 57–58 (beginning of the second century B.C.); Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 321 (reign of Philometor, 180–145 B.C.). For these reasons the *Letter* and the information it provides about the Library should be used with circumspection; contra: see Collins (*The Library in Alexandria and the Bible in Greek,* 1–5), who argues for the reliability of the *Letter.* Josephus, who essentially paraphrased the *Letter of Aristeas,* specifies that Philadelphos arranged for the translation of the Law and says that Demetrios was in charge of the king's library. Tzetzes says that Demetrios, working on behalf of "King Ptolemy," played a major role in gathering scrolls, which were deposited in two libraries. Epiphanios and Synkellos identify Ptolemy II as the founder of the Library; the former says Ptolemy put Demetrios in charge of the Library; the latter says Ptolemy worked with Demetrios in gathering the books. Note, however, that Epiphanios and Synkellos each provide important additional information: the former specifies where in Alexandreia the Library was located—the Brouchion; the latter specifies that it was founded in the 132nd Olympiad, i.e., during the reign of Ptolemy II. Irenaeus says it was "Ptolemy son of Lagos," i.e., Ptolemy I. In short, the extant evidence—while not always clear, and occasionally contradictory—indicates at the very least that Demetrios of Phaleron played an important role in the establishment of the collection and points to Ptolemy II Philadelphos as the founder of the Library.

In any event, it is important to bear in mind that there was **at least one other library in Ptolemaic Alexandreia.** Thus Tzetzes refers to "the Library outside the palace" and "the Library within the palace" (cited above). Epiphanios (*De Mens. et Pond.* [*PG* 43, col. 256]; see also Tertullian *Apol.* 18) says that when the translation of the Septuagint was completed it was placed in "the first library," which was situated in the Brouchion district. He then adds that there was another library, which was smaller than the first and was attached to the Sarapion and was called "the daughter" of the first. Note, however, that (a) Tzetzes does not explicitly equate the "Library outside

the palace" with the Sarapion Library, and (b) Epiphanios says the second library was later than the first. The Sarapion Library was probably founded by Ptolemy III Euergetes (Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 323–24, 2: 478; el-Abbadi, *Life and Fate of the Ancient Library of Alexandria,* 91–92; see, however, J. W. White [*The Scholia on the Aves of Aristophanes* (Boston and London, 1914) xiii], who ascribed it to Ptolemy II Philadelphos; and Butler [*Arab Conquest of Egypt*², 410–13], who dated it to the "early Christian era"). For a possible identification of the Sarapion library see Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 268–69. In the Imperial period Ammianus (22.16.13) could refer to the "bybliothecae . . . inaestimabiles" in Alexandreia. See also *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Sarapeion)"; Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 211.

37. For **"The Palaces"** see, for example, Adriani, *Repertorio* C.I (1966) 208–10; *Dizionario* s.v. "Alexandreia (Basileia)"; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 14–15, 2: 30; Bernand, *Ptolémées,* 90–92; F. Goddio et al., *Alexandria: The Submerged Royal Quarters,* esp. 1–52; L. Foreman, *Cleopatra's Palace* (New York, 1999); M. Sedge, *Discovering Archaeology* (March/April 1999) 38–46. For the palace on the Lochias headland see Bernand, *Alexandrie,* 158; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 21–23, 2: 59–63.

For the suggestion that the harbor and city of Alexandreia (including the royal palace on Cape Lochias) as well as the grand procession of Ptolemy Philadelphos (see above, n. 34) are portrayed in the lower part of the **Palestrina Mosaic** see, for example, F. Coarelli, *Ktema* (1990) 225–51, esp. 238–39; contra: P. G. P. Meyboom, *The Nile Mosaic of Palestrina* (Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1995) 1–2, 14.

IX

CYRENAICA

APOLLONIA

The *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax (108; *GGM,* 1: 83), which dates to the fourth century B.C., described the port of Cyrene as *πάνορμος,* that is, "always fit for mooring." The harbor was refounded as "Apollonia."[1] We do not know precisely when this happened.[2] In any event, a group of terra-cotta figurines found at Apollonia has been tentatively dated to the first half of the fourth century B.C.[3]

In the course of his description of the events of 322 B.C., Diodorus (18.19.4) mentions the harbor of Cyrene (but does not refer to it as Apollonia); Arrian (*Ta met' Alex.* 1.18 = *FGrH* 156 F9) also refers to the harbor of Cyrene.[4] It is doubtful if there was a mint at Apollonia.[5] Apollonia is not mentioned (although Cyrene, PTOLEMAIS, ARSINOE, and BERENIKE are) in the surviving portions of the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which is most probably dated to 215–210 B.C.[6] The earliest possible epigraphic reference to Apollonia is a fragmentary and heavily restored *epikrima* of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, who was sent by Pompey to Libya in 67 B.C.[7] The earliest extant literary attestation for the existence of Apollonia is Strabo, who lived in the late first century B.C./early first century A.D. He described it as the harbor of Cyrene (17.3.20). According to Pliny (*NH* 5.31) Apollonia was—along with PTOLEMAIS, BERENIKE, ARSINOE, and Cyrene—part of the Pentapolis.[8] In the second century A.D. the ethnic is attested as *Ἀπολλωνιᾶται οἱ κατὰ Κυρήνην.*[9] In the Byzantine period Apollonia was known as Sozousa.[10] Excavation approximately one kilometer west of the city wall has revealed the remains of a temple that probably dated to c. 300 B.C. or to the beginning of the third century B.C. There is archaeological evidence, tentatively dated to the second century B.C., for a stadium. The remains of the fortification wall most likely date to the last decades of the second century B.C.[11] Ceramic remains from the second century B.C. provide evidence for trade with, among other areas, the Aegean basin, Sicily, and southern Italy.[12]

Strabo (17.3.20), who says that Apollonia was 80 stades from Cyrene, 170 stades from Phykous, and 1,000 stades from BERENIKE, describes it as a "large *polis*" and trapezoidal in shape.[13] It was located on the Mediterranean coast at the site of the present Mersa Suza.[14]

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In general see Pietschmann, *RE* s.v. "Apollonia 28"; Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Sozousa 1"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 9; R. Goodchild, *Kyrene,* 175–93; J. G. Pedley in *Apollonia,* 15–17; Jones, *CERP*², 357; Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 59; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 457–62 and passim; *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 167 (1992) 58–62; *JS* (1996) 1–49. I have not seen D. Roques, "Le système portuaire de Cyrène, Phycous et Apollonia" (Thèse de 3ᵉ cycle, Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1975) 124–340.

For the results of archaeological excavations at Apollonia see Humphrey, ed., *Apol-*

lonia; F. Chamoux, *CRAI,* 1977, 6–27; A. Davesne and Y. Garlan, *LA* 15–16 (1978–79) 199–226; Y. Garlan, *CRAI,* 1985, 362–78; and Laronde, *Cyrène.*

1. For Apollonia in the **literary evidence** see, in addition to sources cited above, Pomponius Mela 1.40; Martianus Capella 6.672 (ed. Willis); Ptolemy 4.4.3; (see also 8.15.6, ed. Nobbe); *Stadiasmus* 52, 53, 57 (*GGM,* 1: 446–50); Stephanos s.v. "Apollonia 15" (*Λιβύης, ἣ Κυρήνη ἐκαλεῖτο*); scholiast to Pindar *Pyth.* 4.26 (ed. Drachmann); *Tab. Peut.* VII.5.

2. Regarding the **founder,** Jones (*CERP*², 357) pointed to the philosophers Ekdemos and Demophanes, who remodeled the constitution of the Cyrenaican cities apparently in the mid-third century B.C., and suggested they also refounded the port of Cyrene as a separate city named Apollonia. His arguments are as follows: (a) the name Apollonia "first occurs in an inscription of 67 B.C. which implies that it was a separate city"; (b) the toponym was probably not given by the Ptolemies because they "almost invariably gave their foundations dynastic names." Regarding the first point: the inscription in question is the heavily restored *epikrima* of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus: *SEG* 20: 709 = J. M. Reynolds, *JRS* 52 (1962) 99, no. 6 = Reynolds in *Apollonia,* 301, no. 10 (see also J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* [1964] 560; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 457–61). Lines 3–5 of the inscription read *ὑ[πὲρ* . . . c.16 . . . *τῆς πόλεως τῆς] Ἀπολλω[νιατῶν* . . . c.16 . . . *πρὸς τὴν πόλιν] τὴν Κυρ[ηναίων* . . .]. If one accepts the suggested restoration, then we should have evidence for the independent existence of Apollonia by 67 B.C. Unfortunately the restoration is not secure; as Laronde has noted (*Cyrène,* 459), the reference could be to the sanctuary of Apollo rather than to the city of Apollonia. In any event, Jones's argument about the absence of the name before 67 B.C. is *ex silentio.* The claim that the Ptolemies normally gave dynastic names to their settlements carries greater weight. However, we must also allow for the possibility that Apollonia was founded *after* rather than *before* the Ptolemaic hegemony in Cyrenaica. In fact, J. G. Pedley (in *Apollonia,* 16–17) has suggested "the evidence is uneven but seems to point to the end of Ptolemaic control, to the early first century B.C. as the period in which Apollonia received her independence and her name"; see also Laronde (*Cyrène,* 461), who thought Apollonia was founded in the second decade of the first century A.D.

3. For the **terra-cotta figurines** see A. Davesne and Y. Garlan, *LA* 15–16 (1978–79) 199–226.

4. For the **Greek road connecting Cyrene and Apollonia** see A. Laronde, *LA* 15–16 (1978–79) 187–98.

5. Both Poole (*BMC Ptolemies,* 37, nos. 1–3) and Robinson (*BMC Cyrenaica,* cxcviii–cc) suggested that there was a mint at Apollonia. However, T. V. Buttrey (in *Apollonia,* 336; see also *Sanctuary of Demeter,* 57) noted that the (limited) Michigan excavation found no evidence for a **mint** at Apollonia. Neither did any of the other excavations. Furthermore, there is no available evidence for coins with either the ethnic or toponym of Apollonia. For the coins discovered during the Michigan excavation see Buttrey in *Apollonia,* 335–60.

6. For the **Delphic *theorodokoi*** list see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) p. 21, col. IV.15–23. Chamoux (*RH* 216 [1956] 24 n. 3) suggested that the absence of Apollonia from the list indicated that it did not have the status of an independent city at the time; on the question of the status of cities recorded in the *theorodokoi* list see further PTOLEMAIS Larisa. For the date see BERENIKE in Cyrenaica.

7. For the ***epikrima* of Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus** see above, n. 2.

8. For the **Pentapolis** see Reynolds, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Pentapolis" and references cited there. Pliny's reference, incidentally, is the earliest extant attestation for the Pentapolis.

9. For the **ethnic** see, for example, *IG* II[2] 3306, 3407 (= Oliver, *Marcus Aurelius,* 99, no. 8).

10. For **Sozousa** in the Byzantine authors see, for example, Hierokles 732.9; George of Cyprus 789; Epiphanios *Panarion* 73.26 (ed. Holl); see also Honigmann, *RE* s.v. "Sozousa 1"; R. Goodchild, *Antiquity* 34 (1960) 247. See also J. G. Pedley in *Apollonia,* 20–24. Cf. APOLLONIA in southern Syria, which was known as Sozousa in the Byzantine period; also APOLLONIA/Sozopolis in Pisidia and Apollonia/Sozopolis in Thrace.

11. For the **temple** see G. R. H. Wright in *Apollonia,* 41–83; and Laronde, *JS* (1996) 14. Contra: S. Stucchi (*Architettura cirenaica,* 93–94), who suggested dating the temple to the late Hellenistic period.

For the **stadium** see A. Davesne, *LA* 15–16 (1978–79) 245–54; Laronde, *JS* (1996) 14. Epigraphic evidence for ephebes, dated to between 29/8 B.C. and 53/4 A.D., provides evidence for athletic activity; see also M. Luni, *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 8 (1976) 223–33.

On the **dating of the fortification wall to the late second century B.C.** see Garlan, *CRAI,* 1985, 362–78; id., *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 167 (1992) 64–69; followed by Laronde, *CRAI,* 1985, 100–110; id., *JS* (1996) 13. Contra: D. White (in *Apollonia,* 85–155), who dated the beginning of the fortification wall to the period c. 310–280 B.C.

12. For the **ceramic evidence** (e.g., Rhodian, Koan, Knidian, Chian as well as Greco-Italic and Phoenician amphora handles; Megarian bowls; Attic *skyphoi*) see Laronde, *JS* (1996) 16–21.

13. The *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax also says the distance from the harbor to Cyrene was 80 stades. In addition, it says it was 100 stades from Naustathmos and 500 to the port of Barca, i.e., PTOLEMAIS.

Phykous is first mentioned in the extant sources in the fourth century B.C. by Ps.-Scylax (108; *GGM,* 1: 83). It first appears in the extant sources as a harbor in 48 B.C. (Lucan *Phars.* 9.40) and was described by Synesius in the latter part of the fourth cent. A.D. as a port of Cyrene (*Epist.* 101, ed. Garzya); see G. B. D. Jones and J. H. Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 73–74; D. Roques, *Synesios de Cyrène* (Paris, 1987) 62–66 and passim; id., *Studi Miscellanei* 29.1 (1996) 269–77; id., *Karthago* 24 (1999) 187–95.

14. For the **site** of Apollonia see Goodchild, *Kyrene,* 175–76, 180–91; Jones and Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 74–75; photograph, plates VI.1, 2 and VII.1; D. White, R. G. Goodchild, and J. G. Pedley in *Apollonia,* 29–40, figs. 1–3; Laronde, *JS* (1996) 5–10. For a plan of the site and photographs see Goodchild, *Kyrene,* opp. p. 200 and following; plan at end of *Apollonia.* For a map see Goodchild, *TIR Cyrene.* For Mersa Suza see Pedley in *Apollonia,* 24–25.

ARSINOE TAUCHEIRA

Both Strabo (17.3.20) and Pliny (*NH* 5.31–32) comment that Taucheira was also called Arsinoe.[1] Arsinoe is recorded between PTOLEMAIS and BERE-

NIKE in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list.[2] An inscription found at Tocra records a decree that is probably dated to the first century B.C. The decree, which was voted by the *gerousia* and the *boule,* also mentions ephors and *tamiai.*[3] A statue base found at Tocra and dated palaeographically to the first century B.C. honors a citizen of PTOLEMAIS for his *arete* and *eunoia* to the *polis* of Arsinoe.[4] Arsinoe was a member of the Pentapolis.[5] Procopius says (*De Aedif.* 6.2.4) that Justinian surrounded the city with strong fortifications. In fact, archaeologists have uncovered the remains of the fortification walls—over 2 kilometers long—of the Hellenistic and Roman town.[6] Chamoux suggested that Ptolemy III Euergetes renamed Taucheira.[7] Stephanos (s.v. "Arsinoe") says the ethnic was *Ἀρσινοεύς.*

Arsinoe was located 40 kilometers southwest of Ptolemais and 69 kilometers northeast of Berenike at the site of the modern oasis of Tocra.[8]

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In general see Pietschmann, *RE* s.v. "Arsinoe 7"; Kees, *RE* s.v. "Tauchira, Teuchira"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 9; Oliverio, *DAAI,* 2.2: pp. 164–67; Jones, *CERP*², 357; Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 60; G. D. B. Jones and J. H. Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 70–71; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 60–63, 382, 401–3.

For the results of excavation at Tocra see T. Suleiman, *Excavations at Tocra 1974–1983,* vol. 1 (Damascus, 1986) (Arabic); A. M. Buzaian, *LS* 31 (2000) 59–102.

1. Ammianus (22.16.4) and Ptolemy (4.4.3; see also 8.15.4, ed. Nobbe) also noted that Arsinoe was called Teucheira (note: the earlier authors generally have the form "Taucheira"; the later ones usually have "Teucheira" and variants; see Kees, *RE* s.v. "Tauchira, Teuchira"). Stephanos (s.v. "Arsinoe 1 and 2") records two cities called Arsinoe in Libya. The first he says was a city of Libya that was named for the wife and sister of Ptolemy II Philadelphos; the second, a *πόλις Παραιτονίου Λιβύης,* was formerly called Taucheira. Presumably these were one and the same towns. Elsewhere (s.v. "Taucheira") Stephanos commented that Taucheira was "now called Arsinoe." For other literary references to Arsinoe Taucheira see, for example, Pomponius Mela 1.40; Martianus 6.672 (ed. Willis); *Stadiasmus* 56 (*GGM,* 1: 448); for the literary references to Taucheira/Teucheira see Kees, *RE* s.v. "Tauchira, Teuchira."

2. For the ***theorodokoi* list** see BERENIKE Euesperides, n. 8.

3. For the **civic decree** from Arsinoe see J. M. Reynolds, *ArCl* 24–25 (1973–74) 622–30; L. Moretti, *RFIC* 104 (1976) 385–98; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 472–79; J. Robert and L. Robert, *BE* (1977) 594. Note that the constitution that Ptolemy I Soter established for Cyrene also provided for a *boule* and a *gerousia* (*SEG* 9: 1.16, 20; P. M. Fraser, *Berytus* 12 [1958] 120–27).

4. For the **statue base** see G. Oliverio, *DAAI,* 2.2: p. 238, no. 470 = *SEG* 9: 417); see also Laronde, *Cyrène,* 478.

5. On the **Pentapolis** see J. M. Reynolds, *OCD*³ s.v. "Pentapolis."

6. On the **fortifications** see D. Smith and J. Crow, *LS* 29 (1998) 35–82.

7. *RH* 216 (1956) 31.

8. For the **site** see Jones and J. H. Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 70–71; Smith and Crow,

LS 29 (1998) 35–37. For a photograph and sketch plan of the site see Laronde, *Cyrène,* 59, 61. On the territory of Taucheira see Laronde, *LS* 25 (1994) 23–29.

BERENIKE EUESPERIDES

Study of the pottery found at the site of Euesperides has suggested the settlement was founded in the early sixth century B.C. Herodotus (4.204) mentions a Persian expedition against the city before c. 515 B.C. Euesperides was located on the shore of the Sebka es Selmani, a sheltered lagoon that led out to the sea. The original nucleus of the city was on a low hill that is now the site of the Moslem cemetery of Sidi Abeid. The lagoon, however, was subject to silting. The *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax (108; *GGM,* 1: 83), which dates to the fourth century B.C., distinguishes between the city and the harbor of Euesperides; the *Stadiasmus* (57; *GGM,* 1: 448–50), which probably dates to the third century A.D., says the harbor behind Euesperides could only be used by small vessels. Undoubtedly this reflected the silting in the lagoon. In any event, in recent years the Sebka has become completely silted.[1]

According to Stephanos (s.vv. "Berenikai 6," "Esperis"), Berenike in Libya, which was formerly called Esperis (i.e., Euesperides), was named for the wife of Ptolemy (*Βερενίκη . . . ἐκλήθη δὲ Βερενίκη ἀπὸ τῆς Πτολεμαίου γυναικὸς Βερενίκης*);[2] this would be Berenike, the daughter of Magas of Cyrene, who was the wife of Ptolemy III Euergetes. Solinus says that Berenike, the wife of Ptolemy III, fortified the like-named city (27, 54, ed. Mommsen: "Berenicem civitatem . . . hanc Berenice munivit quae Ptolemaeo tertio fuit nupta"). In the course of the refoundation Euesperides was moved 2.5 kilometers westward to the edge of the present-day harbor. We do not know the reason for the change of site; most probably it was because of the silting in the harbor.[3] Strabo says (17.3.20) that Berenike was located on a promontory called Pseudopenias; this has been identified with the neck of land between the Sebka es Selmani and the Mediterranean Sea. He also says that near this was a lake called Tritonias in which there was an islet and a temple of Aphrodite. This lake was probably the Sebka es Selmani. Furthermore, Goodchild has suggested that the low hill where the Moslem cemetery now stands is the site of the "island." Thus he reasonably suggests that the temple of Aphrodite was probably a sanctuary of the old city of Euesperides that remained in existence after the founding of Berenike. In this regard he notes that statues of Aphrodite have been found at the site of Euesperides.[4]

Although some coins survive from Euesperides, there are no coins extant that were minted at Berenike.[5] Nevertheless, the coins found at Euesperides shed important light on the history of the two cities: those discovered thus far extend from the fifth and late fourth centuries down to Magas. Then they stop. It has been reasonably suggested that this is the point at which Euesperides was abandoned for the new city. That having been said, we do not

know precisely when Berenike was founded; most probably this happened in the mid-third century B.C.[6]

A sepulchral stele from Alexandreia, dated palaeographically to the third century B.C., bears the ethnic *Βερενικεὺς ἀφ' Ἑσπερίδων*.[7] Berenike was listed, along with Cyrene, PTOLEMAIS, and ARSINOE in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which is most probably dated to 215–210 B.C.[8]

An inscription found during the excavation at Sidi Khrebish records a civic decree—in the Cyrenaean dialect—of Berenike that has been dated on the basis of the letterforms and content to the first century B.C.[9] The decree is dated to year 34 of an era (perhaps beginning in 96 B.C. upon the death of Ptolemy Apion; hence, the date would be 62/1 B.C.) and by an eponymous priest of Apollo. The decree honored a certain Apollodoros son of Pankrates for his public service on behalf of the city. Among other things, it records the presence of *neaniskoi* (l. 9)—probably ex-ephebes—and mentions that the city was unwalled at the time (l.13). As was the case at Cyrene, the worship of Apollo was very important at Berenike. This is seen both in the dating of the civic decree by a priest of the god and by the discovery at Sidi Khrebish of two dedications to Apollo. Remains of the Hellenistic circuit wall were uncovered in the course of excavations at Sidi Khrebish in Benghazi.[10] According to Procopius (*De Aedif.* 6.2.5), Justinian rebuilt the walls of Berenike and also built a public bath.

Berenike was well located for trade with both the eastern and western Mediterranean. Thus clay artifacts dating to the Hellenistic period found at Berenike included imports from Italy, Sicily, Tripolitania/Tunisia, Greece and the Aegean basin, Asia Minor, and the eastern Mediterranean; other products, such as lamps and fine pottery, also reflect a flourishing import trade.[11] Berenike was located at the site of the modern Benghazi. The excavation at Sidi Khrebish indicates that the city was laid out on orthogonal grid with the *insulae* having a north-south orientation. Goodchild has estimated that at the height of its prosperity it occupied an area of approximately 1 × .5 kilometers toward the southwestern end of the Pseudopenias.[12] It was the westernmost of the cities of the Pentapolis and was the site of the only natural harbor along the 120 kilometers of coastline stretching from Benghazi eastward to PTOLEMAIS.[13]

* * * *

In general see Sethe, *RE* s.v. "Berenike 8"; Tcherikover, *HS,* 9; Jones, *CERP*², 357; R. G. Goodchild, *Benghazi,* 2d ed. (Shahat, 1962) 8–11; Goodchild, *Antiquity* 26 (1952) 209–11; O. Brogan, *PECS* s.v. "Euesperides later Berenice"; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 383–93, 463–72 and passim; G. B. D. Jones and J. H. Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 65–67; J. Lloyd in *Cyrenaica,* 49–66; id. in *Excavations Benghazi,* 1: 18–21; Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 60; T. V. Buttrey, *LS* 25 (1994) 137–45; J. M. Reynolds, *OCD*³ s.v. "Berenice a."

For the results of the excavations at Sidi Khrebish see J. A. Lloyd et al., *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice)*, LA Supplement 5 (Tripoli, 1977).

1. On **Euesperides** see Goodchild, *Antiquity* 26 (1952) 209–11; Kraeling, *Ptolemais,* 43; Bond and Swales, *LA* 2 (1965) 91; Jones and Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 65–67; Lloyd in *Excavations Benghazi,* 1: 6, 18–19; Jones in *Cyrenaica,* 27–33.

2. For **Berenike formerly having been called Euesperides** see also Pliny (*NH* 5.31); see also Ptolemy 4.4.3; Servius *In Vergil.* 4.483 (ed. Stocker and Travis).

For Berenike in the **literary evidence** see, for example, Lucan *Phars.* 9.524; Silius Italicus 3.249; Athenaeus 2.71b; Eutropius 6.11; Ammianus 22.16.4; *Itin. Ant.* 67.1 ("Beronice," ed. Cuntz); Martianus 6.672 (ed. Willis); Synesius, *Ep.* 79.3 (ed. Garzya); Hierokles 733.3 ("Beronike"); *Geog. Rav.* 2.7 (ed. Schnetz); *Stadiasmus* 57, 58 (*GGM,* 1: 448–51); *Tab. Peut.* VII.4 ("Bernicide"); H. Gelzer et al., eds., *Patr. Nicaen. Nom.* 1.16, 2.16, 3.16, 4.15, 5.17, 7.23, 8.16, 9.16, 11.16.

3. For the **transfer of the inhabitants of Euesperides to the site of Berenike** see Goodchild, *Benghazi*^{2}, 8; Jones and Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 66; Lloyd in *Cyrenaica,* 50.

4. For statues of **Aphrodite** found near the site of Euesperides see E. Ghislanzoni, *Notizie archeologiche sulla Cirenaica* (Rome, 1915) 7–9.

5. On the **coinage** of Euesperides see *BMC Cyrenaica* 109–12; R. C. Bond and J. M. Swales, *LA* 2 (1965) 91–100; T. V. Buttrey (*LS* [1994] 137–45), who noted that the coins of Euesperides were relatively uncommon and that most of the coinage that was used locally was imported. For **coins found at Sidi Khrebish** see R. Reece in *Excavations Berenike,* 229–32. Although no coins can be definitely assigned to Berenike we may note the following: (a) a small group of coins apparently with the mint-mark *BE* in monogram may have been minted at Berenike (Robinson in *BMC Cyrenaica,* clix); (b) the apple-branch that appears on a later Ptolemaic issue may have been a mint mark of Berenike (*BMC Ptolemies,* 108, nos. 57–58). See Buttrey, *Sanctuary of Demeter,* 55–56.

6. We have the following information regarding the **date** of the refoundation: (a) Stephanos (s.v. "Berenike") says that the city was named for Berenike, the wife of Ptolemy; (b) Solinus (27, 54) tells us that the city was fortified by Berenike, the wife of Ptolemy III; (c) Justin (26.3) says that before he died Magas betrothed Berenike to Ptolemy the son of Ptolemy Philadelphos and that after Magas's death her mother broke the engagement and betrothed her to Demetrios the Fair; the latter was subsequently killed, and Berenike then married Ptolemy; (d) the latest coins that have been found at Euesperides were minted before the death of Magas (Buttrey, *LS* 33 [2002] 116: "As to the coins from Euesperides, the terminal date is very clear: the finds cease from the middle of the third century B.C. They concord with those found independently during other excavations or surface surveys at Euesperides, all of them stopping dead at one and the same time. . . . On the evidence of the coins Euesperides ceased to exist on the death of Magas"); (e) Ptolemy III succeeded his father in 246 B.C.

On the other hand, we know neither the precise date of Magas's death (see, for example, Robinson, *BMC Cyrenaica,* xvi [258 B.C.]; Chamoux, *RH* 216 [1956] 22, 30–31 [c. 250 B.C.]; Seibert, *Verbindungen,* 81 [c. 250–248 B.C.]; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 392–93 [250 B.C.]; Buttrey, *LS* 25 (1994) 141–42 [258 B.C.]) nor the date of the marriage of Berenike and Ptolemy.

Bond and Swales, Buttrey, and Laronde have advanced different opinions regard-

ing a possible chronology. Bond and Swales (*LA* 2 [1965] 92–93) pointed out that there is no firm evidence indicating when the transfer from Euesperides began or how long it took. Nevertheless, they claimed that Solinus's statement that Berenike fortified the new settlement "suggests that there was some settlement to 'fortify'" (93). They noted the fact that the latest coins recovered from Euesperides were probably minted before the death of Magas, which they date to 258 B.C. They further suggested the renaming took place at the time of the marriage of Berenike and Ptolemy III, which they dated to 247 B.C. Buttrey (*LS* 25 [1994] 143–44) agreed with Bond and Swales that the numismatic evidence indicates the move to the new site took place some time before the advent of Ptolemy III, but questioned their assumption about the name of the new site. He observed (144): "Solinus only informs us that Berenice fortified the city and that she was married to Ptolemy III. He does not connect these two facts and his identification of her may be intended only to specify her in a world rich in Berenices . . . nothing requires the conclusion that it was as Ptolemy's wife that Berenice (or those who exercised authority in her name) founded the city." Thus he concluded that Euesperides was abandoned at some point in the 250s B.C. ("from toward the end of the reign of Magas or just after his death in 258, but before . . . c. 250" [144]) and that the new city was founded by Berenike prior to her marriage to Ptolemy III. Buttrey's caution about the Solinus passage is well taken. Nevertheless, it is well to recall that Stephanos quite explicitly says the city was named for the wife of Ptolemy. As a result, I believe the combination of the information in Solinus and Stephanos probably means that Berenike was married to Ptolemy at the time of the founding of the city and, hence, that the founding took place after the death of Magas. Laronde (*Cyrène,* 393) tried to equate *munire* (in Solinus) with *τειχίζειν*; i.e., Berenike provided the walls for the new city. Since the walls of a city were normally built before the city itself, Berenike must have founded the city as well. Laronde dated the abandonment of Euesperides to after 250 B.C. Furthermore he suggested this was a deliberate act involving the transfer of the entire population, which was followed by the founding of Berenike ("l'intervalle considerable que les deux savants anglais [i.e., Bond and Swales] croyaient reconnaître entre le déplacement d'Euhespérides et sa métonomasie consécutive au mariage de Bérénice se réduit: au lieu de douze ans, il s'agit seulement de quatre ans au plus").

7. For the **sepulchral inscription** see *Iscrizioni* 284. The toponym is found as *Βε̣ρ̣ε̣ν̣ί̣κας* in the civic decree (*SEG* 28: 1540.7; see below, n. 9)

8. For Berenike in the ***theorodokoi* list** see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) IV.19; and Laronde, *Cyrène,* 383. For the date of the main part of the list see M. Hatzopoulos, *BE* (1994) 432 (220–210 B.C.); D. Knoepfler, *MH* 50 (1993) 40–43 (215–210 B.C.); cf. K. J. Rigsby, *REG* 99 (1986) 353 (beginning of the second cent. B.C.); Laronde, *Cyrène,* 383 (prior to 188 B.C.); and ANTIGONEIA Mantineia.

9. For the **civic inscription** found at Sidi Khrebish see J. M. Reynolds, *ARSLS* 5 (1974) 19–24; Reynolds in *Excavations Benghazi,* 1: 234–36, no. 3 (= *SEG* 28: 1540); Laronde, *Cyrène,* 463–72; J. Robert and L . Robert, *BE* 89 (1976) 792. For the era used in the decree see Reynolds (*ARSLS* 5 [1974] 21), who also considers the possibility of an era dating from 74 or 67 B.C.; contra: Laronde (*Cyrène,* 466), who suggests the era is that of Aktion. Thus he dates the decree to 3/4 A.D. For the **dedications to Apollo** see Reynolds in *Excavations Benghazi,* 1: 233–34, nos. 1–2 (= *SEG* 28: 1541–42); for the worship of Apollo at Cyrene see, for example, *SEG* 9: 76–102.

10. For the **Hellenistic circuit wall** see Lloyd in *Excavations Benghazi,* 1: 43–52; id. in *Cyrenaica,* 54.

11. For **imported clay artifacts at Berenike** see Lloyd in *Cyrenaica,* 61–62; for lamps see also D. Bailey in *Cyrenaica,* 195–96, for fine pottery see Kenrick in *Cyrenaica,* 249–57.

12. On the **site** of Berenike see Goodchild, *Benghazi*^{2}, 9; Jones and Little, *JRS* 61 (1971) 67 (plan of the Benghazi area on p. 66); Lloyd in *Excavations Benghazi* 1: 11–33, fig. 2 on p. 13; Lloyd in *Cyrenaica,* 51–54.

13. On the **Pentapolis** see J. M. Reynolds, *OCD*^{3} s.v. "Pentapolis."

KAINOPOLIS

There are two references—both post-Hellenistic—to Kainopolis in Cyrenaica in the extant sources: Ptolemy (4.4.7) and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* (VII.5, "Cenopolis"). The latter places it on the (coastal) road from Cyrene to Ptolemais; the former locates it farther inland.

Laronde has suggested it was located on the coast at the site of the present Maaten el-Agla. At Maaten el-Agla Laronde discovered moldings from funerary monuments that dated to the Hellenistic age as well as ceramic evidence—Attic ware that dated to the fourth century B.C.—on the acropolis. To the west of the site Laronde discovered Hellenistic tombs that dated to the third and second centuries B.C.[1] On the other hand, to date no coins or inscriptions have been discovered that could confirm the identification of Kainopolis with Maaten el-Agla.

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In general see Fischer, *RE* s.v. "Kainopolis 2"; A. Laronde, *CRAI,* 1983, 67–85; id., *Cyrène,* 62, 264, 267, 270.

1. For the Hellenistic remains at **Maaten el-Agla** see Laronde, *CRAI,* 1983, 80–82.

PTOLEMAIS BARKE

The site later occupied by Ptolemais was apparently first settled by people from Barke, which was approximately 25 [?] kilometers south.[1] The *Periplus* of Ps.-Scylax, which dates to the fourth century B.C., was apparently referring to this site when it described it as the "harbor at Barca" (108; *GGM,* 1: 83).[2] Pliny (*NH* 5.32) and Strabo (17.3.20), as well as later commentators, say that Ptolemais was formerly called Barke.[3] Presumably they meant that Barke was absorbed—by synoecism—into the new foundation.

Πτολεμαιεῖς ἀπὸ Βάρκης are attested in a number of documents from the third–first century B.C.[4] The earliest extant reference to Ptolemais dates to 252/1 B.C.[5] In the mid-second century B.C. it had the status of a *polis;* as such, it honored Ptolemy VI Philometor and Queen Cleopatra.[6] A statue base found

at Tocra and dated palaeographically to the first century B.C. honors Maskix, who was from Ptolemais, for his *arete* and *eunoia* to the *polis* of ARSINOE.[7]

Ptolemais is recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list, which is most probably dated to c. 215–210 B.C.[8] According to Pliny (*NH* 5.31), Ptolemais, along with BERENIKE, ARSINOE, APOLLONIA, and Cyrene, was included in the Pentapolis.[9] There are no coins that can definitely be attributed to Ptolemais.[10]

The city was laid out on a grid pattern, with two *cardines* running north-south. The city blocks measured 182.5 × 36.5 meters.[11] The total area of the city was approximately 1650 × 1400 meters. The Oriental Institute excavators identified as probably Hellenistic the defense perimeter, a small temple, and a building that may have been the main shrine of the Hellenistic city.[12] According to Procopius (*De Aedif.* 6.2.9) Ptolemais had been wealthy and populous in ancient times; in time, however, the city became almost deserted because of the lack of water. This situation was remedied by Justinian, who built an aqueduct.

Ptolemais was located on the Mediterranean coast at the site of the modern village of Tolmeta, approximately 100 kilometers east of Benghazi.[13]

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In general see Thrige, *Res Cyrenensium,* 137–42, 159–64, and passim; Tcherikover, *HS,* 9; Jones, *CERP*², 357; C. H. Kraeling, *Ptolemais;* O. Brogan, *PECS* s.v. "Ptolemais"; Applebaum, *Cyrene,* 59–60; L. Moretti, *RFIC* 104 (1976) 186–91; D. Nasgowitz, *Ptolemais Cyrenaica* (Chicago and London, 1980); Laronde, *Cyrène,* 382–83, 396–401, 437–38, and passim; id. in *Les dossiers d'archéologie* 167 (1992) 56–62.

1. The earliest extant inscription from the harbor of Barca, dated palaeographically to the fourth century B.C., is a funerary stele for a woman of Euesperides who died there (*SEG* 9: 362 = Oliveri, *DAAI,* 2.2: pp. 257–58, no. 537).

2. Jones and Little (*JRS* 61 [1971] 72) say that the *Stadiasmus* (55; *GGM,* 1: 447–48) describes Ptolemais as safe for shipping and adds that there was an anchorage and beaching place. In fact the text says: ἐπισαλός ἐστιν ὁ τόπος . . . ἀσφαλίζου. On the **harbor at Ptolemais** see also Laronde in *L'emporion,* 91–97.

3. For the **identification of Ptolemais and Barke** see also Servius *In Vergil.* 4.42; Stephanos s.v. "Barke"; *Suda* s.v. "Barkaiois"; scholiast to Sophocles *Electra* 727. For the mention of Ptolemais in other literary sources see, for example, Pomponius Mela 1.40; Eutropius 6.11; Ammianus 22.16.4; Martianus 6.672 (ed. Willis)—Ptolomaida; the *Itineraria Antonini* 67.4, 70.2 (ed. Cuntz)—Ptholemais, Ptholomaida; *Tab. Peut.* VII.4—Ptolomaide.

4. ***Πτολεμαιεῖς ἀπὸ Βάρκης*** are recorded in various documents. They are found in an Argive proxeny decree (W. Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne* [1915] 366, no. A; see also *Pros. Ptol.* VI 14928a). Vollgraff originally dated the decree to between 249 and 243 B.C. (*Mnemosyne* [1915] 372–73); subsequently he suggested a date prior to 267 B.C. (*BCH* 82 [1958] 564; this date was accepted by *Pros. Ptol.* VI 14928a). However, Laronde (*Cyrène,* 397) has convincingly demonstrated that there is no real basis for dating the Argive proxeny decree to the first half of the third century B.C. As a re-

sult, he has suggested dating the decree to the second half of the third century B.C. A second document attesting to *Πτολεμαιεῖς ἀπὸ Βάρκης* is *P. Lond.* VII 1986.4, 13, 17 (= H. I. Bell, *Archiv* 7 [1924] 19–20; 252 B.C.). A third document is found in T. Klee, *Zur Geschichte der gymnischen Agone an griechischen Festen* (Leipzig and Berlin, 1918) p. 6, ll. 21–22; 230 B.C. A fourth piece of evidence is offered by an Alexandreian funerary stele set up in memory of a woman who was a *Πτολεμαίσσα ἀπὸ Βάρκ̣ης* (*Iscrizioni* 266 = *Prosopographia Cyrenaica* 3341, second/first cent. B.C.). Finally, a Panathenaic victor list of the first decade of the second century B.C. attests to *Πτολεμαιεὺς ἀπὸ [Βάρκης]* (*IG* II^2 2313.50); for the restoration see L. Moretti, *RFIC* 104 (1976) 188–90, followed by Tracy and Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 230.

5. W. Swinnen (in *Syncrétismes,* 124–25) argued that the **founder of Ptolemais** was Ptolemy I Soter on the grounds that the ethnic *Πτολεμαιεύς* is attested in three documents that predate the mid-third century B.C. He pointed to (a) *P. Hibeh* II 209.5–6 (263/2 B.C.), which mentions a soldier, *Λ]υ̣σ̣ι̣κράτης [.]μ̣α̣ι̣εύς*, who was serving in a unit in which Cyrenaeans are attested; (b) Diogenes Laertius 2.86 (= E. Mannebach, *Aristippi et Cyrenaicorum Fragmenta* [Leiden, 1961] p. 33, no. 131A; see also *Pros. Ptol.* VI 16727), who mentions Aithiops Ptolemaeus, a disciple of Aristippus of Cyrene who lived around 300 B.C.; (c) the Argive proxeny decree. However, Laronde (*Cyrène,* 397) has convincingly challenged this earlier dating (see also P. Charneux, *BE* [1988] 597). He noted that two of the references have the ethnic *Πτολεμαιεύς* without any further specification and hence could refer to some other Ptolemais. I would add that at *P. Hibeh* 209.6 the restoration *Πτολεμαιεύς* is highly questionable; note that only the last three letters could be clearly read. Eric Turner, the editor of the papyrus, remarked that he could not identify the ethnic. Furthermore, I see no specific indication of Cyrenaeans in this particular army unit. Swinnen suggested (124, n. 7) that since Lysikrates belonged to Zoilus's division (in which there were many Cyrenaeans), he must have come from Barke; given the heavy restoration of the name, this supposition is rather weak.

Kraeling (*Ptolemais,* 6) suggested that the founder of Ptolemais was Ptolemy III. Kraeling speculated that this happened at the beginning of his reign when "by his marriage to Berenice II, the daughter of Magas, Cyrenaica was reunited with Egypt and an occasion for conferring special favors upon the land of her birth was thus provided." However, the appearance of the ethnic *Πτολεμαιεὺς ἀπὸ Βάρκης* in *P. Lond.* VII 1986, which dates to 252 B.C., effectively refutes this suggestion. In fact, the evidence of *P. Lond.* VII 1986 points to Ptolemy II Philadelphos as the probable founder.

6. For the ***polis* of Ptolemais** see *SEG* 9: 358 (= *OGIS* 124 = Oliverio, *DAAI,* 1.1: p. 42, no. 2). Another inscription found at Ptolemais (*SEG* 9: 357 = *OGIS* 33 = Oliverio, *DAAI,* 1.1: p. 68, no. 3) records a dedication by the *polis* to Arsinoe, probably Arsinoe II; on the latter inscription see Kraeling (*Ptolemais,* 6), who thought the dedication might have been made by Barca at its harbor. Laronde (*Cyrène,* 398), on the other hand, has argued—persuasively—that the dedication was probably made after 260 B.C., i.e., after the founding of Ptolemais.

7. For the **statue base** see G. Oliverio, *DAAI,* 2.2: p. 238, no. 470 (= *SEG* 9: 417); see also Laronde, *Cyrène,* 478. Although the inscription does not specify which Ptolemais this was, we may assume it was the Cyrenaican city.

8. For Ptolemais in the **Delphic *theorodokoi* list** see A. Plassart, *BCH* 45 (1921) p. 21, col. IV.17; Laronde, *Cyrène,* 383. For the date see BERENIKE in Cyrenaica, n. 8.

9. On the **Pentapolis** see Reynolds, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Pentapolis" and references cited there.

10. Robinson suggested that a small group of **coins** apparently with the mint mark *ΠΤ* in monogram might have been minted at Ptolemais (*BMC Cyrenaica,* clix).

11. With the **city blocks** of Ptolemais compare, for example, those found at ANTIOCH near Daphne, APAMEIA on the Axios, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, Philadelpheia, Dionysias, and Tali in the Fayum (see above, pp. 65–66).

12. On the **defense perimeter** see Kraeling, *Ptolemais,* 51–62; on the **small temple,** *Ptolemais,* 9, 90; on the **main shrine,** *Ptolemais,* 116. The complex that Stucchi (*Architettura cirenaica,* 128–30; followed by M. Luni, *Quaderni di archeologia della Libia* 8 [1976] 232) had identified as a gymnasium more probably represents the remains of the agora (Laronde, *Cyrène,* 398, 437–38).

The discovery of three Egyptian sculptures in the "Palazzo delle Colonne," the most elaborate of the private houses found at Ptolemais, prompted A. Rowe to suggest that there was a colony of Egyptians—named Hut-Isert, i.e., "House of the Tamarisk Grove"—at Ptolemais "probably in the time of Ptolemy III (or II), but perhaps even earlier" (*Cyrenaica,* 63). One of the statuettes was of Harpokrates, the king's general and scribe (*Cyrenaica,* 13, 62–64, 69–76). However, C. Nims (cited in Kraeling, *Ptolemais,* 9) dated the statuette of Harpokrates to the Saite period. As Kraeling notes (9), "all that the sculptures can tell us about Ptolemais is, therefore, that they were brought from Egypt, presumably in the Hellenistic period."

13. On the **location and site** see Kraeling, *Ptolemais,* 33–62 and photographs at end; Nasgowitz, *Ptolemais,* 1–2, 14–34; for a map of Cyrenaica and a plan of the site see Kraeling, *Ptolemais,* 34, fig. 1; 38, fig. 3; see also Goodchild, *TIR Cyrene.*

APPENDICES

I

FOUNDERS

The settlements are grouped below by founder. Definite attributions are indicated thus: (+). Probable or possible attributions are indicated thus: (@). An asterisk indicates the founder is attested only in Appian *Syriake* 57 (see above, p. 3).

Alexander

Alexandreia near Egypt (+)
Samareia (+) (Perdikkas)

In addition, there are a number of towns in Syria and Egypt that had a tradition (often from the Roman period or later) of Alexander as the founder or progenitor or that have been attributed to Alexander by modern scholars (see the discussion in Appendix II and the appropriate entry). These include

Alexandreia by Issos
Antioch near Daphne
Capitolias
Dion
Gaza
Gerasa (Perdikkas)
Larisa Sizara
Nikopolis
Paraitonion
Pella in southern Syria
Pella in northern Syria
Seleukeia Abila
Tyre

Antigonos Monophthalmos

Antigoneia on the Orontes (+)

Ptolemies

NORTHERN SYRIA

Ras Ibn Hani	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)

PHOENICIA

Ptolemais Ake	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (+)

SOUTHERN SYRIA

Philadelpheia	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (+)
Philoteria	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (@)
Skythopolis	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (?)
Straton's Tower	?
Berenike/Pella	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)

EGYPT

Euergetis	Boethos (+)
Kleopatra	Boethos (+)
Philometoris	Boethos (+)
Ptolemais in the Thebaid	Ptolemy I Soter (+)

RED SEA BASIN

Ampelone	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (@)
Arsinoe/Kleopatris	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (+)
Arsinoe Trogodytika	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (@)
Berenike Trogodytika	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (+)
Klysma	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (@)
Myos Hormos	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (@)
Philotera	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (+) (Satyros)
Ptolemais Theron	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (+) (Eumedes)
Arsinoe near Deire	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)
Berenike Epi Dires	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)
Berenike Ezion Geber	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)
Berenike near Sabai	Ptolemy III Euergetes (?)
Berenike Panchrysos	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)

Dioskorides	Ptolemy IV Philopator (@)
Kleopatris (Arsinoe)	Cleopatra VII (@)

CYRENAICA

Ptolemais Barke	Ptolemy II Philadelphos (@)
Arsinoe Taucheira	Ptolemy III Euergetes (@)
Berenike Euesperides	Berenike (@)

Seleucids

NORTHERN SYRIA

Achaia	Seleukos I Nikator*
Antioch near Daphne	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
[Antioch under Libanos	Seleukos I Nikator]*
Apameia on the Axios	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Apollonia	Seleukos I Nikator*
Arethousa	Seleukos I Nikator*
Astakos	Seleukos I Nikator*
Heraia	Seleukos I Nikator*
Kallipolis	Seleukos I Nikator*
Laodikeia by the Sea	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Laodikeia near Libanos	Seleukos I Nikator*
Larisa Sizara	Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Pella	Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Perinthos	Seleukos I Nikator*
Seleukeia in Pieria	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos	Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Tegea	Seleukos I Nikator*
Seleukeia near Belos	Seleukos I or Antiochos I
Antioch in Pieria	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)
Epiphaneia	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)

CHALCIDICE, CYRRHESTICE, AND COMMAGENE

Amphipolis	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Beroia	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Chalkis on Belos	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Doura Europos	Seleukos I Nikator (+) (Nikanor)
Hierapolis Bambyke	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Kyrrhos	Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Maroneia	Seleukos I Nikator*

Nikatoris	Seleukos I Nikator (@)
Oropos	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Seleukeia on the Euphrates/ Zeugma	Seleukos I Nikator (+)
Epiphaneia on the Euphrates	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)
Stratonikeia near the Tauros	?

PHOENICIA

Antioch/Ptolemais Ake	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)
Laodikeia in Phoenicia Berytos	Seleukos IV or Antiochos IV

SOUTHERN SYRIA

Seleukeia Gadara	Seleukos IV Philopator (@)
Seleukeia Abila	Seleukos IV Philopator (@)
Seleukeia Gaza	Seleukos IV Philopator (@)
Seleukeia in the Gaulan	Seleukos IV Philopator (@)
Antioch by Hippos	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)
Antioch on the Chrysorhoas Gerasa	Antiochos IV Epiphanes (@)
Lysias	Lysias (@)
Demetrias Damascus	?
Heliopolis	?

Dynasty of Commagene

Arsameia on the Euphrates	Arsames (@)
Arsameia on the Nymphaios	Arsames (+)
Samosata	Samos I (@)

II

SETTLEMENTS ATTRIBUTED TO ALEXANDER IN SYRIA, PHOENICIA, AND EGYPT

The situation regarding settlements in Syria and Phoenicia attributed to Alexander is similar to that in Asia Minor: there are numerous claims, both in (late) antiquity and in modern times, but—except for Alexandreia near Egypt and Samareia—very little confirmatory evidence. Consult the appropriate entries for further discussion and references.

ALEXANDREIA NEAR EGYPT. This is the first major settlement that can definitely be attributed to the Macedonian king.

ALEXANDREIA BY ISSOS. Ps.-Scymnus (923 = *GGM,* 1: 235 = Diller, *MGG,* 174) is the only extant ancient source who says Alexander was the founder. Herodian (3.4.3) and Strabo (14.5.19) both refer to the city but do not mention Alexander as the founder. Neither Arrian nor Curtius Rufus mentions it. The *A* recension of the *Alexander Romance* does not include it among Alexander's settlements. On the other hand, the settlement is recorded among his foundations in the Armenian translation as well as the *B* recension and its derivatives. And the *Excerpta Latina Barbari* (34b.4, ed. Schoene) mentions an "Alexandria qui cabiosum" among Alexander's foundations. Finally, among the seals found just outside Iskenderun one bears a portrait head of Alexander.

ALEXANDROSCHENE. The *Itinerarium Burdigalense* 584.4 (ed. Cuntz), which dates to 333 A.D., is the only extant source for Alexandroschene. It was located on the coast, south of Tyre. There is no evidence that connects Alexandroschene to the Macedonian king.

ANTIOCH NEAR DAPHNE. According to Libanius, Alexander planned to found a city on the site of what was later to become Antioch (*Or.* 11.72–76). Although he was prevented from doing this by the need to

continue his campaigning, Alexander nevertheless did establish a shrine of Zeus Battaios (76), named for the region in Macedonia whence he came. Libanius also says Alexander established an *akra* called Emathia after his homeland. What, if anything, Alexander actually did at or near the site of the future Antioch is unclear. Downey's explanation—that this was an aetiological legend designed to glorify the origins of Antioch—is probably close to the truth.

CAPITOLIAS. A coin of Capitolias minted under Commodus bears the legend *Καπι(τωλιέων) Ἀλέξ(ανδρος) Μακε(δὼν) γενάρ(χης)*. This is the only extant evidence for Alexander as founder of the settlement.

DION. According to Stephanos (s.v. "Dion 7"), Alexander the Great founded Dion in Coele Syria and Pella.

GAZA. In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great besieged and captured Gaza. After capturing it, Alexander sold the women and children into slavery, repopulated the city with people drawn from the surrounding region, and used it as a fortress (Arrian 2.26–27). There is no evidence, however, that Alexander actually refounded Gaza.

GERASA. According to a late tradition (in a gloss of Iamblichus's commentary on the *Arithmetica* of Nicomachus), the toponym Gerasa was derived from Alexander having settled a group of veterans (*γέροντες*) at the site. The *Etymologicum Magnum* (s.v. "Gerasenos") recounts that after Alexander took the city and killed the "young men," he discharged the "old men," who founded the settlement. Dismissing the fanciful etymology for the toponym, we are left with a (late) association of Alexander with the founding of a settlement at Gerasa. A coin of the early third century A.D. bears the legend *Ἀλέξ(ανδρος) Μακ(εδὼν) κτί(στης) Γεράσων*, and other coins minted under Elagabalus have a bust of Alexander on the obverse and the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΜΑΚΕΔΩΝ* on the reverse. And an inscription, dated palaeographically to the second half of the second century A.D., mentions certain "Macedonians." On the other hand, a pedestal that bore a statue of Perdikkas, Alexander's general, had a dedication that is dated palaeographically to the first half of the third century A.D. There is, however, no inherent contradiction between the claims of both Alexander and Perdikkas as "founder" of Gerasa; in fact, we encounter a similar situation at SAMAREIA. In short, it is possible that Perdikkas founded the colony at Gerasa on orders from the king. It is worth noting that the extant evidence for Alexander as founder of Gerasa is late. This is similar to the situation for various cities in Asia Minor that first laid claim to Alexander as their founder or discovered their "Greek" or "Macedonian" ancestry in the Imperial period (see, for example, EUMENEIA in Phrygia).

LARISA SIZARA. Grainger (*Seleukid Syria,* 39–40) has suggested that Alexander (rather than Seleukos I Nikator or Antigonos I Monophthalmos) founded Larisa. He correctly noted that Thessalians played a prominent role in a number of Alexander's battles (Arr. *Anab.* 2.9.1, 3.11.10; Plut. *Alex.* 24). N.b., however, that there is no extant evidence indicating Alexander actually settled any of them in Syria. Furthermore, Grainger allows that Antigonos or even Seleukos could have inherited them (40 n. 51). But this is moving into the realm of speculation. We know that (a) there was colony of Thessalians who settled at Larisa, and (b) Appian—who admittedly is not always reliable in his attributions—said Seleukos founded it. Probability, therefore, suggests Seleukos was the founder. More than that we cannot say.

NIKOPOLIS. Two pieces of evidence, neither convincing, raise the possibility that Alexander founded Nikopolis: (a) Stephanos (s.v. "Issos") says Nikopolis was a *πόλις . . . ἐν ᾗ Ἀλέξανδρος Δαρεῖον ἐνίκησεν, ἣ ἐκλήθη διὰ τοῦτο Νικόπολις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ,* and (b) a statue base found at Islâhiye and dated palaeographically to the Imperial period ("second century?"), is inscribed "Alexander son of Philip." Note, however, that Stephanos does not specifically say Alexander founded the settlement. Furthermore, Stephanos is hardly a reliable witness without the support of other confirming evidence. As for the statue base, it is evidence that in the Imperial period Nikopolis *claimed* to be a foundation of Alexander (assuming—as is undoubtedly the case—the reference is to the Macedonian king).

PARAITONION. The assertion that Alexander founded a settlement on the Mediterranean coast of Egypt at Paraitonion is found in various late texts: the *Oxyrhynchus Chronicle* (*P. Oxy.* I 12, col. V.1–4), which probably dates to the first or second century A.D.; Hieronymus (124, ed. Helm^2); and the *Alexander Romance* (1.31, ed. Kroll). The claim has been met with reserve or skepticism by most scholars.

PELLA in northern Syria. Strabo (16.2.10) says that Pella was so-named by "the first Macedonians." There has been much discussion as to what Strabo meant by "the first Macedonians." Droysen and J. Balty and J.-C. Balty suggested the reference was to Alexander.

PELLA in southern Syria. According to Stephanos (s.v. "Dion") Dion was a *πόλις . . . Κοίλης Συρίας, κτίσμα Ἀλεξάνδρου, καὶ Πέλλα.* As has often been noted, the words *καὶ Πέλλα* are probably a gloss indicating that both Pella and Dion were founded by the Macedonian king.

SAMAREIA. According to Curtius Rufus (4.8.9), while Alexander the Great was in Egypt (332/331 B.C.) the Samaritans rebelled and assassinated Andromachos, the governor of Syria. Alexander punished the city

and settled Macedonians there. As far as we know, this was the first Macedonian colony established by Alexander in the course of his expedition.

SELEUKEIA ABILA. The usual legend on the reverse of the coinage of Seleukeia Abila reads *ΣΕ ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ Ι Α Α Γ ΚΟΙ ΣΥ* or variants thereof. Meshorer has suggested reading *Α*(*ΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ*) *Γ*(*ΕΝΑΡΧΗΣ*) for the letters *Α Γ* : that is, the people of Abila considered Alexander the Great to be the progenitor of the city (*City-Coins,* 78). In addition, a coin dating to the reign of Geta that bears on the reverse the inscription *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΣ* and a portrayal of the two kings shaking hands has been attributed to Abila. Unfortunately the coin lacks a city name or ethnic.

TYRE. In 332 B.C. Alexander the Great besieged and destroyed the city of Tyre. Subsequently he rebuilt and repopulated the city (Justin 18.3). Tcherikover was understandably hesitant about considering this a new Hellenistic foundation. Nevertheless, Alexander apparently did rebuild Tyre on a major scale, as he later did at GAZA. Such large-scale rehabilitation of cities became quite common in the Hellenistic period; thus, for example, THEBES, LYSIMACHEIA in Thrace, SARDIS in Lydia, and AMYZON in Caria.

III

GREEK AND MACEDONIAN TOPONYMS THAT REAPPEAR IN SYRIA AND PHOENICIA

Listed below are some of the names of European towns, regions, or rivers that may have been given to cults, regions, rivers, or Hellenistic settlements in (northern and southern) Syria and Phoenicia. Note that in a few cases, for example, Megara, the name of the settlement may have resulted from the Grecizing of a local name rather than from the adoption of a European toponym. For further information consult the appropriate entry. See also, for example, E. Frézouls in *La toponymie,* 219–48; P. Chuvin in *GHPO,* 99–110.

TOWN/REGION	AREA
Achaia	Thessaly, Peloponnese
Ainos	Thrace, Ozolian Locris, Thessaly
Amphipolis	Macedonia
Anthedon	Boeotia
Apollonia	Crete, Illyria, Thrace, Macedonia, Chalcidice, Aetolia
Arethousa	Macedonia, Euboea, Ithaca (fountain)
Astakos	Acarnania
Axios River	Macedonia
Beroia	Macedonia, Thrace
Bottia	Macedonia
Chalkis	Euboea, Chalcidice, Aetolia, Epirus
Chaonia	Epirus
Charadros	Phocis, Epirus, Peloponnese
Dion	Macedonia
Doliche	Thessaly
Emathia	Macedonia
Europos	Macedonia, Epirus

Genderros/Genderra	Macedonia
Hellas	Thessaly
Heraia	Peloponnese
Herakleia	Macedonia, Trachinia
Kallipolis	Thrace, Aetolia
Kyrrhos	Macedonia
Larisa	Thessaly
Leukas	Ionian island
Maroneia	Chalcidice
Megara	Megara
Oropos	See OROPOS, n. 1
Pella	Macedonia
Perinthos	Thrace
Pieria	Macedonia
Serrhai	Macedonia
Tegea	Peloponnese, Crete

IV

“ALEXANDRIA AD AEGYPTUM”

The Romans distinguished clearly between Alexandreia and Egypt in official documents.[1] And the term “Alexandria ad Aegyptum” itself is obviously Roman. Nevertheless, in the Hellenistic period we also encounter the distinction between Alexandreia and Egypt (the *chora*) from as early as the third century B.C.[2] In the second century B.C. the Alexandrian astronomer Hypsikles referred to the city as “Alexandreia near Egypt” (*Ἀλεξάνδρεια ἡ πρὸς Αἴγυπτον, Anaphorikos* p. 36, l. 63 [ed. V. de Falco]). Here, therefore, I should like to consider some of the factors that may originally have given rise to the distinction between Alexandreia and Egypt.

We may note in the first place that Homer distinguished the island of Pharos from Egypt. The *Odyssey* (4.355) describes the island of Pharos, which was immediately offshore from the site of (the later) Alexandreia, as being “before/in front of” Egypt (*Αἰγύπτου προπάροιθε*).[3] But this does not necessarily prove anything; Pharos *was*, after all, an island off the Egyptian coast. Similarly, the hieroglyphic Satrap Stele, which dates to 311 B.C., states that Ptolemy I Soter “made his residence, named the Fortress of the King of Upper and Lower Egypt Merikaamon-Setepenre, the son of Re, Alexander,

1. See, for example, A. Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens* (Stuttgart, 1915) 85–90; H. I. Bell, *JRS* 36 (1946) 130–32; Fraser, *JRS* 39 (1949) 56; see also V. Arangio-Ruiz, *Labeo* 5 (1959) 79–85.

2. See, for example, *OGIS* 56.5, 8, 9 (third cent. B.C.); *P. Hib.* I 27.167 (third cent. B.C.); *P. Lugd. Bat.* XX 41 (third cent. B.C.); *P. Rev.* cols. 36.3, 40.9, 18, 43.11, 47.17, 50.20–21, 52.8, 54.14 (third cent. B.C.); *OGIS* 90.7, 33, 46, 50 (second cent. B.C.); *P. Tebt.* I 5.180, 188 (second cent. B.C.).

3. For Egypt and the Nile in Homer see, for example, A. Bernand, *Leçon de civilisation* (Paris, 1994) 64–65.

whose former name was Rakotis, on the shore of the great green sea of the Greeks."[4] Huss has suggested that since the location was stated to be "on the shore of the Great Sea of the Ionians," this indicates the Egyptians considered Alexandreia to be located outside of Egypt.[5] In fact, the tension between the native Egyptians and the Greco-Macedonian population was a phenomenon that one encounters at various points throughout the Hellenistic period. The well-known *P. Col. Zenon* 66, which dates to the mid-third century B.C., makes clear the Greek feeling of superiority vis-à-vis the Egyptians, and the Egyptian resentment of it. We can see a reflection of this attitude of Greek superiority in the fact that it was not until Cleopatra VII that a Ptolemaic monarch bothered to learn the Egyptian language (Plut. *Antony* 27.4).[6] This tension between the Egyptians and the Greeks raises an important issue: what lay behind the distinction between Alexandreia and Egypt?

Let us first look at the evidence regarding the name and status of Alexandreia. In the third century B.C. the extant sources do not present an entirely clear picture. The Revenue Laws of 259 B.C. (*P. Rev.* cols. 52.7–22, 54.15–18) distinguish between Alexandreia and Pelousion as ports of entry and the rest of Egypt. At this stage, however, the distinction appears to have been limited to fiscal regulations and not juridical condition. Furthermore, a Delian decree of roughly the same period—that is, when Delos was under Ptolemaic influence—honors a Naxian who is described as a "resident of Alexandreia of Egypt" (*IG* XI.4 588.3–4). That is to say, at this time the Delians regarded Alexandreia simply as a normal part of Egypt. And a Delphic inscription of 274 B.C. records a grant of *promanteia* to Ἀλεξανδρεῖς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου (*Syll.*[3] 404). Undoubtedly in this case ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου was added simply to indicate which Alexandreia was meant.

I have already mentioned that in the second century B.C. Hypsikles referred to the city as "Alexandreia near Egypt." The "Oracle of the Potter" talks of

4. The translation of R. K. Ritner in *Ancient Egypt*[3], 393. Cf. the translation of M. Chauveau (in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 2): "Il a établi sa résidence, dont le nom est 'La forteresse du Roi de Haute- et Basse Égypte Setepenkarê-Mériamnon, Fils de Rê Alexandre', sur le rivage de la *Ouadj-our* des *Haou-Nébou,* son nom précédent (*hnt*) étant Raokôté (*R* ʿ-qd)." On the Satrap Stele see also R. S. Bianchi, *Lex. Ägypt.* s.v. "Satrapenstele."

Rhakotis is also frequently mentioned in ostraca from an archive of Hor found at Saqqara. The ostraca date to the second quarter of the second century B.C.; see J. D. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London, 1976). One text reads, according to Ray's translation: "at a time (when) Egypt divorced itself (from) Alexandria" (text no. 3 verso, ll. 9–10). This, of course, would indicate a clear distinction between Alexandreia and Egypt. Note, however, that Michel Chauveau would read the text differently: "le moment où l'Égypte s'était déchirée, où Rakôte était en proie aux troubles" (in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 7–8). On Rhakotis see also J. Quaegebeur, *Lex. Ägypt.* s.v. "Rakotis"; and ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, n. 6.

5. In *Alessandria,* 76.

6. For the tension between the Greeks and the Egyptians see below and n. 37.

cult images that "will be bought back [from Alexandreia] to Egypt." Strabo (17.1.12), in recounting the unrest in Alexandreia under Ptolemy VIII Euergetes II, cites Polybius, who talked of going from Alexandreia to Egypt. And a Roman *senatus consultum* of c. 100 B.C. distinguished between the Ptolemies reigning "in Cyprus," "in Alexandreia and Egypt," and "in Cyrene" (*SEG* 3:378B.8–9). Finally, in the mid-first century B.C. an inscription (*I. Didyma* 218.7 = *OGIS* 193) mentioned εἰς Ἀλεξάνδρησαν τὴν πρὸς [Αἰγύπτωι].

By the Roman period, of course, Alexandreia was not considered to be a part of the Imperial province of Egypt. Under the empire the official name of the city was Alexandria ad Aegyptum (e.g., *CIL* 3: 399, 6: 8582, 10: 1685), namely, "Alexandreia by Egypt." There is considerable evidence attesting this distinction.[7] For example, in his famous letter to the Alexandreians (*CPJ* II 153) the emperor Claudius referred to Taposiris in Libya, Pharos in Alexandreia, and Pelousion in Egypt (ll. 46–48) and elsewhere forbade the Alexandreian Jews from bringing to the city Jews from Syria or Egypt (l. 96). Philo distinguished between Alexandreia and Egypt/the *chora* (e.g., *In Flacc.* 2, 5, 43, 74, 78, 163), as did Josephus (*BJ* 4.616). Pomponius Mela, who probably published his *De Chorographia* in 43 or 44 A.D.,[8] noted that on the coast (of Egypt), Alexandreia bordered on Africa, and Pelousion bordered on Arabia ("in litore Alexandria Africae contermina, Pelusium Arabiae," 1.60). He also observed, incidentally, that the most famous Egyptian cities were located far from the sea. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea,* which probably dates to the first century A.D., emphasizes Alexandreia's commercial importance by noting that "it receives cargoes both from overseas and from Egypt" (26).[9] Lucian, who lived in the early second century A.D., mentions a young man from Alexandreia who, according to the translation of A. M. Harmon in the Loeb edition, "cruised up the Nile as far as Clysma." In fact, the Greek says that he sailed up to *Egypt* as far as Klysma (ἀναπλεύσας ὁ νεανίσκος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἄχρι τοῦ Κλύσματος, *Alexander the False Prophet* 44 [italics mine]). Similarly, Strabo (17.1.29) records how Aelius Gallus the prefect sailed to Egypt. We may also note that the *Alexander Romance* (34.1) recounts that, after founding Alexandreia, the Macedonian king departed "for Egypt." Finally, a number of papyri dating from Roman times apparently contain references to travel between Alexandreia and Egypt.[10]

Nevertheless, it is important to note that the description of Alexandreia as being "by" or "near Egypt" was not universal, even in Roman times. In var-

7. See above, n. 1; references cited by Stein, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte und Verwaltung Aegyptens,* 86–89; Bell, *JRS* 36 (1946) 130–32; contra: F. Schulz, *JRS* 33 (1943) 58.

8. F. E. Romer, *Pomponius Mela's Description of the World* (Ann Arbor, 1998) 3.

9. On the date of the *Periplus* see Casson, *Periplus,* 6–7.

10. See, for example, *P. Oxy.* IV 727.11 (154 A.D.), 35, recto 9 (223 A.D.), XIV 1681.18–19 (third cent. A.D.).

ious literary sources we find the city was still described as being "in Egypt"; for example, Livy (8.24.1), Solinus (40.5), and Valerius Maximus (1.4, ext. 1) refer to it as "Alexandrea/Alexandria in Aegypto." Similarly, Pausanias describes it as a city in Egypt (*ἡ δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου πόλις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ,* 8.33.3). And Stephanos (s.v. "Alexandreia") refers to it as "Egyptian or Libyan Alexandreia."

In this connection, there are two strands of thought we should consider: (a) the status of Alexandreia and (b) the native Egyptian view of the city. Let us first discuss the status of the city.

In his *Law of Greco-Roman Egypt in the Light of the Papyri*², Taubenschlag referred to the city as *ἡ πόλις τῶν Ἀλεξανδρέων.*[11] In the accompanying footnote he cited only *τὸ πολίτευμα τῶν Ἀλεξανδρείων* (*PSI* X 1160.5), which is found in a papyrus dating from the early Augustan period. There are numerous inscriptions from within and beyond Alexandreia that refer to individual Alexandreians as such.[12] What we do not have in the surviving sources are official decrees or other documents from Alexandreia or elsewhere that contain a reference to Alexandreia. Furthermore, since the Alexandreian mint produced royal rather than municipal coins, we do not have examples of coinage with the city ethnic. This, of course, would have told us the official name of the settlement.

Certainly we do not normally encounter the ethnic "the Alexandreians" (in the plural) or "the city of the Alexandreians" used in an official context in the extant evidence.[13] It will not be surprising, therefore, that modern scholars have hesitated in their attempts to describe the civic status of Alexandreia. Tarn has suggested that Alexandreia was not a *polis* in the strict Greek sense but rather a collection of *politeumata* based on nationalities and that the Greek *politeuma* was simply the most important.[14] Édouard Will noted: "Résidence royale, ville de garnison, siège d'une humanité cosmopolite, Alexandrie, malgré ses magistrats élus et, au début, sa *boulè,* n'a rien d'une *polis* grecque autonome."[15] Bernand observed: "Il est intéressant de noter que l'appelation en usage en Grèce, c'est-à-dire la mention du peuple dont la ville était la cité, ne fut guère employée en ce qui concerne Alexandrie.

11. *Law*², 583.

12. See, for example, *IG* II² 2314.35, 2317.39; S. V. Tracy and C. Habicht, *Hesperia* 60 (1991) 189, col. I.33.

13. Parenthetically, I would mention a series of coins, among the first issued by Ptolemy I Soter, which contain the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ*. Unfortunately, there is no scholarly consensus as to whether *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ* on these coins is the adjectival form of the toponym Alexandreia or of the personal name Alexander. In other words, does it mean "Ptolemy's [coin] of Alexandreia" or—less probably—"Ptolemy's [coin] of Alexander"? In any event, the legend *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ* was short-lived and was soon replaced by the more common *ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ*. See further, ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, n. 28.

14. *HC*³, 185.

15. In *Le monde grec et l'orient* (Paris, 1975) 2:467, n. 2.

On ne disait pas 'la ville des Alexandrins' parce que ni la notion d'Alexandrin ni le status d'Alexandrie n'étaient simples."[16]

There is, however, another dimension to the problem of the status of Alexandreia. Based on the nomenclature, Édouard Will also suggested that Alexandreia had an "extra-territorial" status: that is, it was not part of Egypt, but next to it.[17] Incidentally, it is useful to remember that in the ancient Near East "extra-territoriality" was often granted to foreign emporia or trading colonies. This was the case, for example, with Assyrian colonies in Cappadocia in the second millennium B.C.[18]

In any event, the characterization of Alexandreia's status is undoubtedly true in the second century B.C. and later. On the other hand, the precise relationship of Alexandreia to Egypt in the third century B.C. is not entirely clear. Despite this uncertainty regarding the status of Alexandreia in the third century B.C., Will's observation about its extra-territoriality is a useful one. To illustrate his point Will called the French reader's attention to the exceptional status of Paris.[19] We may also consider the American capital, Washington. This city, it will be recalled, is not part of any state—the only such city in the United States—but rather is in and is coterminous with the District of Columbia. According to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* article on Washington, "its framework of local government, as prescribed in the U.S. Constitution, places it entirely under the control of Congress and provides virtually none of the benefits of sovereignty or self-determination enjoyed by citizens elsewhere in America. . . . Decisions about local and administrative or fiscal matters often are not easily sorted out from those in which the Federal government has the primary interest. As a result, the municipal governmental institutions have undergone frequent changes." Far-reaching changes in Washington's government and its relation to the federal government have taken place most prominently in 1802, in 1871, in 1967, and 1970. It is interesting to note that until 1961 residents of the District of Columbia were denied all rights to vote in any elections. The article goes on to explain that "while the District of Columbia has a municipal form of government, the Congress has historically treated it as a branch of the federal government. For example, District firemen, policemen, and many other municipal employees are selected through the federal Civil Service Commission. All municipal expenditures, such as those for schools, parks and playgrounds, still must be appropriated annually by Congress . . . and approved

16. *Ptolémées,* 32.

17. In *Le monde grec et l'Orient* [Paris, 1975) 467–8, n. 2.

18. See, for example, L. L. Orlin, *Assyrian Colonies in Cappadocia* (The Hague and Paris, 1970) 179; P. Garelli, *Les Assyriens en Cappadoce* (Paris, 1963) 172, 368.

19. Note, incidentally, that in France one distinguishes between Paris and "the province."

by the President. . . . Municipal functions remain in control of a combination of local and federal committees. . . . Public security and law enforcement are handled by four separate law-enforcement agencies, each with its own jurisdictional area. . . . The unwieldiness of Washington's governmental apparatus long was most apparent in the operation of its courts. Until recently, legal jurisdiction over District matters was shared by two federal courts and three local courts, appeals from which were directed to separate appeals courts."[20] The travails of Washington, D.C., illustrate rather well the unique and complicated nature as well as the continuing evolution of the government of a capital city that is, essentially, both extra-territorial and dependent on the state for its well-being.

Naukratis

If, however, we are seeking a paradigm for extra-territoriality from antiquity we might also consider an example much closer to Alexandreia in time and space: Naukratis, which Fraser described as "a prelude to, if not an actual precedent for, . . . Alexandria."[21] Naukratis evolved out of a Milesian settlement on the Bolbitine (Rosetta) mouth of the Nile. Around 570 B.C. the Saite king, Amasis, granted it a concession to be a port of entry for Greek trade entering and leaving the Delta region. As Kees has pointed out, the concessions it received from the pharaoh were similar to those granted to trading bases on the Nubian frontier.[22] Furthermore, Kees noted that Sesostris III ordered all waterborne goods entering Egypt from the south to do so through Acina near Wadi Halfa. Similar restrictions were applied with regard to Naukratis. It was, as Herodotus says (2.179), the only *emporion* in Egypt. At the same time, all other mouths of the Nile were closed to the Greeks, and all Greek trade had to pass through Naukratis. This effectively allowed the Egyptians to control both the trade and the resident foreign population.

Coming down to the Hellenistic period, we should recall that Alexander founded Alexandreia with the assistance of two men in particular, Deinokrates of Rhodes and Kleomenes, who was, in fact, from Naukratis. Naukratis, I believe, looms larger in the history of Alexandreia than has previously been appreciated. For example, Peter Green has recently suggested that Alexan-

20. R.W. Stephens, *The New Encyclopedia Britannica Macropedia*[15] s.v. "Washington."

21. In *Alexandrien,* ed. Hinske, 63. In general see Kees, *RE* s.v. "Naukratis"; A. Bernand, *Le Delta égyptien d'apres les textes grecs* (Cairo, 1970) 1: 574–863; *Dizionario* s.v. "Naukratis"; Cockle, *OCD*[3] s.v. "Naucratis"; and A. Leonard, Jr., *Ancient Naukratis: Excavations at a Greek Emporion in Egypt, Part 1* (Atlanta, 1997) 1–35; S. Rotroff, *BASOR* 318 (2000) 81–84; J. Yoyotte, *Annuaire du Collège de France* (1991–92) 634–44, (1993–94) 679–92, (1994–95) 669–82; see also Le Rider, *BCH* 121 (1997) 92 n. 65.

22. *Ancient Egypt* (Chicago, 1961) 208.

der must have considered founding his new settlement at the site of Naukratis.[23] In support of this contention he notes that after visiting Memphis Alexander sailed down the Canopic branch of the Nile (Arrian 3.1.4). At this point he was already thinking of founding a major new city. Green speculates that it was during his voyage down the Nile that Alexander must have considered the possibility of founding the settlement at Naukratis. He suggests that wealthy Naukratites tried to sell him this idea. In support of this contention Green points to a little-noticed passage in Plutarch (*Alex.* 26.2–3): "They say . . . that after his conquest of Egypt he wished to found a large and prosperous Greek city which should bear his name, and by the advice of his architects was on the point of measuring off and enclosing a certain site for it. Then, in the night, as he lay asleep, he saw a wonderful vision" (trans. Perrin). This was the vision that turned his attention to the island of Pharos. Noting that Kleomenes was from Naukratis, Green speculates that the "certain site" was Naukratis. This is certainly an interesting hypothesis.

In any event, it is clear that Alexandreia effectively replaced Naukratis as *the emporion* for Egyptian trade with the Aegean and Mediterranean basins. The inhabitants of Naukratis—including Kleomenes himself—could not have been unaware of the economic possibilities being opened up by the founding of Alexandreia. Furthermore, we may well expect that many Naukratites migrated to Alexandreia and became inhabitants of the new settlement. In this connection, it is well to remember, too, that it was Kleomenes who was entrusted by Alexander with the task of completing the construction of the settlement—Justin specifically says he built Alexandreia (13.4.11)—and subsequently became Alexander's governor of Egypt. Kleomenes' association with Alexandreia was so great, in fact, that Ps.-Aristotle referred to him as an "Alexandreian" (*Oecon.* 1352a16).[24] In short, Alexandreia's early development was directed (in part) by a prominent Naukratite and may well have included other former Naukratites in its population. We know that Naukratis's law code served as a model for Hadrian's foundation of Antinoopolis.[25] On the other hand, we do not know what effect the presence of Kleomenes and (presumably) other Naukratites might have had on the early history, organization, and status of Alexandreia. That having been said, it is interesting to compare the relation of Naukratis to Saite Egypt with that of Alexandreia to Ptolemaic Egypt.

Of course Naukratis was not the capital of Saite Egypt. Quite the contrary. It was a foreign settlement established on the western edge of Egypt and at

23. In *Alexandrianism,* 9.

24. On Kleomenes see G. Le Rider, *BCH* 121 (1997) 71–93; and earlier scholarship cited in nn. 1–8.

25. *Chrest. W.* 27.17ff.; see also Braunert, *JJP* 14 (1962) 77–78; id., *Die Binnenwanderung* (Bonn, 1964) 81, 123.

the same time set off from it. The exact status of Naukratis—was it a real *polis* or just an *emporion*?—is not definitely known. Herodotus, who is our main literary source, refers to it both ways.[26] Carl Roebuck has argued that in the Archaic period it acted like an independent Greek *polis* and was so recognized by other Greek cities.[27] But whatever its status, it would appear that under the pharaohs (and their successors) it existed apart from Egypt. In short, it had "extra-territoriality."

As for Alexandreia, what deserves to be noted is that it was also a city set apart in some way from Egypt. As such, it was the true heir of Naukratis, the trading center it replaced. But this is as far as we can proceed with an attempt at comparison, and even this serves more to illustrate than to define Alexandreia's precise relation to the Ptolemaic kingdom. In fact, what we do not know is whether or to what degree "extra-territoriality" affected the degree of autonomy Alexandreia enjoyed.

Naukratis is not the only city that may serve to illuminate Egyptian xenophobia. The same sentiment that prompted the Egyptians to isolate Naukratis can also be seen in their contrasting attitude to Memphis and Alexandreia.

Memphis

When Alexander and, following him, the Diadochoi, came to Syria they found a region that was sparsely populated. Certainly there was no major urban center that already served as the capital city of the region. The situation in Egypt was quite different. According to Diodorus (1.31.6–7), in "ancient times" there were 18,000 cities and villages there. By the time of Ptolemy Soter the number of cities and villages had risen to an impressive total of 30,000.[28] Allowing for exaggeration, the point is nevertheless taken: Egypt was an old, highly developed, and densely populated country. Furthermore, it had an old capital city—Memphis—which Alexander was quick to visit in the course of his Egyptian sojourn. We can gauge the importance of Memphis by the fact that Ptolemy originally brought Alexander's corpse for (interim) burial there before transferring it to Alexandreia and by the possibility that Alexander may have originally established his Egyptian mint there (it was subsequently moved to Alexandreia).[29] Of course, in both these in-

26. 2.178–79; see also J.-P. Wilson in *The Development of the Polis in Archaic Greece,* ed. L. G. Mitchell and P. J. Rhodes (London and New York, 1997) 204.

27. *CP* 46 (1951) 212–20.

28. On the population of Egypt and the number of cities see also Herodotus 2.177; Pomponius Mela 1.60; Pliny *NH* 5.60; Eustathius ad Homer *Il.* 2.654.

29. On the question—still unresolved—as to whether or not Alexander established a mint at Memphis or Alexandreia see ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, n. 28.

stances, convenience rather than policy may have dictated the decision. It may have been inconvenient—or impossible—to start a mint at Alexandreia on relatively short notice. Furthermore, we now know there was an active mint at Memphis in the fourth century B.C. under the Persians. Hence, the possible reason for beginning to mint there.[30] Similarly, Alexandreia may have been ill prepared to receive the body of Alexander when Ptolemy spirited it off to Egypt. In either case, however, it is worth noting that the city of choice was Memphis. But for all the respect he showed to the Egyptians, Alexander needed a location that was secure and provided access to the Aegean basin. We are still, incidentally, not far removed from Plato's delightful comparison of Greek colonists to frogs around a pond. At the same time Alexander was surely aware of the challenge his new settlement posed for the ancient capital, just as Seleukos was aware of the challenge that SELEUKEIA on the Tigris posed to Babylon. According to Appian (*Syr.* 58), when Seleukos was about to found Seleukeia, the Magi resisted. According to Appian, the Magi were concerned about having a government stronghold near them. Undoubtedly, they also realized that the new settlement would be built at the expense of the city of Babylon. In fact, in order to populate the new city Seleukos brought in Babylonian colonists (Pausanias 1.16.3). Not surprisingly, by the late first century B.C./early first century A.D. Seleukeia had replaced Babylon as the "metropolis of Assyria" (Strabo 16.1.16). And by the mid-first century A.D. Pliny described Babylon as "deserted" (*NH* 6.122). In both Egypt and Mesopotamia the foreign ruler faced an old, entrenched native population and culture, and in both cases he chose to turn his back on the old native capital and build a new one. In Egypt, the Ptolemies, by remaining at Alexandreia and making it their capital, continued and enhanced that policy. However, in the Hellenistic period Memphis did not go into a steep decline, like Babylon.[31] In fact, under the Ptolemies it apparently remained a center of native religion and resistance. The fact that in 197 B.C.—after the native uprisings—Ptolemy V had a coronation at Memphis is clear evidence of Ptolemaic concern for native sentiment and the royal acknowledgment that Memphis was a key Egyptian center (*OGIS* 90, the Rosetta Stone). Furthermore, Strabo (17.1.31–32) described it as the *basileion* of the Egyptians. He also said that it was "second after Alexandreia," that it was "large and populous," and that—just like Alexandreia—it had a mixed population. We also learn about the importance of Memphis for native Egyptians as well as their attitude toward Alexandreia from the "Oracle of the Potter."

30. T.V. Buttrey, *Num. Cong. IX,* 137–40; H. Nicolet-Pierre in *Essays Thompson,* 221–30.
31. See D.J. Thompson, *Memphis,* 106–54, esp. 107–8, 148–49.

"The Oracle of the Potter"

The "Oracle of the Potter" is an example of nationalist propaganda that was current in Ptolemaic Egypt.[32] It is an apocalyptic piece that was possibly composed in demotic but which is known from a Greek version.[33] The precise date of the composition of the original is not known; suggestions have ranged from the beginning of the Ptolemaic period to c. 130 B.C.[34] At ll. 33–34 (*P. Oxy.* XXII 2332 = Koenen [1974] P3) there is reference to a being who will be the source of evil to the Greeks. This makes quite clear the anti-Greek nature of the prophecy.[35] Farther on the Oracle states: "Agathos Daimon will abandon the city that had been founded/which is being founded (*κτιζομένη πόλις*) and enter Memphis and the city of foreigners, which had been founded, will be deserted. This will happen at the end of the evils (of the time) when there came to Egypt a crowd of foreigners. The city of Girdlewearers will be abandoned like my kiln because of the crimes that they committed against Egypt. The cult images which had been transported there, will be brought back to Egypt; and the city by the sea (*παραθαλάσσιος πόλις*) will be a refuge for fishermen because Agathos Daimon and Knephis will have gone to Memphis, so that passersby will say 'All-nurturing was this city in which every race of man settled.' Then will Egypt flourish."[36] The anti-Greek bias of the text also assures us of the identification of the "city by the sea" with Alexandreia. In short, the "Oracle of the Potter" provides firm evidence for anti-Greek and anti-Alexandreian sentiment in Memphis.[37] We might ask which community's views

32. See, for example, R. Weill, *La fin du moyen empire égyptien* (Paris, 1918) 1: 111–13; C. C. McCowan, *HTR* 18 (1925) 397–400; S. K. Eddy, *The King Is Dead* (Lincoln, 1961) 292–94, 306–9; L. Koenen in *Pap. Cong. XII,* 249–54; Fraser, *Alexandria,* 1: 681–82; K.-T. Zauzich, *Lex. Ägypt.* s.v. "Töpferorakel"; F. Dunand in *L'apocalyptique,* 41–67; A. B. Lloyd, *Historia* 31 (1982) 33–55; Préaux, *Monde,* 394–96; Huss, *Priester,* 129–80; Chauveau, *Égypte,* 67–69; id. in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 8–9; D. J. Thompson, *BSAA* 46 (2000) 78–79.

33. There is no surviving text that preserves the "Oracle" complete; the three fragmentary versions are *P. Graf.* (G 29787, second cent. A.D.), *P. Rain.* (G 19 813, third cent A.D.), and *P. Oxy.* XXII 2332 (late third cent. A.D.). For a text see L. Koenen, *ZPE* 2 (1968) 178–209; id., *ZPE* 13 (1974) 313–19; for the bibliography see, for example, Lloyd, *Historia* 31 (1982) 50 n. 54; Huss, *Priester,* 165 n. 626; Depauw, *Demotic Companion,* 99.

34. See the review of opinions given by Dunand in *L'apocalyptique,* 45; W. Peremans in *Ägypten,* 40 and n. 14; see also Chauveau in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 9.

35. See Dunand in *L'apocalyptique,* 61–62.

36. *P. Oxy.* 2332.50–62; see trans.of S. M. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleoptra VII* (Cambridge, 1985) no. 106; see also Bowman, *Egypt,* 31. For the transport of the cult objects see ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, nn. 9 and 33. On *κτιζομένη πόλις* see below, n. 42.

37. For the opposition of Memphis and Alexandreia in an Egyptian text see also the very fragmentary demotic papyrus *P. Tebt. Tait* 13, which probably dates to the late first or early second century A.D. See also Huss in *Alessandria,* 75–82. For Egyptian antipathy toward the Ptolemies see, for example, C. Préaux, *CE* (1936) 522–52; W. Peremans in *Ägypten,* 39–51.

the "Oracle of the Potter" reflects. Bowman answered: "The message is clear: the foreigners are the Macedonian rulers, their city is Alexandria. Memphis will rise again."[38] And this was probably the case. Earlier, Lobel and Roberts had pointed to the fact that this was a Greek version of an Egyptian text.[39] As a result, they raised the possibility that the Hellenomemphite community might have been making common cause with the native Egyptians. They suggested that the Greek version of the Oracle served as a vehicle for the lower-class Greeks to express their hostility to the governing class of Greeks and their stronghold, Alexandreia. However, in a private communication Michel Chauveau points out that during the Roman period many Egyptians, and in particular the priests, were bilingual. Thus a Greek version might well have been addressed to other Egyptians who read Greek more easily than demotic.[40]

It is interesting to note the way the Egyptians referred to Alexandreia. For example, the "Oracle of the Potter" used the circumlocution "city by the sea"; in contrast it referred to Memphis by name. In fact, in the hieroglyphic and demotic documents the city is normally referred to as "Rhakotis" rather than "Alexandreia".[41] Recently, Michel Chauveau demonstrated that Rhakotis (R ʿ-qd in Egyptian) was not the proper name of a native village that predated Alexandreia but rather that it meant "under construction" or "building site."[42] According to Chauveau, the ancient authors beginning with Strabo

38. *Egypt,* 31.

39. Intro. to *P. Oxy.* 2332.

40. I would also call attention to the "Demotic Chronicle," which proclaims that "a man from Herakleopolis is the one who will rule after the foreigners and the Greeks"; see W. Spiegelberg, *Die sogenannte demotische Chronik* (Leipzig, 1914) II.24–III.1. What is less clear, however, is whether the sentiment in the "Chronicle" was aimed primarily at the Greeks (e.g., Eddy, *The King Is Dead,* 290–92), the Greeks and the Persians (e.g., Lloyd, *Historia* 31 [1982] 41–42), or the Persians (J. H. Johnson in *Grammata Demotika,* ed. H. J. Thissen and K. T. Zauzich [Würzburg, 1984] 107–24). In general, see C. C. McCowan, *HTR* 18 (1925) 387–91; P. Kaplony, *Lex. Ägypt.* s.v. "Demotische Chronik"; J. H. Johnson, *Enchoria* 4 (1974) 5–6; Lloyd, *Historia* 31 (1982) 41–45 (bibliography, 41 n. 20); W. Huss in *Décret de Memphis,* 125–26.

41. For other references to Rhakotis in hieroglyphic inscriptions see M. Chauveau in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 6. For Rhakotis in demotic documents see, for example, E. A. A. Jalinkova, *JEA* 43 (1957) 53; id., *JEA* 45 (1959) 61, 63 n. 4; *P. Tebt. Tait.* 13.5, 9; J. W. B. Barns, *Orientalia* 46 (1977) 28 n. 24; and Chauveau in *Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 4. On the other hand, the Decree of Memphis (i.e., the Rosetta Stone) refers to the city as "Alexandreia" in Greek (*OGIS* 90.17 = *Lancia*², no. 5), the "Wall of Alexander" in hieroglyphic (N 16), and "House of Alexander" in demotic (10; see, for example, the translation of Wallis Budge in *The Rosetta Stone* [London, 1929]; for the demotic text see also R. S. Simpson, *Demotic Grammar in the Ptolemaic Sacerdotal Decrees* [Oxford, 1996] 261, ["the Residence of Alexander"]; on the Rosetta Stone see now R. Parkinson, *Cracking Codes: The Rosetta Stone and Decipherment* [London, 1999]). Of course it is well to recall that these are three versions of the same formal decree of the priests of Egypt in honor of Ptolemy V Epiphanes.

42. See ALEXANDREIA near Egypt, n. 6. Incidentally, the Greek version of the "Oracle of the Potter" twice refers to the city as *κτιζομένη πόλις* (*P. Oxy.* 2332.2, 51). Interestingly, we find

(and the modern historians who have followed them) misunderstood the term and believed it was the Egyptian name of the village that antedated the founding of Alexandreia. The avoidance by the Egyptians of the Greek name for the new settlement undoubtedly reflected native resistance to it. Thus in 41 B.C. the Memphite high priest Psenptaïs recorded in a hieroglyphic inscription that "he returned to the Residence of the Greek kings (*nesouou haounebou*) which is on the banks of the *Quadj-our,* the west coast of the Canopic [?] branch and whose name is Rhakotis."[43] As Chauveau correctly pointed out, this was written nearly three hundred years after the founding of Alexandreia. Nevertheless, Psenptaïs felt the need—or the desire—both to avoid the Greek toponym of the city and to specify the city's location: a clear indication of the foreignness of Alexandreia and the native hostility to it.[44] In addition, it is not inconceivable that some lower-class Greeks made common cause with the Egyptians.

Whatever the precise makeup of this resistance, the sentiment voiced in the "Oracle of the Potter" and the "Demotic Chronicle" does reflect the Egyptian attitude toward and suspicion of foreigners. In fact, the motif of a period of distress and disturbance brought on by the presence of foreigners in Egypt and ultimate redemption by expelling them—usually through the agency of a savior king—was an old one in Egyptian thought. For example, Hecataeus (in Diodorus 40.3 [trans. Walton] = Stern, *Authors,* 11) says that

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the present (rather than the aorist) participle. Lobel noticed this and commented on the "strangeness of the . . . expression." He suggested that "unless the use of the present participle can be explained as 'translation Greek', it can only be translated as 'the city which is being founded' and the attack on Alexandria would then go back to the years when the city was actually being built" (intro. to *P. Oxy.* 2332, p. 93 n. 3). Chauveau, on the other hand, suggested that one could compare *κτιζομένη πόλις,* "the city which is being founded," with R ʿ-qd, "the (city) under construction." (*Alexandrie: Une mégapole,* 8–9).

43. Harris Stele (*BM* 886, ll. 8–9); E. A. E Reymond, *From the Records of a Priestly Family from Memphis* (Wiesbaden, 1981) 142, 148; P. Derchain in *Studies Quaegebeur,* 1155–67, esp. 1158–59.

44. Native and local resistance to name changes by the Hellenistic Greeks and Macedonians was, of course, not limited to Ptolemaic Egypt. Thus PHILADELPHEIA was the name given to the old city of Rabbat Amman in Transjordan. In fact the native name never fell into disuse—even in antiquity—and has remained the name of the city today. Similarly, Berytos in Lebanon was renamed LAODIKEIA in Phoenicia; nevertheless, it is the old, native name that survives to the present day. Modern examples abound: many Greeks today still refer to Istanbul as Constantinople, and many Arabs refer to the state of Israel as "the Zionist Entity"; thus, after the uprisings in Israel and the West Bank of early October 2000, the *New York Times* (October 15, 2000, p. A11) reported that "articles in semiofficial Egyptian newspapers like Al Akhbar . . . have taken to calling Israel . . . the 'Zionist entity', the term once favored by Syria and other rejectionist Arab nations." The following September 5 another article in the *Times* (p. A8) quoted Danny Rubenstein, who wrote on Palestinian affairs for the Israeli newspaper *Haaretz:* "Many Arab and Palestinian spokespeople have stopped calling the state of Israel by its name and have reverted to the expression 'the Zionist entity'. This can be understood as a return to questioning the very legitimacy of the existence of the state of Israel."

"when in ancient times a pestilence arose in Egypt, the common people ascribed their troubles to the workings of a divine agency; for indeed with many strangers of all sorts dwelling in their midst and practising different rites of religion and sacrifice, their own traditional observances in honour of the gods had fallen into disuse. Hence the natives of the land surmised that unless they removed the foreigners, their troubles would never be resolved. At once, therefore, the aliens were driven from the country, and the most outstanding and active among them banded together and, as some say, were cast ashore in Greece and certain other regions . . . but the greater number of them were driven into what is now called Judaea." Lysimachus (in Josephus *Contra Apionem* 1.305–8 [trans. Thackeray] = Stern, *Authors,* 158) tells how "in the reign of Bocchoris, king of Egypt, the Jewish people, who were afflicted with leprosy, scurvy and other maladies, took refuge in the temples and lived a mendicant existence. The victims of disease being very numerous, a dearth ensued throughout Egypt. King Bocchoris thereupon sent to consult the oracle of Ammon about the failure of the crops. The god told him to purge the temples of impure and impious persons, to drive them out of these sanctuaries into the wilderness . . . and to purify the temples; then the land would yield her increase. On receiving these oracular instructions, Bocchoris summoned the priests . . . and ordered them to draw up a list of the unclean persons and to deliver them into military charge to be conducted into the wilderness." And Chaeremon (in Josephus *Contra Apionem* 1.289–92 = Stern, *Authors,* 178) "proceeds to state that Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him for the destruction of her temple in war-time. The scribe Phritobautes told him that, if he purged Egypt of its contaminated population, he might cease to be alarmed. The king, thereupon, collected 250,000 afflicted persons and banished them from the country."[45] In short, the (hostile) Egyptian view of Alexandreia cannot be seen apart from the old Egyptian attitude toward foreigners.

Furthermore, we may ask if the native view of Alexandreia gained strength as a result of the uprisings that began at the end of the third century B.C. If so, did this, in turn, influence the Greek view of the city and its relation to Egypt?[46] In other words, in trying to assess the origins of the Greek and Roman view of Alexandreia as an entity separate from the rest of Egypt it is useful to bear in mind both the age-old Egyptian attitude to foreigners and the history of interaction between the Hellenistic Greeks who settled in Egypt

45. See also Justin 36.2.12 (= Stern, *Authors,* 136); Diodorus Siculus 34–35.1.1–2 (= *Authors,* 63); and Tacitus *Hist.* 5.3.1 (= *Authors,* 281). In addition, see, for example, Stern, *Authors,* 1: 84–85; J. P. Sørenson in *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt,* ed. P. Bilde (Aarhus, 1992) 164–81; R. Weill, *La fin du moyen empire égyptien* (Paris, 1918) 1: 68–145; J. Schwartz, *BIFAO* 49 (1950) 67–82.

46. See, for example, Polybius 5.107.1–3, 14.12.3–4; C. Préaux, *CE* (1936) 522–52; id., *Monde,* 389–98.

and the natives. In addition, there is at least one other element to this puzzle that bears consideration: the question of geography.

The Location of Alexandreia

Let us begin with Herodotus. He, of course, wrote his history when Egypt was under Persian rule—in other words, long before the founding of Alexandreia. He mentioned that the coast of Egypt extended westward to the Plinthinete, the modern Arabs Gulf (2.6). That is to say, according to Herodotus, the western frontier was located just to the west of the site of the later Alexandreia. Elsewhere (2.18) Herodotus says that the towns of Marea and Apios (whose exact locations are still not known) were situated in the part of Egypt that bordered on Libya.[47] But whether these towns were located in Egypt was a matter of some dispute. The townspeople claimed that they were Libyans, not Egyptians, because they did not (want to) follow all aspects of Egyptian religious customs and because they lived outside the Delta. In fact, it took a ruling from Ammon to settle the question: the god ruled that all the land watered by the Nile was considered to be Egypt. Strabo recorded a similar tradition. He observed that "the early writers gave the name Aegypt to only the part of the country that was inhabited and watered by the Nile, beginning at the region of Syenê and extending to the sea; but the later writers down to the present time have added on the eastern side approximately all the parts between the Arabian Gulf and the Nile . . . and on the western side the parts extending as far as the oases, and on the sea-coast the parts extending from the Canobic mouth to the Catabathmus and the domain of the Cyrenaeans" (17.1.5; trans., Jones).[48] In fact, following the old definition of Egypt, Strabo elsewhere says Egypt was the Nile Delta and Valley; to the west was Libya, to the east, Arabia. He even describes the Arsinoite nome as being in Libya (17.1.21, 35). According to Pliny, the boundaries of Lower Egypt were the two branches of the Nile, the Canopic and the Pelousiac. He adds that this prompted some authorities to describe Egypt as an island and because of its triangular shape to call it Delta.[49] As for Alexandreia, Pliny notes that it was 12 miles west of the Canopic branch (*NH* 5.62).

47. See, for example, A. B. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II: Commentary 1–98* (Leiden, 1976) 41–42, 87–88.

48. The Katabathmos marked the frontier between Egypt and Libya; see Yoyotte, *Strabon,* 74, 100. Cf. W. B. Donne, *Dict. Geog.* s.v. "Nilus": "The Canopic arm of the Nile, although not actually the western boundary of Aegypt, was, at least in the Pharaonic era, the limit of its commerce on the NW base of the Delta, since beyond it, until the building of Alexandria, there was no town of any importance."

49. For the Nile, Valley, and Delta, see R. Bagnall, *Egypt in Late Antiquity* (Princeton, 1993) 15–20; for Egypt and the Nile see, for example, J. Ball, *Egypt in the Classical Geographers* (Cairo, 1942) 12–28; P. Vasunia, *The Gift of the Nile* (Berkeley, 2001) 90–91; and Lloyd, above, n. 47.

In short, Alexandreia was located on or just beyond the western edge of the area of pharaonic development and exploitation in the Delta. As André Bernand observed, it was "une capitale 'en marge.'"[50] Incidentally, I would point out in passing that Naukratis was also located close to the western edge of the Delta. In pharaonic Egypt, the region of the Nile Delta and Valley, namely, the Nile alluvium, *was* Egypt and was described by the ancient Egyptians as *Kemet* ("black land"). This was contrasted with the desert, or *Deshret* ("red land"), which was considered to be outside of Egypt. Thus in "The Tale of the Eloquent Peasant," which dates to the Middle Kingdom, we read that "there was once a man whose name was Khunanup. He was a peasant of Sekhet-Hemat [the modern Wadi Natrun, an oasis c. 100 km northwest of Cairo]. . . . Now this peasant said to his wife, 'Behold, I am going down to Egypt in order to bring provisions from there for my children.' . . . So the peasant then set out for Egypt. . . . The peasant continued on his way, travelling southward in the direction of Neni-nesut (Herakleopolis) and arrived at the district of Per-Fefi to the north of Medenit. There he encountered a man standing on the river bank."[51] Let us return to Alexandreia. Is it possible that the name Alexandreia near Egypt reflected not just the native attitude toward Alexandreia but also a geohistorical fact? In other words, from the ancient Egyptian perspective Alexandreia *was* located on the outer edge of or just beyond the area that was traditionally considered to be Egypt.

50. *Alexandrie,* 31–32.

51. Ll. R1–R37, trans. V. A. Tobin in *Ancient Egypt*^{3}, 25–26; see also R. B. Parkinson, *The Tale of Sinhue and Other Ancient Egyptian Poems, 1940–1640 BC* (Oxford, 1997) p. 58, ll. R1.1–B1 19.

V

REFOUNDATIONS AND NEW FOUNDATIONS

Listed below are settlements for which there is evidence or some indication of their being either refoundations or new foundations (see also the brief discussion in my *Settlements in Europe,* 428). In reviewing this list it is important to keep in mind that for many settlements there is no extant evidence bearing on this question. I have not included any of the latter foundations.

Refoundations

Alexandreia near Egypt
Amphipolis
Anthedon (?)
Antioch by Hippos
Antioch near Daphne
Antiochenes in Jerusalem
Apameia on the Axios
Apollonia (Arsuf)
Apollonia in Cyrenaica
Arethousa in northern Syria (?)
Arethousa in southern Syria (?)
Arsameia on the Euphrates
Arsameia on the Nymphaios
Arsinoe Taucheira
Berenike Euesperides
Berenike Ezion Geber
Berenike Panchrysos (?)
Beroia
Chalkis on Belos

Chalkis under Libanos
Demetrias Damascus
Doliche (?)
Doura Europos
Epiphaneia
Europos Carchemish (?)
Gerasa Antioch on the Chrysorhoas
Gindaros
Herakleia Arka
Hierapolis Bambyke
Jerusalem Akra
Laodikeia by the Sea
Laodikeia in Phoenicia Berytos
Laodikeia near Libanos
Larisa Sizara
Leukas Balanaia
Megara (?)
Orthosia
Pella/Berenike
Philadelpheia Rabbat Amman
Ptolemais/Antioch Ake
Ptolemais Barke
Ptolemais in the Thebaid
Ras Ibn Hani
Samareia
Samosata
Seleukeia Abila
Seleukeia/Antioch Gadara
Seleukeia Gaza
Seleukeia in Pieria
Skythopolis
Straton's Tower (?)

New Foundations

Berenike Trogodytika
Jebel Khalid
Kyrrhos
Seleukeia on the Euphrates/Zeugma

VI

FOUNDATIONS AT OR NEAR MAJOR RELIGIOUS CENTERS

Antioch near Daphne
Antiochenes in Jerusalem
Chalkis under Libanos (?)
Doliche (Roman)
Heliopolis Baalbek
Hierapolis Bambyke
Kyrrhos (?)
Panias
Pella/Berenike

VII

CIVIC INSTITUTIONS AND OFFICES

Northern Syria

Antigoneia on the Orontes (?)	royal residence
Antioch near Daphne	royal residence
	ephebes
	generals
	magistrates (αἱ συναρχίαι)
	gymnasium
	the young men of the gymnasium ([οἱ ἀ]πὸ τοῦ γυμνασίου νεανίσκοι)
	satraps
	priests
	agoranomos
	bouleuterion
	boule
	demarchos
	theoroi
	architheoros
	tribes
	demos
	presbeis
	agonothetes
	founder cult
	Macedonian month names
	chief priest at Daphne
Apameia on the Axios	Macedonian calendar

Laodikeia by the Sea	*demos*
	epistates
	agoranomos
	archontes
	priests
	priestesses
	peliganes
	archizakoros
	gymnasium
	Macedonian month names
	amphodon
Lysias	phylarch (46–44 B.C.)
Seleukeia in Pieria	*epistates*
	priests
	Scepter-bearers
	Thunder-bearers
	grammateus
	boule
	demos
	archontes
	demes
	tribes

Cyrrhestice and Commagene

Beroia	*tyrannos*
Doura Europos	dynastic cult
	eponymous priesthood
	Seleucid era
	Macedonian month names
	chreophylakeion
	strategeion (?)
	agoranomos (undated)
Hierapolis Bambyke	*polis*
	boule and *demos* (second cent. A.D.)
Samosata	royal residence

Phoenicia

Laodikeia in Phoenicia	*demos*
	ἐγδοχεῖς
	να[ύκληροι]
	agoranomos

Southern Syria

Antiochenes in Jerusalem	gymnasium
	ephebia
	theoroi
Birta of the Ammanitis	*klerouchoi*
	Macedonian month names
Gerasa	(extensive evidence from the Roman period)
Pella/Berenike	*archon* (?)
Philadelpheia	a *tyrannos* of the *polis*
	boule and *demos* (undated)
	bouleutes (undated)
	proedros (undated)
	gymnasiarch (undated)
Seleukeia Gaza	*demos*
Skythopolis	*agoranomos*
	protoi of the city
	eponymous priesthood
	amphoda

Egypt

Euergetis	*polis*
Ptolemais in the Thebaid	*boule* and *demos*
	ekklesia
	prytaneis and *prytaneion*
	agones and *agonothetes*
	grammateus
	archiprytanis and gymnasiarch
	dikastai and *dikasteria*
	tribes and *demes*
	Macedonian month names
	eponymous priests
	theater
Alexandreia near Egypt	*boule* (?)
	secretary of the council
	ekklesia
	gymnasia
	board of higher magistrates
	an eponymous priest
	a college of *prytaneis*
	gerousia (?)
	a board of *tamiai*

	hierothytai
	gynaikonomoi
	exegetes
	hypomnematographos
	archidikastes
	night general
	a royal official ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως

Cyrenaica

Arsinoe Taucheira	*gerousia*
	boule
	ephors
	tamiai
	polis
	theorodokos
Berenike Euesperides	*neaniskoi*
	eponymous priesthood
	theorodokos
Ptolemais Barke	*theorodokos*

In addition we may note that Teos granted *politeia* to ANTIOCH near Daphne, LAODIKEIA by the Sea, and SELEUKEIA in Pieria. BERENIKE, PTOLEMAIS, and ARSINOE in Cyrenaica were recorded in the Delphic *theorodokoi* list. The ANTIOCHENES IN JERUSALEM sent *theoroi* to the games being celebrated in Tyre.

There is evidence for a founder cult at ANTIOCH near Daphne, a Seleucid dynastic cult at Doura EUROPOS, and a Nikatoreion at SELEUKEIA in Pieria. At ALEXANDREIA near Egypt there is evidence for a founder cult of Alexander and a (dynastic) cult of Alexander and the Ptolemies. The priests of the latter were eponymous priests. In addition, we know of, among other things, cults of individual dynastic members. There was a cult of Ptolemy Soter at PTOLEMAIS in the Thebaid.

VIII

ETHNICS AND TOPONYMS

The appended list is not exhaustive. It gives the main ethnics (and certain toponymic forms) attested for the settlements listed in this volume. Note that abbreviations (on coins) take many forms and that minor variations in spelling are quite common. For fuller information the reader should consult the individual entries and Cohen, *Settlements in Europe,* 440.

An asterisk indicates that the particular ethnic is attested only in Stephanos.

Northern Syria

Alexandreia by Issos	*ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ*
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΩΝ ΚΑΤ ΙΣΣΟΝ
	Alexandria qui cabiosum
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ Η ΚΑΒΙΩΣΑ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ ΚΑΒΙΣΣΟΣ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ Η ΚΑΜΒΥΣΟΥ
	Alexandria Scabiosa
Antioch near Daphne	*ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣ ΑΠΟ ΔΑΦΝΗΣ*
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΝ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ Η ΕΠΙ ΔΑΦΝΗΙ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ Η ΕΠΙ ΔΑΦΝΗΣ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΔΑΦΝΗΝ
	Antiochia Epi Daphnes
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΟΡΟΝΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΥ

Antioch under Libanos	*ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ Η ΥΠΟ ΤΩΙ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΙ ΟΡΕΙ*
Apameia on the Axios	*ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ*
	ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ
	ΑΠΑΜΕΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΑΞΙΩΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΙ
	ΑΠΑΜΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ
Arethousa	**ΑΡΕΘΟΥΣΙΟΣ*
Demetrias	*ΔΗ*[*ΜΗΤΡΙ*]*ΕΩΝ*
Epiphaneia	Epiphanenses ad Orontem
Herakleia by the Sea	*ΗΡΑΚΛΕΩΤΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗ*
Laodikeia by the Sea	*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ*
	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΙ
	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΙ (?)
	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΘΑΛΑΤΤΗΙ
Laodikeia near Libanos	*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΙ*
	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΙ
	Laodicenos qui ad Libanum
	Laudicia Scabiosa
	ΣΚΑΒΙΩΣΑ ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΙΑ
Larisa Sizara	*ΛΑΡΙΣΑΙΩΝ*
Nikopolis	*ΝΕΙΚΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ*
Seleukeia in Pieria	*ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ*
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΜ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΑ ΑΠΟ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΥΣ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΣ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΠΕΙΕΡΙΑΣ
	ΣΕ[*ΛΕΥΚ*]*ΕΥΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΙΕ*[*ΡΙΑΣ*
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΗΙ ΘΑΛΑΣΣΗΙ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΠΑΡΑΘΑΛΑΣΣΙΑΣ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ Η ΕΝ ΠΙΕΡΙΑΙ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ Η ΠΙΕΡΙΑ
	Seleucia Pieria
Seleukeia near Belos	*ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΒΗΛΩΙ*
	Seleucia ad Belum
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΒΗΛΟΣ
	**ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΥΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΒΗΛΩΙ*
Seleukeia on the Bay of Issos	*ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ* [*Η Π*]*ΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΙΣΣΙΚΩ*[Ι *Κ*]*ΟΛΠΩΙ*

	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩ ΙΣ-ΣΙΚΩ ΚΟΛΠΩΙ

Chalcidice, Cyrrhestice, and Commagene

Amphipolis	*ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ
Antioch near the Tauros	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ ΕΠΙ ΤΩΙ ΤΑΥΡΩΙ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΑΥΡΩΙ ΟΡΕΙ
Antioch on the Euphrates	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΝ
Arsameia on the Euphrates	ΑΡΣΑΜΕΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΕ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΙ
Arsameia on the Nymphaios	ΑΡΣΑΜΕΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΝΥΜΦΑΙΩΙ ΠΟΤΑΜΩΙ
Beroia	ΒΕΡΟΙΑΙΩΝ
	*ΒΕΡΟΕΥΣ
	Beroeenses
Chalkis on Belos	ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ
Doliche	ΔΟΛΙΧΑΙΩΝ
	Dolichenus
Doura Europos	ΕΥΡΩΠΑΙΟΣ
	ΕΥΡΩΠΟΣ
	ΕΥΡΩΠΟΣ Η ΕΝ ΤΗΙ ΠΑΡΑΠΟΤΑΜΙΑΙ
	ΕΥΡΩΠΟΣ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΑΡΑΒΙΑΙ
	ΔΟΥΡΗΝΟΣ or ΔΟΥΡΗΝΗ
Gindaros	*ΓΙΝΔΑΡΕΥΣ
	ΓΕΝΔΕΡΡΙΟΣ
	Gindareni
Hierapolis Bambyke	ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛ[ΕΙ]ΤΩ[Ν
	ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
	ΙΕΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΗΣ ΤΗΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΙΔΟΣ
Kyrrhos	ΚΥΡΡΗΣΤΩΝ
	ΚΥΡΗΣΤΩΝ
Nikatoris	*ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΙΤΗΣ
Oropos	*ΩΡΩΠΕΥΣ/*ΩΡΩΠΙΟΣ
Samosata	ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΩ ΠΟΛΕΩΣ
	ΣΑΜΟΣΑΤΕΩΝ
Seleukeia on the Euphrates/Zeugma	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΙΑ Η ΕΠΙ ΤΟΥ ΖΕΥΓ-ΜΑΤΟΣ
	Seleucia ad Euphraten
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΥΣ Ο ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΕΥ-ΦΡΑΤΗΙ
	ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ [—ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΖΕΥΓ]ΜΑΤΙ

	ΖΕΥΓΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΕΥΦΡΑΤΗΙ
	Seleu(ciae) Zeugm(a)e
	ΖΕΥΓΜΑΤΕΩΝ
Stratonikeia near the Tauros	*ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΕΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ ΤΑΥΡΩΙ*

Phoenicia

Demetrias by the Sea	*ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΑΔΟΣ ΤΗΣ [ΠΡΟΣ] ΘΑΛΑΣ[ΣΗΙ]*
Eupatreia	*ΕΥΠΑΤΡΕΩΝ*
Herakleia in Phoenicia	*ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΑ[Ν ΤΗΝ Ε]Μ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΙ*
Laodikeia in Phoenicia Berytos	*ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΙ*
	ΛΑΟΔΙΚΕΩΣ ΑΠΟ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗΣ
Orthosia	*ΟΡΘΩΣΙΕΩΝ*
	ΟΡΘΩΣΕΩΝ
Ptolemais/Antioch Ake	*ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΕΩΝ*
	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ
	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΩΝ
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ
	ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΔΙ

Southern Syria

Anthedon	**ΑΝΘΗΔΟΝΙΤΗΣ*
Antioch by Hippos	*ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΠ(ΠΩΙ)*
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΠ(ΠΩΙ)
	ΙΠΠΗΝΩΝ
Antiochenes in Jerusalem	*(ΟΙ) ΑΠΟ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΩΝ ΑΝΤΙΟ-ΧΕΙΣ*
	ΟΙ ΕΝ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΟΙΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΣ
Chalkis under Libanos	*Η ΥΠΟ ΤΩΙ ΛΙΒΑΝΩΙ ΧΑΛΚΙΣ*
	(ΧΑΛΚΙΔΕΩΝ)
	**ΧΑΛΚΙΔΗΝΟΣ*
Demetrias Damascus	*ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΕΩΝ*
	ΔΑΜΑΣΚΗΝΩΝ
Dion	*ΔΕΙΗΝΩΝ*
	ΔΙΗΝΩΝ
Gerasa Antioch	*ΓΕΡΑΣΗΝΩΝ*
on the Chrysorhoas	*ΓΕΡΑΣΩΝ*
	ΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΩΙ

		ΧΡΥΣΟΡΟΑΙ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΓΕΡΑΣΗΝΩΝ
Hellas		**ΕΛΛΗΝ*
Larisa		*Larisaeos*
Pella		*ΠΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ*
		ΦΙΛΙΠ(ΠΕΩΝ) ΠΕΛΛΗ(ΝΩΝ) Τ(ΩΝ) Π(ΡΟΣ) ΝΥΜΦ(ΑΙΩΙ)
		ΠΕΛΛΑΙΩΝ
Philadelpheia	Rabbat Amman	*ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ*
		ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΚΟΙΛΗΣ ΣΥΡΙΑΣ
		ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΟΙΛΗΝ ΣΥΡΙΑΝ
Seleukeia	Abila	*ΣΕΛΕΥΚ(ΕΩΝ) ΑΒΙΛΗΝΩΝ*
Seleukeia/Antioch	Gadara	*ΣΕΛΕ*[*ΥΚΕ*]*ΩΝ*
		ΓΑΔΑΡ(ΕΩΝ)
Seleukeia	Gaza	*ΣΕΛ(ΕΥΚΕΩΝ) ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΓΑΖΗ*
		ΣΕΛ(ΕΥΚΕΩΝ) ΓΑΖΑΙΤΩΝ
Skythopolis		*ΝΥΣΑΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ*
		ΝΥΣΑΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ
		ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΣΣΑ
		ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣ
		ΣΚΥΘΟΠΟΛΙΤΑΙ
		ΓΑΒΙΝΙΣ ΟΙ ΕΝ ΝΥΣΗΙ
		ΓΑΒΙΝΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΥΣ[*Η*]
		ΓΑΒ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΝΥΣΗΙ

Egypt

Ptolemais in the Thebaid	*ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΕΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΔΙ*
	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ ΤΗΣ ΘΗΒΑΙΔΟΣ
	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ Η ΕΝ ΘΗΒΑΙΔΙ
	ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΣ Η ΕΡΜΕΙΟΥ
Alexandreia near Egypt	*ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΥΣ*
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΟΣ (?)
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΣ ΑΠ' ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΕΙΑ Η ΠΡΟΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΝ
	ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΗΣΑΝ ΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ [*ΑΙΓΥΠΤΩΙ*]
	Alexandria ad Aegyptum
	Alexandrea in Aegypto

Cyrenaica

Apollonia	*ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΙ ΟΙ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΥΡΗΝΗΝ*
Arsinoe	**ΑΡΣΙΝΟΕΥΣ*
Berenike	*ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΕΥΣ ΑΦ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΔΩΝ*
Ptolemais	*ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΕΙΣ ΑΠΟ ΒΑΡΚΗΣ*

ABBREVIATIONS

JOURNALS, FESTSCHRIFTS, AND REFERENCE WORKS

AA	*Archäologischer Anzeiger.*
AAA	*Athens Annals of Archaeology.*
AAE	*Arabian Archaeology and Epigraphy.*
AA(A)S	*Les annales archéologiques (arabes) syriennes.*
AASOR	*Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
AAWW	*Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.*
ABD	D. N. Freedman, ed. *The Anchor Bible Dictionary.* 6 vols. New York, 1992.
ABSA	*Annual of the British School at Athens.*
Ach. Hist.	*Achaemenid History.* 8 vols, Leiden, 1987–1994.
ACM	*Acta Congressus Madvigiani* (*Proceedings of the II International Congress of Classical Studies*). 5 vols. Copenhagen, 1957–1958.
ACO	*Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum.* 4 vols. in 27 pts. Berlin and Leipzig, 1922–1977.
Acta Arch.	*Acta Archaeologica.*
ADAJ	*Annual of the Department of Antiquities.* The Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.
AE	*L'année épigraphique.*
AEHL	A. Negev, ed. *Archaeological Encyclopedia of the Holy Land.* Nashville, 1986.
AfO	*Archiv für Orientforschung.*
Agriculture in Egypt	A. K. Bowman and E. Rogan, eds. *Agriculture in Egypt.* Oxford, 1999.
Ägypten	H. Maehler and M. Strocka, eds. *Das ptolemaische Ägypten.* Mainz, 1978.
AJA	*American Journal of Archaeology.*

AJAH	*American Journal of Ancient History.*
AJN	*American Journal of Numismatics.*
AJP	*American Journal of Philology.*
AKAW/ADAW	*Abhandlungen der Königlichen Preussischen/der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin.*
Akten XIII Kong.	*Akten des XIII Internationalen Kongresses für Klassische Archäologie, Berlin 1988.* Mainz am Rhein, 1990.
Alessandria	*Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano.* Vol. 1, *Centenario del museo greco-romano, Alessandria, 23–27 Novembre 1992.* Rome, 1995.
Alexandrianism	*Alexandria and Alexandrianism.* Malibu, 1996.
Alexandrie	C. Jacob and F. de Polignac, eds. *Alexandrie III^{e} siècle av. J.C.* Paris, 1992.
Alexandrie entre deux mondes	R. Ilbert et al., eds. *Alexandrie entre deux mondes.* Aix-en-Provence, 1987.
Alexandrie: Une mégapole	J. Leclant, ed. *Alexandrie: Une mégapole cosmopolite.* Paris, 1999.
Alexandrina 1	J.-Y. Empereur, *Alexandrina 1.* Cairo, 1998.
Amman	A. Northedge. *Studies on Roman and Islamic Amman.* Vol. 1. Oxford, 1992.
AMS	*Asia Minor Studien.*
AN	*Archaeological News.*
Ancient Egypt^{3}	W. K. Simpson, ed. *The Literature of Ancient Egypt.* 3d ed. New Haven and London, 2003.
Ancient Historian	B. Levick, ed. *The Ancient Historian and His Materials.* Farnborough, 1975.
Anc. Mac.	*Ancient Macedonia.*
ANL	*Atti dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei.*
ANRW	*Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt.*
ANS MN	*American Numismatic Society, Museum Notes*
ANS NNM	*American Numismatic Society, Numismatic Notes and Monographs.*
Ant. Cl.	*L'antiquité classique.*
AOF	*Altorientalische Forschungen.*
Apamée	J. Balty and J.-C. Balty, eds. *Apamée de Syrie* (*Bilan des recherches archéologiques, 1965–1968, 1969–1971, 1973–1979).* Brussels, 1969, 1972, 1984.
L'apocalyptique	F. Dunand in *Études d'histoire des religions—L'apocalyptique.* Paris, 1977.
Apollonia	J. H. Humphrey, ed. *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene: Excavations by the University of Michigan, 1965–1967.* Tripoli, 1977.
Die Araber	F. Altheim and R. Stiehl. *Die Araber in der alten Welt.* 5 vols. Berlin, 1964–1969.
Arabia Antiqua	A. Invernizzi and J.-F. Salles, eds. *Arabia Antiqua: Hellenistic Centres around Arabia.* Rome, 1993.

Arabie	J.-F. Salles, ed. *L'Arabie et ses mers bordières.* Vol. 1. Lyon and Paris, 1988.
Arabie orientale	R. Boucharlat and J.-F. Salles, eds. *Arabie orientale: Mésopotamie et Iran méridional de l'âge du fer au début de la période islamique.* Paris, 1984.
Arabie préislamique	T. Fahd, ed. *L'Arabie préislamique et son environnement historique et culturel (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 24–27 juin 1987).* Leiden, 1989.
Araby the Blest	D. T. Potts, ed. *Araby the Blest: Studies in Arabian Archaeology.* Copenhagen, 1988.
Archaeologia Iranica	L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck, eds. *Archaeologia Iranica et Orientalis.* 2 vols. Ghent, 1989.
Archaeological Research	D. M. Bailey, ed. *Archaeological Research in Roman Egypt.* Ann Arbor, 1996.
Archaeology of Jordan	D. Homès Fredericq and B. Hennessy, eds. *Archaeology of Jordan, Field Reports (in 2 parts).* Akkadica Supplement 7–8. Leuven, 1989.
Archéologie	J.-M. Dentzer and W. Orthmann, eds. *Archéologie et histoire de la Syrie.* Vol. 2. Saarbrücken, 1989.
Archiv	*Archiv für Papyrusforschung.*
Archives	M.-F. Boussac and A. Invernizzi, eds. *Archives et sceaux du monde hellénistique.* Paris, 1996.
ArCl	*Archaeologia Classica.*
ARSLS	*Annual Report: The Society for Libyan Studies.*
AS	*Ancient Society.*
ASAE	*Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte.*
Atlas of Israel	D. H. K. Amiran et al. *Atlas of Israel.* Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1970.
Authors	M. Stern. *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism.* 3 vols. Jerusalem, 1974–1984.
BA	*Biblical Archaeologist.*
BAAL	*Bulletin d'archéologie et d'architecture libanaises.*
BAR	*Biblical Archaeology Review.*
Basileia	W. Hoepfner and G. Brands, eds. *Basileia: Die Paläste der hellenistischen Könige.* Mainz am Rhein, 1996.
BASOR	*Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.*
BASP	*Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists.*
BCH	*Bulletin de correspondance hellénique.*
BE	"Bulletin épigraphique." In *Revue des études grecques.*
BEFEO	*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient.*
BEINE 2	G. R. D. King and A. Cameron, eds. *The Byzantine and Early Islamic Near East.* Vol. 2, *Land Use and Settlement Patterns.* Princeton, 1992.
BEO	*Bulletin d' études orientales.*
Berenike 1994	S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, eds. *Preliminary Report of the 1994 Excavations at Berenike*

	(Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert. Leiden, 1995.
Berenike 1995	S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, eds. *Preliminary Report of the 1995 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*. Leiden, 1996.
Berenike 1996	S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, eds. *Preliminary Report of the 1996 Excavations at Berenike (Egyptian Red Sea Coast) and the Survey of the Eastern Desert*. Leiden, 1998.
Berenike 1997	S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, eds. *Berenike 1997: Report of the 1997 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, Including Excavations at Shenshef*. Leiden, 1999.
Berenike 1998	S. E. Sidebotham and W. Z. Wendrich, eds. *Berenike 1998: Report of the 1998 Excavations at Berenike and the Survey of the Egyptian Eastern Desert, Including Excavations in Wadi Kalalat*. Leiden, 2000.
BICS	*Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies*.
BIFAO	*Bulletin de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale*.
BJ	*Bonner Jahrbücher*.
BJPES	*Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society*.
BJRUL	*Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library*.
BMB	*Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth*.
BMDAE	I. Shaw and P. Nicholson, eds. *British Museum Dictionary of Ancient Egypt*. London, 1995.
BSAA	*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie*.
BSFE	*Bulletin de la Société Française d'Égyptologie*.
BSOAS	*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*.
Byz.-neugr. Jahr.	*Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*.
BZ	*Byzantinische Zeitschrift*.
Caesarea Papers	R. L. Vann, ed. *Caesarea Papers*. Ann Arbor, 1992.
Caesarea Papers 2	K. G. Holum, A. Raban, and J. Patrich, eds. *Caesarea Papers 2*. Portsmouth, 1999.
*CAH*²	*Cambridge Ancient History*. 2d ed.
CCL	*Corpus Christianorum Series Latina*.
CE	*Chronique d'Égypte*.
Céramiques hellénistiques	F. Blondel et al., eds. *Céramiques hellénistiques et romaines*. Lyon and Paris, 2002.
CFAJ	F. Villeneuve, ed. *Contribution française à l'archéologie jordanienne*. Paris, 1984.
CFAS	*Contribution française à l'archéologie syrienne*. Damascus, 1989.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*.
Commerce	J.-Y. Empereur, ed. *Commerce et artisanat dans l'Alexandrie hellénistique et romaine*. Paris, 1998.

Communautés rurales	*Les communautés rurales*. Pt. 2, *Antiquité* (*Recueils de la Société Jean Bodin* 41). Paris, 1983.
Convegno Nazionale V	S. Russo, ed. *Atti del V Convegno Nazionale di Egittologia e Papirologia*. Florence, 2000.
CQ	*Classical Quarterly*.
CRAI	*Comptes-rendus de l'Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*.
CSCO	*Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium*.
CSHB	B. G. Niebuhr et al., eds. *Corpus Scriptorum Historiae Byzantinae*. 50 vols. Bonn, 1828–1897.
Cyrenaica	G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds, eds. *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*. Oxford, 1985.
DAI 1829–1979	*150 Jahre Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, 1829–1979*. Mainz, 1981.
DAWW	*Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien*.
Decapolis	*ARAM Third International Conference: The Decapolis*. ARAM 4.1–2 (1992).
Décret de Memphis	D. Valbelle and J. Leclant, eds. *Le décret de Memphis*. Paris, 1999.
Demotic Companion	M. Depauw. *A Companion to Demotic Studies*. Brussels, 1997.
Dict. Biog.	W. Smith, ed. *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*. 3 vols. London, 1872.
Dict. Geog.	W. Smith, ed. *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*. 2 vols. London, 1854.
Dictionnaire ecclésiastique	R. Aubert, R. van Cauwenbergh, and E. van Cauwenbergh. *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*. Paris, 1912–.
Dizionario	A. Calderini and S. Daris, eds. *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*. 5 vols. in 15 fascs. plus 2 suppls. Cairo, Madrid, and Milan, 1935–1996.
DM	*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut Station Damaskus, Damaszener Mitteilungen*.
DOP	*Dumbarton Oaks Papers*.
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*.
EAAE	K. A. Bard, ed. *Encyclopedia of the Archaeology of Ancient Egypt*. London and New York, 1999.
EArch	*Egyptian Archaeology*.
Egypt. Cong. I	W. F. Reineke, ed. *First International Congress of Egyptology, Acts*. Berlin, 1979.
Egypt. Cong. VIII	Z. Hawass and L. P. Brock, eds. *Egypt at the Dawn of the Twenty-First Century*. 3 vols. Proceedings of the Eighth International Congress of Egyptologists. Cairo, 2003.
Égypte et Grèce	J. Leclant, ed. *Entre Égypte et Grèce*. Paris, 1995.

EHC	O. Mørkholm, *Early Hellenistic Coinage.* Cambridge, 1991.
EI	*Eretz Israel.*
EJ	*Encyclopedia Judaica.* Jerusalem, 1971.
L'emporion	A. Bresson and P. Rouillard, eds. *L'emporion.* Paris, 1993.
Enciclopedia	*Enciclopedia dell'arte antica.* 7 vols. and suppl. Rome, 1958–1973.
EP	*Études de papyrologie.*
Epig. Cong. VIII	*Acta of the Eighth International Congress of Greek and Latin Epigraphy, Athens, 1982.* 2 vols. Athens, 1984, 1987.
Epig. Cong. XI	*XI Congresso Internazionale di Epigrafia Greca e Latina, Roma, 1997.* 2 vols. Rome, 1999.
L'epigrafia	A. Calbi, A. Donati, and G. Poma, eds. *L'epigrafia del villaggio.* Faenza, 1993.
ESAR	T. Frank et al. *An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome.* 6 vols. Baltimore, 1933–1940.
ESI	*Excavations and Surveys in Israel.*
Essays Hersh	A. Burnett, U. Wartenberg, and R. Witschonke, eds. *Coins of Macedonia and Rome: Essays in Honour of Charles Hersh.* London, 1998.
Essays Thompson	O. Mørkholm and N. M. Waggoner, eds. *Greek Numismatics and Archaeology: Essays in Honor of Margaret Thompson.* Wetteren, 1979.
Ethnicity	P. Bilde et al., eds. *Ethnicity in Hellenistic Egypt.* Aarhus, 1992.
Excavations Benghazi	J. A. Lloyd et al. *Excavations at Sidi Khrebish Benghazi (Berenice).* 3 vols. in 4 pts. N.p., 1977–1985.
FD	*Fouilles de Delphes.*
Festgabe Deissmann	*Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann.* Tübingen, 1927.
Festschrift Altheim	R. Stiehl and H. E. Stier, eds. *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim zum 6.10.1968.* 2 vols. Berlin, 1969, 1970.
Festschrift Galling	A. Kuschke and E. Kutsch, eds. *Archäologie und Altes Testament: Festschrift für Kurt Galling.* Tübingen, 1970.
Festschrift Himmelmann	H.-C. Cain et al., eds. *Festschrift für Nikolaus Himmelmann.* Mainz, 1989.
FGrH	F. Jacoby. *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker.* 3 vols. in 14 pts. Berlin, 1923–1958 (plus continuation 1998–).
FHG	C. Müller. *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum.* 5 vols. Paris, 1841–1870.
FHN	T. Eide et al., eds. *Fontes Historiae Nubiorum.* 4 vols. Bergen, 1994–2000.

Fleischman Collection — *A Passion for Antiquities: Ancient Art from the Collection of Barbara and Lawrence Fleischman.* Malibu, 1994.
FOA — *Formae Orbis Antiqui.*
Fortification — P. Leriche and H. Tréziny, eds. *La fortification dans l'histoire du monde grec.* Paris, 1986.
Fringe — O. E. Kaper, ed. *Life on the Fringe.* Leiden, 1998.
GA — *Graeco-Arabica.*
GCS — *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller.*
Geographica Historica — P. Arnaud and P. Counillon, eds. *Geographica Historica.* Bordeaux and Nice, 1998.
Géographie administrative — *La géographie administrative et politique d'Alexandre à Mahomet.* Strasbourg, 1979.
Gerasa — C. H. Kraeling. *Gerasa: City of the Decapolis.* New Haven, 1938.
GGM — C. Müller. *Geographi Graeci Minores.* 2 vols. Paris, 1882.
GHPO — P.-L. Gatier, B. Helly, and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds. *Géographie historique au Proche-Orient.* Paris, 1988.
Ginzey Schechter — L. Ginzberg. *Genizah Studies in Memory of Doctor Solomon Schechter.* Vol. 1, *Midrash and Haggadah.* New York, 1928.
GJ — *Geographical Journal.*
Gottkönige — J. Wagner, ed. *Gottkönige am Euphrat.* Mainz am Rhein, 2000.
GR — *The Geographical Review.*
GRBS — *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies.*
Greek Colonists — J.-P. Descoeudres, ed. *Greek Colonists and National Populations.* Oxford, 1990.
GREI — A. Kasher, U. Rappaport, and G. Fuks, eds. *Greece and Rome in Eretz Israel.* Jerusalem, 1990.
HA — *Historia Augusta.*
Hellenica et Judaica — A. Caquot, M. Hadas-Lebel, and J. Riaud, eds. *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowetzky.* Leuven and Paris, 1986.
Hellenism — A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White, eds. *Hellenism in the East.* London, 1987.
Hellenismos — *Ο ΕΛΛΗΝΙΣΜΟΣ ΣΤΗΝ ΑΝΑΤΟΛΗ.* Athens, 1991.
Hellenistic World — E. Van 't Dack et al., eds. *Egypt and the Hellenistic World.* Leuven, 1983.
Herzog, *Koische Forsch.* — R. Herzog, *Koische Forschungen und Funde.* Leipzig, 1899.
HSCP — *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology.*
HTR — *Harvard Theological Review.*
HUCA — *Hebrew Union College Annual.*
IEJ — *Israel Exploration Journal.*

IM	*Deutsches Archäologisches Institut, Abteilung Istanbul, Istanbuler Mitteilungen.*
INJ	*Israel Numismatic Journal.*
Inv. Wadd.	E. Babelon, "Inventaire de la collection Waddington." *Revue numismatique,* 1897, 261–368, 401–56; 1898, 1–70, 149–206, 341–436, 549–639.
IrAnt	*Iranica Antiqua.*
Itin. Ant.	*Itineraria Antonini Augusti.*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society.*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt.*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature.*
JDAI	*Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
JEA	*Journal of Egyptian Archaeology.*
Jewish People	S. Safrai and M. Stern, eds. *The Jewish People in the First Century.* Philadelphia, 2 vols. 1974, 1976.
JHS	*Journal of Hellenic Studies.*
JIAN	*Journal international d'archéologie numismatique.*
JJP	*Journal of Juristic Papyrology.*
JKDAI	*Jahrbuch des Kaiserlich Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies.*
JNG	*Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte.*
JPOS	*Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society.*
JRA	*Journal of Roman Archaeology.*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.*
JRS	*Journal of Roman Studies.*
JS	*Journal des Savants.*
Karanis . . . 1924–28	A. E. R. Boak and E. E. Peterson, eds. *Karanis: Topographical and Architectural Report of Excavations during the Seasons 1924–28.* Ann Arbor, 1931.
Karanis . . . 1924–31	A. E. R. Boak, ed. *Karanis: The Temples, Coin Hoards, Botanical and Zoölogical Reports, Seasons 1924–31.* Ann Arbor, 1933.
Kleruchen	F. Uebel, *Die Kleruchen Ägyptens unter den ersten sechs Ptolemäern.* Berlin, 1968.
KM	F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Kleinasiatische Münzen.* Vienna, 1901–1902.
Kondakov Institute	*Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum).*
KP	*Der Kleine Pauly.*
Kultreformen	H. Waldmann, *Die kommagenischen Kultreformen unter König Mithridates I. Kallinikos und seinem Sohne Antiochos I.* Leiden, 1973
LA	*Libya Antiqua.*
Lex. Ägypt.	W. Helck, F. Otto, and W. Westendorf, eds. *Lexikon der Ägyptologie.* 7 vols. Wiesbaden, 1975–1992.

Lex. Myth.	W. H. Roscher, ed. *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie.* Leipzig, 1924–1937.
LGRC	A. M. Hakkert, ed. *Lexicon of the Greek and Roman Cities and Place Names in Antiquity.* Amsterdam, 1992–.
LIMC	*Lexicon Iconographicum Mythologiae Classicae.* Zurich and Munich, 1981–1997.
LS	*Libyan Studies.*
LSJ^9	H. G. Liddell, R. Scott, and H. S. Jones, eds. *A Greek-English Lexicon.* 9th ed. Oxford, 1996.
M	*Mishnah.*
MB	*Le monde de la Bible.*
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung.*
MDAI(K)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Abteilung Kairo.*
MedArch	*Mediterranean Archaeology.*
MEFRA	*Mélanges de l'École Française de Rome: Antiquité.*
Mégapoles	C. Nicolet, R. Ilbert, and J.-C. Depaule, eds. *Mégapoles méditerranéennes.* Rome, 2000.
Mélanges Balty	C. Evers and A. Tsingarida, eds. *Rome at ses provinces: Genèse et diffusion d'une image du pouvoir (Hommages à Jean-Charles Balty).* Brussels, 2001.
Mélanges Glotz	*Mélanges Gustave Glotz.* 2 vols. Paris, 1932.
Mélanges Lévêque	M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny, eds. *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque.* 9 vols. Paris, 1988–1995.
Mélanges Perrot	*Mélanges Perrot: Recueil de mémoires concernant l'archéologie classique.* Paris, 1903.
Mélanges syriens	*Mélanges syriens offerts à monsieur René Dussaud.* 2 vols. Paris, 1939.
Metz Epitome	P. H. Thomas, ed. *Incerti Auctoris Epitoma Rerum Gestarum Alexandri Magni cum Libro de Morte Testamentoque Alexandri.* 2d ed. Leipzig, 1966.
MH	*Museum Helveticum.*
MHR	*Mediterranean Historical Review.*
Multi-Cultural Society	J. H. Johnson, ed. *Life in a Multi-Cultural Society.* Chicago, 1992.
MUSJ	*Mélanges de l'Université Saint Joseph.*
MVAG	*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen/Vorderasiatisch-Ägyptischen Gesellschaft.*
Myos Hormos	H. Cuvigny, ed. *La route de Myos Hormos.* 2 vols. Cairo, 2003.
Nachrichten	*Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, Philologisch- Historische Klasse.*
Namenwörterbuch	A. Schalit. *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus.* Leiden, 1968.

NC	*Numismatic Chronicle.*
NCBT	*Newell Collection of Babylonian Tablets.* Yale University, New Haven.
ND	O. Seeck, ed. *Notitia Dignitatum.* 1876. Reprint, Frankfurt am Main, 1962.
NEAEHL	E. Stern, ed. *The New Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land.* 4 vols. Jerusalem, 1993.
NEASB	*Near Eastern Archaeological Society Bulletin.*
Num. Cong. IX	T. Hackens and R. Weiller, eds. *Actes du 9ème Congrès de Numismatique.* 2 vols. Louvain-la-Neuve and Luxembourg, 1982.
Num. Hell.	W. M. Leake. *Numismata Hellenica.* London, 1856.
NZ	*Numismatische Zeitschrift.*
OA	*Opuscula Atheniensia.*
OBA^2	H. G. May, ed. *Oxford Biblical Atlas.* 2d ed. London and New York, 1974.
OCD^3	S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth, eds. *Oxford Classical Dictionary.* 3d ed. New York and Oxford, 1996.
ODB	A. P. Kazhdan, ed. *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium.* 3 vols. New York and Oxford, 1991.
OEANE	E. M. Meyers, ed. *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East.* 5 vols. New York and Oxford, 1997.
Onomastica	A. H. Gardiner. *Ancient Egyptian Onomastica.* 3 vols. Oxford, 1947.
Pap. Cong. XII	D. H. Samuel, ed. *Proceedings of the Twelfth International Congress of Papyrology.* Toronto, 1970.
Pap. Cong. XV	J. Bingen and G. Nachtergael, eds. *Actes du XVe Congrès International de Papyrologie.* Brussels, 1978.
Pap. Cong. XVI	R. S. Bagnall et al., eds. *Proceedings of the Sixteenth International Congress of Papyrology.* Chico, 1981.
Pap. Cong. XVII	*Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia.* 3 vols. Naples, 1984.
Pap. Cong. XVIII	B. Mandilaris, ed. *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology.* Athens, 1988.
Pap. Cong. XX	A. Bülow-Jacobsen, ed. *Proceedings of the 20th International Congress of Papyrologists.* Copenhagen, 1994.
PAPS	*Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.*
Das Partherreich	J. Wiesehofer, ed. *Das Partherreich und seine Zeugnisse.* Stuttgart, 1998.
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy.*
PCPS	*Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society.*

PECS	R. Stillwell et al., eds. *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Classical Sites.* Princeton 1976.
PEFQSt	*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Studies.*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly.*
Les Perses	E. Babelon. *Les Perses achéménides.* Paris, 1893.
Pfeiffer	R. Pfeiffer. *Callimachus.* 2 vols. Oxford, 1949, 1953.
PG	*Patrologia Graeca.*
PL	*Patrologia Latina.*
PM	B. Porter, R. L. B. Moss, et al. *Topographical Bibliography of Ancient Egyptian Hieroglyphic Texts, Reliefs, and Paintings.* 8 vols. Oxford, 1927–1999.
PO	*Patrologia Orientalis.*
Politics	L. Mooren, ed. *Politics, Administration, and Society in the Hellenistic and Roman World.* Leuven and Paris, 2000.
Pre-Islamic Arabia	*Studies in the History of Arabia.* Vol. 2, *Pre-Islamic Arabia.* Riyadh, 1984.
Profumi	A. Avanzini, ed. *Profumi d'Arabia: Atti del Convegno.* Rome, 1997.
Pros. Ptol.	W. Peremans, E. Van't Dack, et al., eds. *Prosopographia Ptolemaica.* Leuven, 1950–1981.
PSAS	*Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies.*
Ptolemaic Memphis	D. J. Crawford, J. Quaegebeur, and W. Clarysse. *Studies on Ptolemaic Memphis.* Leuven, 1980.
QDAP	*Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities in Palestine.*
QT	*Quaderni ticinesi di numismatica e antichità classiche.*
RA	*Revue archéologique.*
RAC[2]	*Das Reallexikon für Antike und Christentum.* 2d ed. Stuttgart, 1970.
Raccolta Lumbroso	*Raccolta di scritti in onore di Giacomo Lumbroso.* Milan, 1925.
RAO	*Recueil d'archéologie orientale.*
RB	*Revue biblique.*
RBN	*Revue belge de numismatique et de sigillographie.*
RBNE	*The Roman and Byzantine Near East.* Ann Arbor, 1995.
RBNE 2	J. H. Humphrey, ed. *The Roman and Byzantine Near East.* Vol. 2. Portsmouth, 1999.
RE	*Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft.*
REA	*Revue des études anciennes.*
Recueil Saidah	*Archéologie au Levant: Recueil à la mémoire de Roger Saidah.* Lyon and Paris, 1982.
REG	*Revue des études grecques.*
REJ	*Revue des études juives.*
RFIC	*Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.*

RH	*Revue historique.*
RhM	*Rheinisches Museum.*
Robert, *OM*	L. Robert. *Opera Minora Selecta.* Vols. 1–7. Amsterdam, 1969–1990.
Roman Army	D. L. Kennedy, ed. *The Roman Army in the East.* Ann Arbor, 1996.
Rome and India	V. Begley and R. D. De Puma, eds. *Rome and India: The Ancient Sea Trade.* Madison, 1991.
Rom. Front. Cong. XV	V. A. Maxfield and M. J. Dobson, eds. *Roman Frontier Studies 1989: Proceedings of the XVth Congress of Roman Frontier Studies.* Exeter, 1991.
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RPh	*Revue de philologie.*
RStudFen	*Rivista di studi fenici.*
SAWW	*Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-historischen Klasse der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Wien.*
SBAW	*Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Sitzungsberichte.*
SCI	*Scripta Classica Israelica.*
SCO	*Studi classici e orientali.*
SEAP	*Studi di egittologia e di antichità puniche.*
SEG	*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.*
Seleukid Prosopography	J. D. Grainger. *A Seleukid Prosopography and Gazetteer.* Leiden, New York, and Cologne, 1997.
SH	*Scripta Hierosolymitana.*
SHAJ	*Studies in the History and Archaeology of Jordan.*
SM	*Schweizer Münzblätter.*
Sociétés	E. Frézouls, ed. *Sociétés urbaines, sociétés rurales dans l'Asie Mineure et la Syrie hellénistiques et romaines.* Strasbourg, 1987.
Sociétés et compagnies	M. Mollat, ed. *Sociétés et compagnies du commerce en Orient et dans l'ocean Indien (Actes du huitième colloque international d'histoire maritime).* Paris, 1970.
SP	*Studia Papyrologica.*
SPAW	*Sitzungsberichte der (Königlichen) Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.*
Spiegel	K. Repgen and S. Skalweit, eds. *Spiegel der Geschichte: Festgabe für Max Braubach zum 10 April 1964.* Münster, 1964.
St Iran	*Studia Iranica.*
Studi Adriani	*Alessandria e il mondo ellenistico-romano: Studi in onore di Achille Adriani.* 2 vols. Rome, 1983, 1984.
Studies Brown	*Eius Virtutis Studiosi: Classical and Postclassical Studies*

	in Memory of Frank Edward Brown (1908–1988). Hanover and London, 1993.
Studies Daoud	N. Swelim, ed. *Alexandrian Studies in Memoriam Daoud Abdu Daoud.* Alexandria, 1993 (*BSAA* 45 [1993]).
Studies Johnson	P. R. Coleman-Norton et al., eds. *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History in Honor of Allan Chester Johnson.* Princeton, 1951.
Studies Lichtheim	S. Israelit-Groll, ed. *Studies in Egyptology.* 2 vols. Jerusalem, 1990.
Studies Mildenberg	A. Houghton et al., eds. *Festschrift für/Studies in Honor of Leo Mildenberg.* Wetteren, 1984.
Studies Quaegebeur	W. Clarysse, A. Schoors, and H. Willems, eds. *Egyptian Religion: The Last Thousand Years (Studies Dedicated to the Memory of Jan Quaegebeur).* 2 vols. Leuven, 1998.
Studies Ramsay	W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder, eds. *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay.* Manchester, 1923.
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Symb. Oslo.	*Symbolae Osloenses.*
Syncrétismes	M. Simon, ed. *Les syncrétismes dans les religions grecque et romaine.* Paris, 1973.
Syrie	M. Sartre, ed. *La Syrie hellénistique.* Lyon, 2003.
Tab. Peut.	*Tabula Peutingeriana.*
TAM	*Tituli Asiae Minoris.*
TAPA	*Transactions of the American Philological Association.*
TB	Babylonian Talmud.
TJ	Jerusalem Talmud.
TIR	*Tabula Imperii Romani.*
TIR Coptos	D. Meredith, ed. *Tabula Imperii Romani . . . Sheet N.G. 36 Coptos.* Oxford, 1958.
TIR Cyrene	R. G. Goodchild, ed. *Tabula Imperii Romani, Cyrene.* Oxford, 1954.
TIR Iudaea-Palaestina	Y. Tsafrir, L. Di Segni, and J. Green, eds. *Tabula Imperii Romani, Iudaea-Palestina.* Jerusalem, 1994.
La toponymie	T. Fahd et al., eds. *La toponymie antique (Actes du Colloque de Strasbourg, 12–14 juin 1975).* Leiden, n.d.
Travaux Le Rider	M. Amandry and S. Hurter, eds. *Travaux de numismatique grecque offerts à Georges Le Rider.* London, 1999.
Upper Syrian Euphrates	G. del Olmo Lete and J.-L. Montero Fenollós, eds. *Archaeology of the Upper Syrian Euphrates.* Barcelona, 1999.
La ville	*La ville dans le Proche-Orient ancien.* Leuven, 1983.

WB	F. Preisigke, E. Kiessling, et al. *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden*. Berlin, Amsterdam, and Wiesbaden, 1925–.
YCS	*Yale Classical Studies.*
ZA	*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete.*
ZASA	*Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde.*
ZDMG	*Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins.*
Zeugma	D. L. Kennedy, *The Twin Towns of Zeugma on the Euphrates*. Portsmouth, 1998.
Zeugma: Interim Reports	R. Early et al. *Zeugma: Interim Reports*. Portsmouth, 2003.
ZfN	*Zeitschrift für Numismatik.*
ZPE	*Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik.*

ARCHAEOLOGICAL, EPIGRAPHIC, PAPYROLOGICAL, AND NUMISMATIC PUBLICATIONS

Alt. v. Perg.	Deutsches Archäologisches Institut et al. *Altertümer von Pergamon*. Vols. 1–. Berlin, 1912–.
Antioch	G. W. Elderkin, R. Stillwell, et. al., eds. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. 5 vols. Princeton, 1934–1972.
Antioch IV.2	D. B. Waage. *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*. Vol. IV.2, *Greek, Roman, Byzantine, and Crusaders' Coins*. Princeton, 1952.
Antioche	G. Le Rider, *Antioche de Syrie sous les Séleucides: Corpus des monnaies d'or et d'argent*. Vol. 1, *De Séleucos I à Antiochos V, c. 300–161*. Paris, 1999.
Arsameia	F. K. Dörner and T. Goell. *Arsameia am Nymphaios*. Berlin, 1963.
AUB Collection	D. C. Baramki. *The Coin Collection of the American University of Beirut Museum: Palestine and Phoenicia*. Beirut, 1974.
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Bellinger, *Dura Coins*	A. R. Bellinger. *The Excavations at Dura Europos, Final Report*. Vol. 6, *The Coins*. New Haven, 1949.
Bernand, *Inscriptions métriques*	É. Bernand. *Inscriptions métriques de l'Égypte gréco-romaine*. Paris, 1969.
Bernand, *Koptos*	A. Bernand. *De Koptos à Kosseir*. Leiden, 1972.
Bernand, *Le Paneion*	A. Bernand. *Le Paneion d'el-Kanaïs: Les inscriptions grecques*. Leiden, 1972.
BGU	*Aegyptische Urkunden aus den Königlichen (Staatlichen) Museen zu Berlin, Griechische Urkunden*. 15 vols. Berlin, 1895–1983.
BL	*Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyruskunden aus Ägyptens.*

BMC	*A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum.* London, 1873–1927.
Brooklyn Inscriptions	K. Herbert. *Greek and Latin Inscriptions in the Brooklyn Museum.* Brooklyn, 1972.
Chrest. W. or *M.*	L. Mitteis and U. Wilcken. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde.* 4 vols. Leipzig and Berlin, 1912. U. Wilcken. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* 1:1, *Historischer Teil,* 1:2, *Chrestomathie.* L. Mitteis. *Grundzüge und Chrestomathie der Papyruskunde* 2:1, *Juristischer Teil,* 2:2, *Chrestomathie.*
CIG	*Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum.*
CIJ	J. B. Frey. *Corpus Inscriptionum Iudaicarum.* 2 vols. Rome, 1936–1952.
CIL	*Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum.*
C. Ord. Ptol.[2]	M.-T. Lenger. *Corpus des ordonnances des Ptolémées.* 2d ed. Brussels, 1980.
CPJ	V. A. Tcherikover and A. Fuks. *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum.* 3 vols. Cambridge, Mass., 1957–1964.
CPR I	C. Wessely. *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri,* I: *Griechische Texte* I. Vienna, 1895.
CPR XIII	H. Harrauer. *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri,* XIII: *Griechische Texte* IX. Vienna, 1987.
CPR XIV	G. Fantoni. *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri,* XIV: *Griechische Texte* X. Vienna, 1989.
CPR XVIII	B. Kramer. *Corpus Papyrorum Raineri,* XVIII: *Griechische Texte* XIII. Vienna, 1991.
CRWLR	A. M. Burnett and M. H. Crawford. *The Coinage of the Roman World in the Late Republic.* Oxford, 1987.
CSE	A. Houghton. *Coins of the Seleucid Empire.* New York, 1983.
CST	R. H. McDowell. *Coins from Seleucia on the Tigris.* Ann Arbor, 1935.
DEE 1–4	P. Leriche et al. *Dura-Europos: Études 1986* (in *Syria* 63 [1986]). *Dura-Europos: Études 1988* (in *Syria* 65 [1988]). *Dura-Europos: Études 1990* (in *Syria* 69 [1992]). *Dura-Europos: Études 1991–1993.* Beirut, 1997.
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Doura	F. Cumont. *Fouilles de Doura-Europos (1922–1923).* 2 vols. Paris, 1926.
Dura	M. I. Rostovtzeff et al. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report.* New Haven, 1943–.

"Dura Inscriptions"	R. N. Frye, J. F. Gilliam, H. Ingholt, and C. B. Welles. "Inscriptions from Dura-Europos." *YCS* 14 (1955) 127–213.
Dura Rep.	P. V. C. Baur, M. I. Rostovtzeff, et al. *The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Preliminary Report.* 9 vols. New Haven, 1929–1946.
Dura: Sculpture	S. B. Downey. *The Stone and Plastic Sculpture. The Excavations at Dura-Europos: Final Report III, Part I, Fascicle* 2. Los Angeles, 1977.
Dura: The Coins	A. R. Bellinger. *The Coins. Excavations at Dura Europos: Final Report VI.* New Haven, 1949.
Eckhel, *Doctrina*	J. Eckhel. *Doctrina Numorum Veterum.* 9 vols. Vienna, 1792–1839.
ESM	E. T. Newell. *The Coinage of the Eastern Seleucid Mints from Seleucus I to Antiochus III.* New York, 1938.
Exp. Arch. Délos	*Exploration archéologique de Délos.* Paris, 1909–.
FD	École Française d'Athènes. *Fouilles de Delphes.* Paris, 1902–.
Heberdey and Wilhelm, *DAWW* 44.6	R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm. *Reisen in Kilikien. DAWW* 44.6. Vienna, 1896.
HN^2	B. V. Head. *Historia Numorum.* 2d ed. Oxford, 1911.
Hunter. Coll.	G. MacDonald. *Catalogue of the Coins in the Hunterian Collection.* 3 vols. Glasgow, 1899–1905.
I. Agon. Gr.	L. Moretti. *Iscrizioni agonistische greche.* Rome, 1953.
I. Alexandrie	É. Bernand. *Inscriptions grecques d'Alexandrie ptolémaïque.* Cairo, 2001.
I. Delos	*Inscriptions de Délos.* Paris, 1926–1972.
I. Didyma	A. Rehm. *Didyma,* II: *Die Inschriften.* Berlin, 1958.
I. Ephesos	C. Börker, R. Merkelbach, H. Engelemann, D. Knibbe, et al. *Die Inschriften von Ephesos.* 7 vols. Bonn, 1979–1981.
I. Fayoum	É. Bernand. *Recueils des inscriptions grecques du Fayoum.* 3 vols. Leiden, 1975 (vol. 1). Cairo, 1981 (vols. 2–3).
IG	*Inscriptiones Graecae.*
IGCH	M. Thompson, O. Mørkholm, and C. M. Kraay, eds. *An Inventory of Greek Coin Hoards.* New York, 1973.
IGLS	L. Jalabert, R. Mouterede, and J.-P. Rey-Coquais, eds. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* Paris, 1929–.
IGR	R. Cagnat. *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Romanas Pertinentes.* 4 vols. Paris, 1906–1927.
I. Iasos	W. Blümel. *Die Inschriften von Iasos.* 2 vols. Bonn, 1987–1988.
I. Jordanie	P.-L. Gatier. *Inscriptions de la Jordanie.* Vol. 2, *Région centrale. IGLS* 21. Paris, 1986.

I. Knidos	W. Blümel. *Die Inschriften von Knidos.* Bonn, 1992–.
ILS	H. Dessau. *Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae.* 3 vols. Berlin, 1892–1916.
I. Magnesia	O. Kern. *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander.* Berlin, 1900.
INC Jerusalem	*The Patterns of Monetary Development in Phoenicia and Palestine in Antiquity (International Numismatic Convention, Jerusalem, 1963).* Tel Aviv and Jerusalem, 1967.
INC Rome 2	*Congresso internazionale di numismatica 11–16 settembre 1961.* Vol. 2, *Atti.* Rome, 1965.
Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris	J. Ceska and R. Hosek. *Inscriptiones Pannoniae Superioris.* Brno, 1967.
I. Nubie	É. Bernand. *Inscriptions grecques d'Égypte et de Nubie au musée du Louvre.* Paris, 1992.
I. Perg.	M. Fränkel. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (*Alt. v. Perg.* VIII.1). Berlin, 1890.
I. Perg. 2	M. Fränkel. *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (*Alt. v. Perg.* VIII.2). Berlin, 1895.
I. Perg. 3	C. Habicht. *Die Inschriften des Asklepieions* (*Alt. v. Perg.* VIII.3). Berlin, 1969.
I. Philae	A. Bernand and É. Bernand. *Les inscriptions grecques de Philae.* 2 vols. Paris, 1969.
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Iscrizioni	E. Breccia. *Iscrizioni greche e latine.* Cairo, 1911.
Iscrizioni . . . della Bibbia	L. Boffo. *Iscrizioni greche e latine per lo studio della Bibbia.* Brescia, 1994.
I. Strat.	M. Çetin Sahin. *Die Inschriften von Stratonikeia.* 2 vols. Bonn, 1981–.
I. Syrie	W. H. Waddington. *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie.* Paris, 1870.
Kindler, *Coins*	A. Kindler. *Coins of the Land of Israel.* Jerusalem, 1974.
Lancia^2	B. Virgilio. *Lancia, Didema e Porpora.* 2d ed. Pisa, 2003.
LSM	E. T. Newell. *Late Seleucid Mints in Ake-Ptolemais and Damascus.* New York, 1939.
LW	P. Le Bas and W. H. Waddington. *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure.* 4 vols. Paris, 1847–1877[?].
McClean Coll.	S. W. Grose. *Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins.* 3 vols. Cambridge, 1923–1929.
Meydancıkkale	A. Davesne and G. Le Rider. *Le trésor de Meydancıkkale.* Paris, 1989.
Mionnet, *Description*	T. E. Mionnet. *Description de médailles antiques grecques et romaines.* 7 vols. Paris, 1806–1813.

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P. Cairo Zen. — C. C. Edgar, ed. *Catalogue générale des antiquités égyptiennes du Musée du Caire: Zenon Papyri.* 5 vols. Cairo, 1925–1931, 1940.

P. Col. Zen. I — W. L. Westermann and E. S. Hasenoehrl, eds. *Zenon Papyri.* Vol. 1. New York, 1934.

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l'époque ptolémaïque (P. Dém Lille 34 à 96). Paris, 1973.

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P. Fouad — A. Bataille et al., eds. *Les Papyrus Fouad*. Vol. I. Cairo, 1939.

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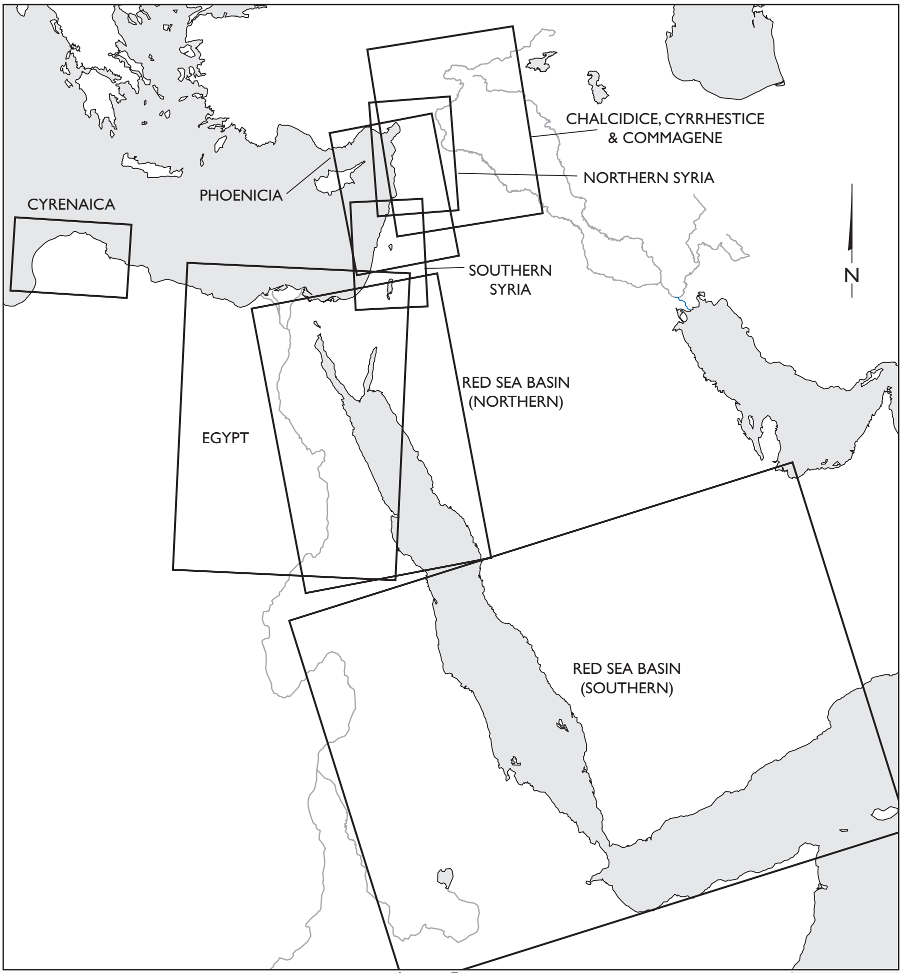
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INDEX OF ANCIENT PLACE NAMES

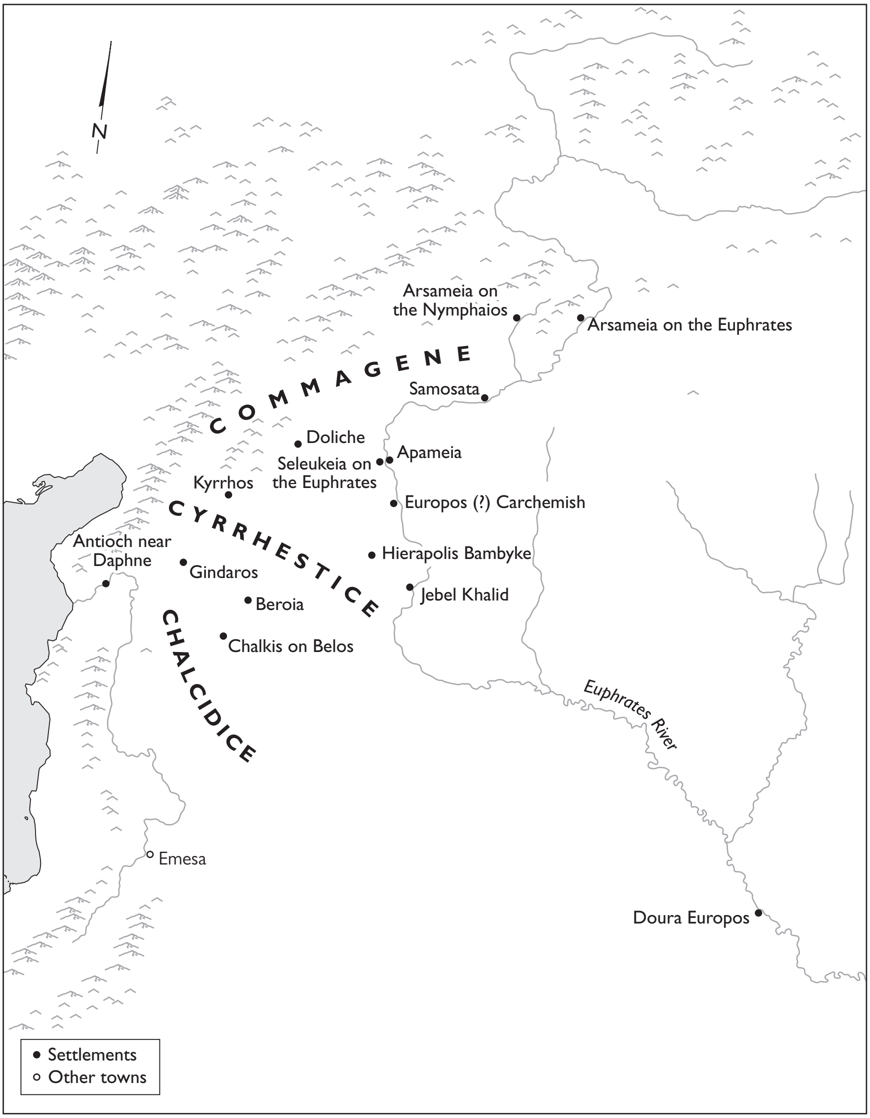
MAPS



Eastern Mediterranean and the Near East. Maps follow for the areas outlined.



Northern Syria



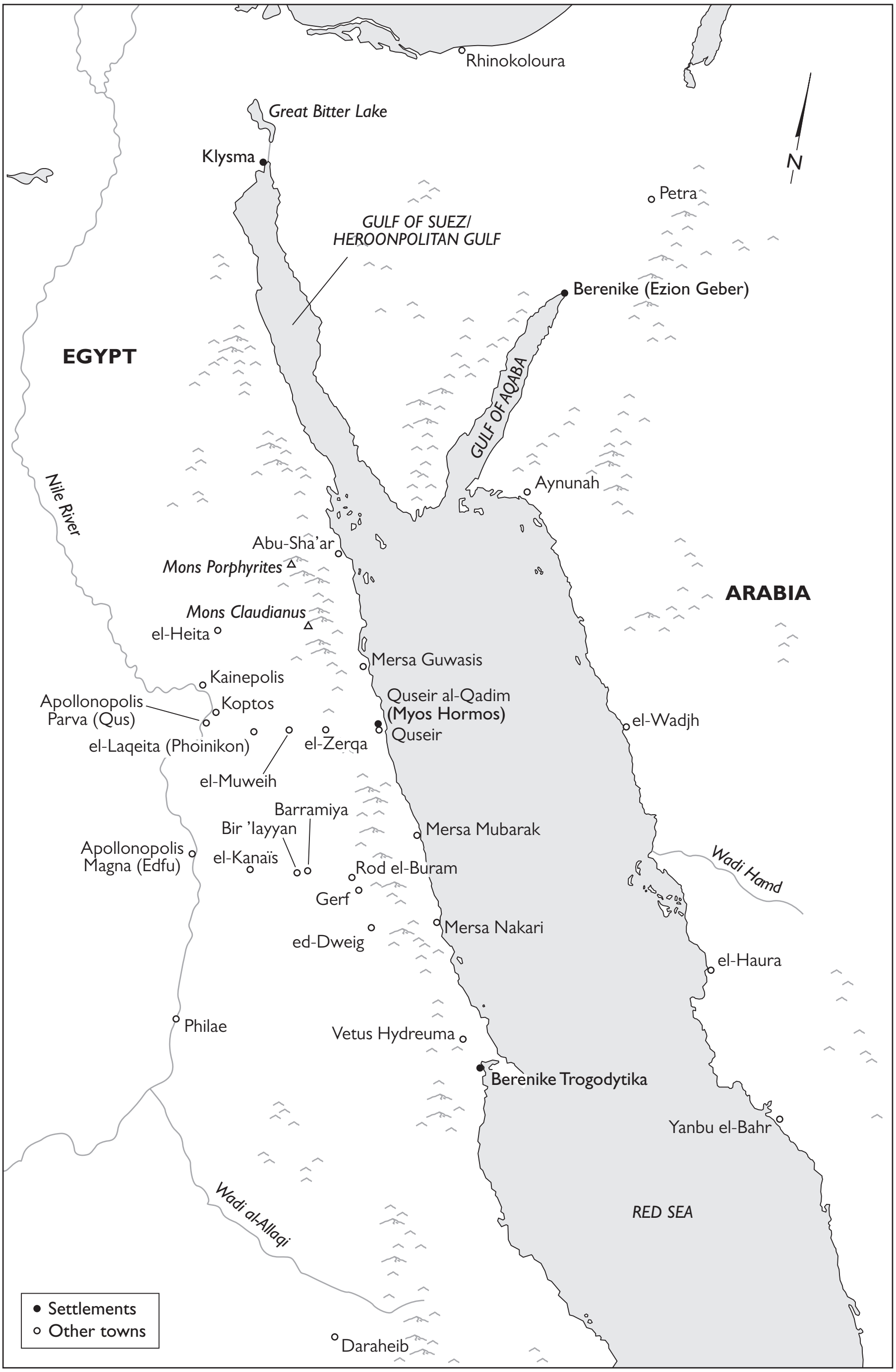
Chalcidice, Cyrrhestice, and Commagene


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Gabala
Leukas Balanaia
Antarados
Arados
Herakleia Arka
Orthosia
Laodikeia near Libanos
Orontes River
Eleutheros River
PHOENICIA
LEBANON RANGE
ANTI-LEBANON RANGE
MASSYAS
Byblos
Laodikeia Berytos
Heliopolis
Chalkis under Libanos (?)
Sidon
Tyre
Alexandroschene
Ptolemais/Antioch Ake
Jordan River
N
Settlements
Other towns

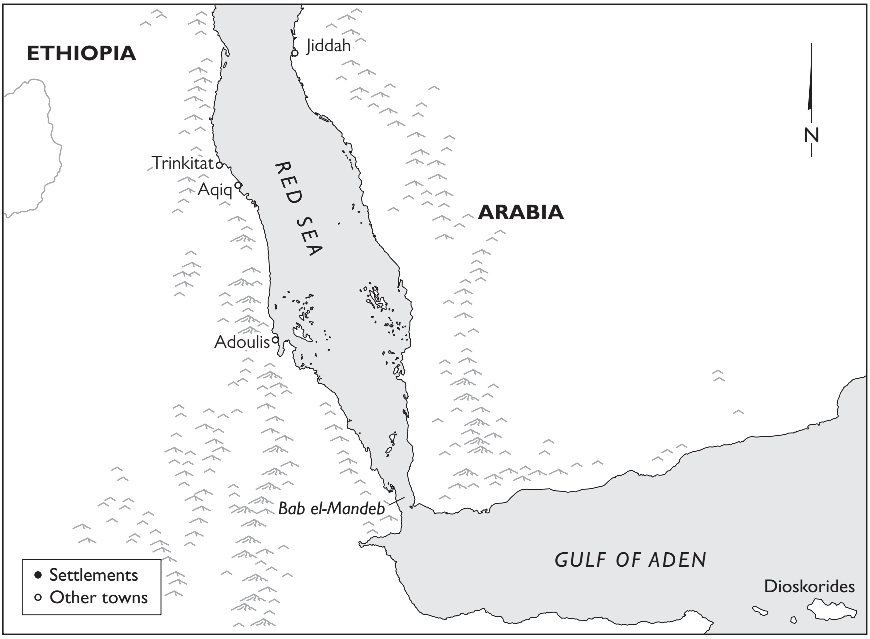
Phoenicia



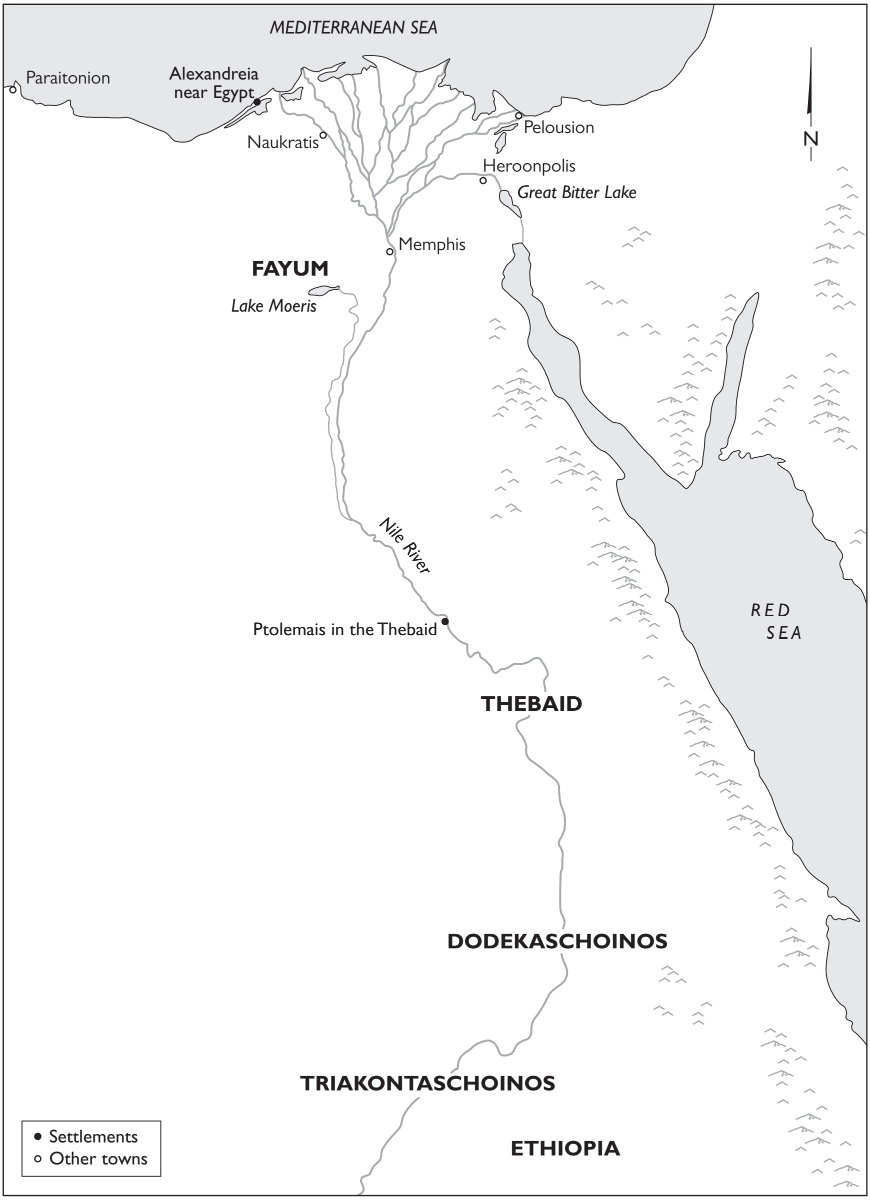
Southern Syria



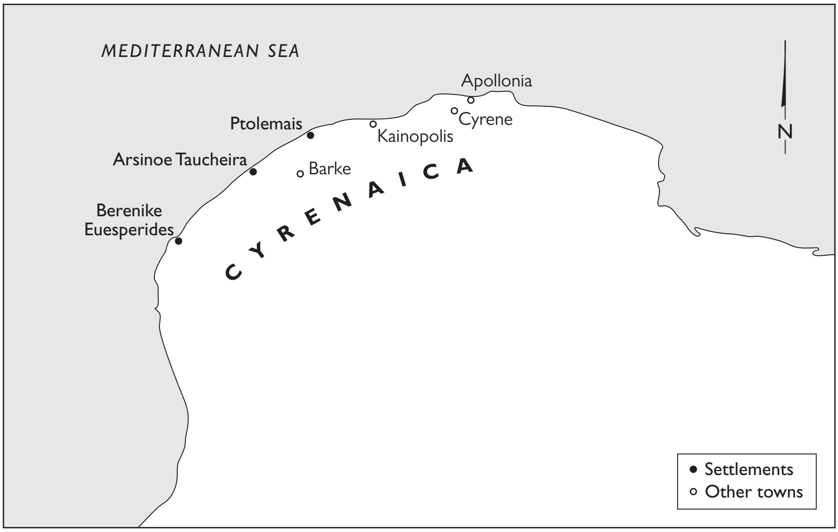
Red Sea Basin, northern area



Red Sea Basin, southern area


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Paraitonion
Alexandreia near Egypt
Naukratis
Pelousion
N
Heroonpolis
Great Bitter Lake
Memphis
FAYUM
Lake Moeris
Nile River
Ptolemais in the Thebaid
RED SEA
THEBAID
DODEKASCHOINOS
TRIAKONTASCHOINOS
ETHIOPIA
Settlements
Other towns

Egypt


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Apollonia
Cyrene
Ptolemais
Kainopolis
Arsinoe Taucheira
Barke
Berenike
Euesperides
CYRENAICA
N
Settlements
Other towns

Cyrenaica

Compositor: Integrated Composition Systems
Design adaptation: Suzanne M. Harris
Cartographer: Bill Nelson
Text: 10/12 Baskerville
Display: Baskerville
Printer/Binder: Thomson-Shore, Inc.